KARLHEINZ DESCHNER

Criminal History of Christianity

Volume 5

9th & 10th Century

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BOOKS

KAR LHEINZ D ESCHNER

Criminal history of Christianity

FUNFTER ßAND
9TH AND 10TH YEARS

From Louis the Pious (814) to the death of Oxo ill. (1002)

Creic'idmef *especially my friends Alfred Schumann and Herbert Steffen souiie all whose selfless support I gratefully experienced after the constant one of my parents.*

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REPLIK

EDRORML

After around thirty years of preparation, the first volume of Karlheinz Deschner's ten-volume Krimianfgescizicfite *des Christentums was published* in September iq86. This was followed by the second volume in October iq88 and the third in October iq9o. This completed the first epoch, antiquity.

Three state volumes - what i s presented on about 1600 pages and scientifically documented on about 3Jo pages, comprises about one and a half thousand names of persons and almost as many names of places, citing thousands of primary and secondary sources - all in all a veritable milky way of names, dates, dogmas, titles, pacts.

There had never been such a well-founded and fundamental accusation against Christianity (not just the church). Nevertheless, the side under attack initially adhered to the Og- gersheim rule: sit it out.

When the called and professional Christians did not succeed in keeping quiet, when tens of thousands of readers devoured a new volume of Deschner's historical "thriller" every two years, when the number of people leaving the church each year swelled rapidly to six and many who wanted to leave cited historical reasons for their decision - the very atrocities that Deschner denounces - it became too colourful for the attacked officials of organized C h r i s t i a n i t y . I99Z they launched a counterattack.

Hans Reinhard Seeliger, Professor of Historical Theology at the University of Siegen, organized a s y m p o s i u m entitled Kriminnfisiemng *des Christentums!* Karlheniz *Deschner's Church History on the Priifstpnd organized* a three-day symposium at the Catholic Academy Schwerte on the northern edge of the Sauerland.

Lectures were held there from October i to 3, r99x, which deal in general or in detail with the issues that have appeared to date.

a3 chapters of the first three volumes. Most of the references were professors from Germany and Austria: full, associate, adjunct, emeritus: plus one titular and one honorary professor. Two belong to the Dominican Order and one to the Franciscan Order. The range of subjects includes ancient and early church history, patrology, Christian archaeology, ancient history, classical philology, Judaic studies and historical and systematic theology. In addition, t h e r e w a s a university lecturer in criminal law, criminal procedure and criminology (because this is a history of crime!) as well as a newly graduated Dr. med. from Freiburg.

Karlheinz Deschner had also been invited - a ritual gesture - to present "the basic and overall concept of his work". One alone against twenty-two - a thoroughly appealing challenge for a combative spirit like Deschner. Nevertheless, he declined. He had already w r i t t e n extensively on the offered topic in the introduction to the complete work: *'Uber den ThemenL.weis, die Methode das Objektivitäts-problem und die* Probfem'riik *oller Geschichtsschreibung'* (6o printed pages). Deschner wrote to the organizers that he had nothing to add to this.

All the papers were published as a book in the Catholic Traditionsverlag Herder in Freiburg, published by the initiator Hans Reinhard Secligcr. Uinfa% 3* ten. On the cover: -The burning of the Dominican Savonarola as a heretic in Florence- by Fra Bartolommco.A joke? 'unsȼhdcnken? After all, theeditor writesin his introduction that "an -looking at' the author ... would have been easy to accomplish- (i x).

The rather expensive book published by Hctder (y8 DM) was, of course, not a bestseller. But even in small numbers, it fulfilled its alibi function when, from then on, the scholarly reference to this anthology was combined with the suspicion that more than twenty experts h a d proved that Deschner's **work was** unscientific and his writing biased. If anyone now directs embarrassing questions at the church with reference to Deschner, the initiate only needs to smile pityingly and point to this - naturally unread - volume, and the whole historical problem is solved by this authoritarian magic trick.

The mosaic of criminaJonal history dissolves into pleasure, and the soul seduced by Deschner may continue to believe that Christianity and its church(es) have never had a criminal history, but only a sacral history.

The Dortmund philosopher Prof. Hermann]osef Schmidt has thoroughly examined Seeligcr's Herder volume and published his catastrophic findings under the title *Das -einhellige- oder scheinheilige*
• *Uneil der Wissenschafi-l* NncJde &ticfies *z:ur katholischen Kritik an Karlheinc Deschners -Kriminalgeschichte des Christennims-* veröffentlicht.°

Deschner assumed that the interested reader could judge for himself which point of view was more convincing, which author was more critical and closer to the historical "truth". He, who always advises his audience to check what he says, not to believe him - for his part - he believes in the pull of reason.

But silence in this case would be self-deprecating and alien to the world. Calumniare audacter, semper aliquid haeret: Just don't be shy when you're swanning off! Something always hangs in the balance A foreign scholar reminded u s of this old (and true) cynicism in a particularly poignant way: Deschner had to take a stand on his Swords critics without fail, immediately and publicly.

A nasty flu in the winter of iqq6 made it difficult for Deschner to write the fifth volume of *Kriminalgesckichte.* So he took on the Herder volume again, as a kind of mental physiotherapy, and searched for a modus operandi. Analyze the entire three hundred page text 1;ritically? Impossible.
So you could only proceed by example: spread out an essay and go through it thoroughly.

Deschner opted for the paper *Knirer* Konsta Hilf - *ein tSroßer der Geschichte?* by *Matt z* R.-Alföldi (the only woman in Schwarte's corona). This essay corresponds, all in all, to the average level of the volume. Several texts

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• In: Clara and Raul Reinsdorf (eds.): *DrahWieher* Cooles. The *churches from the* Mur4hf' ii48 2f. *Century.* Aschaffenburg: Alibri iqpy. Also the study by Oliver Benjamin Hcmmtrlc: *Kleriltale* Jtociinuic ten: Wer rie fzfirte, aus *sie lehfen.* Biograp//isr5-ki/t/ipgrop5iraäe AnnoMrionen zu *ausgewähken Deschner-KritiMm, ihren* uzid Vor/zifdsm

are beneath criticism. A few at least refrain from personal denigration and try to do justice to Deschner's idiosyncrasies and hisism.* Maria R.-Alföldi lies in the middle of the field and is therefore representative.

Maria Radnóti-Alföldi, born iqaö in Budapest, received her doctorate i9ąq, habilitated i96i in Munich, worked since i96y as an academic advisor and later as a professor at the Department of Greek and Roman History at the University of Frankfurt am Main in the fields of ancient studies and the history and culture of the Roman provinces. The historical hiÍfsciences include disciplines such as epigraphy, pà- pyrology, glyptography and sphragistics. Maria Radnóti-Alföldi has published mainly on numismatics (numismatics), including *The Consłantine* Coinage: *Investigations into its Significance for Imperial Politics and Hofluinst i 96 $ Ì oôez AntiLc* Nii- *mismatics: Theory Pr*'txis*, Bibliographic i 8Ì.*

Prof. em. Radnóti-Alföldi is a coircsponding member of the Academy of Sciences and Literature in Maine. The Schwcrte-Inińator Seeliger presents her as an -internationally renowned Constantine researcher-ı•4) . Her paper was published in Schwerte. was particularly well received, as a luminary seemed to be Deschner's reliability t o torpcd all historians. How many hits does it really land? Karlhcinz Deschner examines this in the following reply.

Reinbek, a3. August Ibid
non-fiction booklcktorac
Rowohlt Verlag

Hermann Gicselbusch

* From conversations with Kzrlheinz Deschner, I know that he thanks the four speakers for their fsirne4: Professor Ulrich Faust O.S.B., Dean of the Hîscoric Seccion of the Bavarian Benedictine Academy, Professor Thea- fried Baumeister O.F.M., University of Maittt, Professor Erich Feldmann, Universicüt Minster, and foraÍ Prnfcssnr Gert Haendler, University of Rostock.

WHOSE BREAD I EAT

or "Before any form of power on the belly"

by Karlheinz Deschner

/Vtaria R..-AIföIdi rezensierr und zensterr auf knqpp Iz Seiren (zy8-zip) unter dem Tirel *Kaiser* Konstantin: ein Großer der *Geschichte?* d'- 7- Seiten (zi 3-z85) des Kapitels -Der Hl. Constantine, the first Christian Katser. 'Signature of seventeen Centuries of Church History-- in volume l of my Eriminnf-grsRiffiie of Christianity. Right at the beginning she finds it -difficult to even approximate the content of Deschner's remarks" (I§). Why* Probably because she dislikes the content itself, which is nevertheless specified in ten sub-headings and accordingly precisely referenced, as well as the un-academic directness of the presentation, which she calls "popular", "even populist" (i yp), characterized by "strong tendencies" (iqq), to which I have already emphatically admitted in my introduction to the Ge- samtwcrka (vol. I, 36 ff.).

And when she concludes her report by urging caution in dealing with the writing of history, I can only emphatically agree!

Maria R.-Alföldi's attempt is in Part Three, which the editor titles "Exemplary Individual Criticism". Exemplarily, pars pro toto, I now subject this essay to a detailed critique, staying close to the text. Such a critique of the critique must necessarily pick up on minor details, it must almost inevitably become a somewhat laborious read. Some of it may come across as addicted to criticism, pedantic, brittle. But it can hardly be otherwise if the rebuttal is to be convincing.

After all, many small stones result in a clearly contoured out-mosaic, on which opinions may differ.

-One reads that Constantine falsified his ancestry.
has …- (I§q). You read it. So what? Is it wrong? The author doesn't say that. She only suggests it - a pinprick, part of the tactic to subliminally disqualify me. She hides the fact that Constantine, in order to label the co-rulers as usurpers, gave his father Constantius Chloriis a much nobler ascendancy, that he had the pagan and, according to church father Lactanz, even church destroyer, pass himself off as a Christian, and trivializes the falsification of the church.
his ancestry as a "temporary propaganda maneuver" (i*49) One reads that he had, she adds, -compromised his ancestors.
found in the middle". So what? **Is it** wrong? (See above)

-His mother Helena is g i v e n all the gossip, the
!] ever promotes an unfavorable opinion¡ it was situation-dependent at the time and, of course, status-related. Desch- ner crawls all over her unseen" (*4PJ

Once again, Mrs. Alföldi ignores the reasons for this - misguided-
opinion". She calls it "situation-dependent" (which is mostly opinion) and, which she does not tone down here, "status-related". However, she again fails to mention that prominent prelates also spread the "gossip", that Bishop Eustathius of Antioeia was therefore exiled for ever, that the Doctor of the Church Ambrose even said of Helena that Christ had "raised her from the dunghill to the throne".

-The first years of the young emperor's reign in the West are nothing but terrible wars against miserable Germanic tribes, who are then captured and mercilessly slaughtered. For old sources and new studies confirm that Constanini's barbarity was already unusual and terrible at the time. But the critic loves discreet hints, reproving epithets that make me out to be a historical obscurantist, without, discreetly, saying so; although she does not shy away from this either, under the pressure of her burden of proof (cf. p. I}d, i J6), indeed she simply falsifies my text (p. *50).

Constantine's victim Maxentius, she says, is "always excused despite his proven arbitrary rule" {up). Always? As if I did not also write of Maxentius that he "fleeced the inhabitants of the country", that he "added new tax burdens to the previous ones - admittedly "took his money first and foremost" from "where it was available in almost unlimited quantities"; nevertheless a laudable endeavor. Incidentally, I am not the one making excuses. I am quoting a researcher who, in the z8. In the eighth half-volume of i'aiily-Wissowa's Renfen- ryrJopädie, he explains as extensively as intensively why he defends Maxentius - whose position of the
"of a surrounded game (Groag).

The Christian side, however, vilifies the -godless Tyranus- almost to this day and systematically falsifies his biography (cf. p. aao f.). Even the -father of church histories, Bishop Euseb, whom Jacob Burckhardt calls -the first thoroughly dishonest historian of antiquity-, claims, for example, ron "the bloody brutality of the tyrant" Maxentius: "The number o f senators he had executed … cannot even be calculated. He had them murdered en masse ... he had them murdered." In fact, however, no senator killed by him is known. Nor i s t h e r e a n y concrete evidence of the cruelty attributed to him. Nor is it true, either for Rome or for Africa, that he was accused by the Church of being hostile to Christians. Some of his good deeds for the clergy were later transferred to Constantine. Even Christian sources confirm Maxentius' tolerance. Bishop Optatus of Milewe correctly calls him the liberator of the church.

The author mentions none of this. Rather, she contends, and again without denying it, -Constantine is considered an aggressor (i¢q). As if it was not Constantine who declared war, but Maxentius! As if it was not Constantine who stormed from the Rhine to Rome, but Maxentius from Rome to the Rhine! As if Constantine had not soon put down the other co-rulers, or rather had them put down and killed! And as if Constantine did not soon k i l l Maxentius' father too!

Constantine's warfare, the battles, are dripping with blood, especially the Germanic tribes, now conscripted, bristling with cruelty" (i¢p). Now I write, according to tradition, t h a t Constantine smothered the uprisings of his Germanic opponents in blood, had their kings mauled by bears in the Trier arena and elevated such performances to a permanent fixture as the "Franconian Games", the annual (i . to zo. July) highlight of the season. But I do not express - as much as I feel it - any regret, nor do "the Germanic tribes, who were just regretted ... with cruelty". Which i s no contradiction at all.

Immediately afterwards, Ms. Alföldi quotes me: -In the end, 'the son of the vanquished, together with his political appendages, is hunted over the blade' (I/zz3)." uRd continues: "but Maxentius' son Romulus has not b e e n alive for years at that time. It is not known whether a second son w a s brutally eliminated". It may be true that Romtilus Valerius "had not lived for years. But we don't know the exact year of his death any more than we know the exact year of his birth. And I am not naming Romulus Valerius. Of course, if no other son of Ma- xentius had died at that time, I would have been wrong.

However, I would like to point out that Karl Hönn, for example, in his biography *Konstantin der Große. Leben einer Zeiten*- wride writes on p. zo;r of Maxentius: -His children [!) were killed": according to which even several children of the defeated Coristantin became victims. As Frati R.-Alföldi breaks off my quotation in the middle of the sentence and omits: "... the whole house of Maxentius [is] exterminated". This is the decisive fact.

"The fact that the high pagan dignitaries in Rome are spared and taken into service with the utmost wisdom is not n o t e d b y the author" (I@Q f.). O dochl Viel- mehr sehen wir die führenden römischen Aristokraten-, steht bei mir auf Seite aao, - unter Konstantin wieder in Amt und Würde".

The assertion that the next civil war against Maximinus Daia was not waged by Constantine, as Deschner suggests, but by his co-emperor Licinius (i o) i s deliberately false. For I report (zz8), dat -Constantine and [!] Licinius", dat -two [!] God-loving men- instigated the outbreak of this armed conflict, but that "Licinius" led it with
"Christian Devises" and "Licinius" before the battle atR 3 . April 3: -Helm off to prayer …- There is no mention of Constantine in this whole conflict.
Bede.

But while Ms. Alföldi accuses me, as she does, of misleading the reader, sic does it herself. And while sic declares that I am suggesting that Constantine waged the war, sic suggests, again untruthfully, with the very next sentence -
-One reads again extremely emotional descriptions of atrocities of the old kind - (zşo) -, these descriptions are mine, although, as clearly noted, they all originate from the church fathers Euseb and Lactanz. However, I must appear all the more likely to be the author as they also cited me immediately afterwards: -Licinius' soldiers are simply called 'butchers' (i yo). (By the way: suddenly Licinius after all! And not Constantine, as sic had slipped me two lines earlier!)

Soldiers are butchers with me: How dubious! The professor for auxiliary sciences of antiquity erc. s e e s it. Battle experience, battle leader, battle luck, battle glory, battle death, you can say and write that, it sounds good, is worthy of all honor, like the battle itself! But butcher is simply unrefined.

I then comment on the autocracy of this man, whom even sic accuses of "Byzantinism", with -historical acuity- (I ŞO) SO Wİ£d Wİ£d vorgcworfend -. "He forces the church under his thumb¡ which in turn, according to Deschner, gladly and opportunistically bows to him in order to g a i n money and power."
But that was only -a certain clearly definable group at court …-.

No. Because the Church was founded by Constantine (and his

ne closest successor) 'its gauze to eminent influence, to prestige, which is undisputed. Bishops throughout the empire cheered the dictator. His favours were showered on the hierarchs of distant countries, and the Catholic clergy, the now recognized, privileged caste, benefited from money, honours, titles, basilicas and other buildings, through remission of duties and taxes, exemption from taking oaths and giving testimony, permission to use the state post office, the right to accept testamentary dispositions and bequests, indeed, the ruler - like so many others in the future! - the prelates of the state power, and of course he also decided questions of faith. Quite a few chief shepherds imitated the character and ceremonial of the imperial residence in their official residences. The sources repeatedly state that "he made himself honored and worthy of envy in the eyes of the ancients, -provided them with even more prestige through his orders and laws-, "opened all treasuries with imperial magnanimity ..." And so Constantine - who not only called himself "co-bishop, bishop for external affairs" (epískopos tõn ektós), but, modestly, -Our deity" (nostrum niimen) - soon still and especially the greatest church lights, Ambrose, Chrysostom, Hieronymtis, Cyril of Alexandria.

My critic, however, criticizes the fact that -others go into opposition is not said - because it is not relevant; the less significant resistance of the schismatics and heretics is discussed for pages. What good does it do! "The fact that church historiography was the first to give its hero the epithet of a 'Great' is again wrong: it was the Athenian Praxagoras ..." (iJo). What does "wrong again" mean here? And what does it mean - wrong-? It says correctly: "Church history gives Constantine the epithet "the Great". However, in order to get this wrong first, in order to be able to convict me of another "mistake", Professor R.-Alföldi as inconspicuously as infamously the two words "first", which are missing in my case!

Now, not everything that I lack speaks for me: "obvious lack of research technique", for example, which the editor accuses me of. Mrs. R.-Alföldi certainly has a lot of -research technology-. Not least because of this, she also likes my polemics. And she finds me particularly polemical towards the church, the military and war. However, it is neither polemical nor populist, no, it is technically elegant: "He simply sees this form of supporting the state as a betrayal of Christ himself. His tendency culminates in the specially emphasized phrase: -But precisely this, the greatness of the rage that makes the crime punishable, became and remained the morality of the church- (iyo f.).

Now the always obscene liaison of throne and altar, at times in countless massacres from the fourth century to the present day,
not a product of my "tendentiousness" (Z4s), but of my horrible enough. But as with many conformists in the field, hardly any blood flows from her, in truth: not a drop, while she, it seems, with all disgust to me: "the battles letters of blood- (z q) - as if I would forgive it.

On the other hand, it ignores, no doubt with the majority of the historians' guild, the historical perversity that leads epoch after epoch morally ad absurdum, ethically completely discredited: the extremely embarrassing practice of hanging small gangsters and glorifying big ones. Nothing specifically Christian, mind you. Even the African bishop, martyr and saint Cyprian castigates this in paganism. If blood is shed individually, he complains, it is called atrocity, if publicly, bravery. "It is the greatness of the rage that makes the crime unpunished ..." (zyi f.).

According to Maria R.-A1földi, my -tendency- culminates in the-
of this turn of phrase, completely concealing the fact that it comes from St. Francis.
Cyprian comes from! I, on the other hand, will, it says immediately afterwards,
-more and more undifferentiated and emotional ...- (iyi). For

while she speaks, only in a subordinate clause, research-coolly, summarily of the -tragic end- of Constantine's relatives, I obviously count "increasingly undifferentiated and emotional-

that the great saint and holy great had his father-in-law Emperor Maximialt 3-O hanged in Marseilles, then s t r a n g l e d his oblique Licinius and Bassianus, beat Licinius' son Licinianus to death in Ksrthago, poisoned his own son Crispus (also massacring numerous friends) and had his wife Fausta, Licinianus had his wife Fausta, mother of five c h i l d r e n , suffocated in the bath - while he himself sent other murderers of relatives to hell by means of the long abolished dreadful sacking (poena cul)ei, particularly slow drowning in a leather sack).

Not enough of the increasingly emotional: I also investigate -the changes in criminal legislation-, the professor complains indignantly, "always with a negative sign" (i $i). And is thus again being untruthful, unless she has merely skimmed over my work and simply slipped up. For I d o c o n c e d e - not always negatively - that the development of law often followed humanizing tendencies of older (pagan) law or (pagan) philosophy, sometimes, admittedly, reinforcing them under Christian influence. And to emphasize the first Christian emperor, Constantine certainly also softened some penal provisions, perhaps even under Christian influence, which is often difficult to determine in detail. For example, unilateral divorce was made more difficult (not abolished!), debtors were better protected from their creditors, the death penalty by crucifixion and leg-breaking (3zo still attested by law) was replaced by execution on the gallows. Constantine also forbade the branding of faces (of those condemned to gladiatorial combat and mining work), 'because man is created in the image of God ...'- - although I don't want to hide the postscript: -and one could also brand hands and calves!" This is what I say on page zö6.

But the critic does not even attempt to correct what I have "always" treated negatively, to justify her rebuke. For, of course, it does not fit into her apologetic concept that the theologians and historians up to

today's highly celebrated despot (who -'under the influence of Christian ideas-, *as* the *Handbook of the Church's faithful* confesses, "manifested an increasing respect for the dignity of the human person-, the "Christian respect for human life-: Catholic), that this saintly cutthroat, for example, still ripened the tongues of informers before executing them, that he still had the domestic servants involved in bride robberies killed, slaves burned, m e n killed by liquid lead in the mouth; that he generally killed every slave and domestic servant who only accused his master (except, significantly, cases of adultery, high treason and tax fraud!) without investigation or admission of witnesses; that he, himself devoted to astrology, himself legally allowed cures, weather spells, sympathy cures, punished the mere administration of -love cups- with exile and confiscation of goods, but in case of death with tearing apart by robbery or crucifixion.

Not a word from the Constantine expert on all this and more. Rather, immediately after the £alschmeldung that I always discuss Constantine's penal legislation negatively, she continues, I even accuse the emperor of anti-Semitism, and this despite the well-known fact that the Jews at that time could still freely practice their faith (i yi).

As if the free exercise of faith by the Jews contradicted the anti-Semitism of the emperor - a ruler who scolds the Jews as spiritually blind, a "hated people" to whom he
-This is a "congenital madness", which allows them to enter Jerusalem only one day a year, prohibits them from keeping Christian slaves, which marks the beginning of their serious expulsion from agriculture.
anti-Jewish law from the fall 3*5 * instruction to Judaism already threatens the converting Jew and the converted Christian with burningl

The fact that I only "hesitantly" concede Constantine's reticence towards the pagans {I5<) is also not true. Ge-

I concede on page zy8 that the regent -first of all- clearly maintained reserves vis-à-vis the pagans. I emphasize his lifelong position as pontifex maximus, as president of the pagan college of priests, stress that his supreme pontificate, which testifies to his attachment to the pagan religion, always stood at t h e head of his offices in the official texts, and so on.

On the other hand, those who know the emperor fail to mention that, as his power and freedom of movement grew, his emperor also attacked the pagans more and more rigorously, most clearly in the last years of his reign, even if it was not in his interest to tackle the vast majority of the empire head-on. N e v e r t h e l e s s , he forbade the restoration of dilapidated temples and even ordered temples to b e c l o s e d . In all provinces they were also robbed for him, his favorites, for the churches, -ruthlessly plundered- (Tinnefeld), indeed t h e r e w a s an -unprecedented t h e f t of art" (Kornemann). And then Constantine also decreed their destruction¡ "he destroyed from the ground up precisely those who were held in the highest honor by the idolaters". "At a wink, triumphs Bishop Euseb, lay entire temples
-on the ground". Last but not least, the potentate had the fifteen books of Porphyrios Against *the Christians* burned, thus anticipating the "entire biblical criticism of modern times" (Poulsen) and -also heiite-, according to the theologian Harnack, -is not wi- der Icgr-.

Maria R.-Alfö1di again says absolutely nothing about all this. On the other hand, she notes Constantine's "undeniable reticence towards the pagans", which I allegedly admit "only hesitantly", and immediately serves up the further untruth that I "again hardly see that his
"severity" against heretics resulted from the desire to "secure internal peace" (i yi).

For in reality, as it says on page *77 f., the emperor's fight against the "heretics" was less about religion than about the unity of the Church ... and thus the unity of the

heheit des Reiches ... In order to strengthen the state, the ruler strove for the unity of the church, and he hated the "fire of discord". I make it clear that Constantine, as he himself says, desired the unity of God down below, so that the state could also "enjoy its fruits"; I emphasize that the regent therefore "sought state unity like nothing else", that in letters to bishops, synods and congregations he "tirelessly invoked unity, concordia, peace and harmony, harmony and unity", that he repeatedly postulated "a unified order", r e p e a t e d l y demanded t h a t "the Catholic Church should be a single faith", "that the universal church should be one" - and was told that this was "again hardly seen . . ."

On the other hand, t h e author does not in the slightest concretize the briefly touched upon Cai- serian "severity" towards heretics. The first Christian emperor fighting against Christians does not fit the picture well. Not a word, then, about the fact that Constantine, in a harsh -heretic'- edict (if Bishop Euseb, the transmitter, d i d not forge it), accuses all *heretics* of "lies", of "folly", scolds them as "enemies of the truth", "seducers to destruction" ¡ that for years he waged war on the American Donatists, took away their churches, their property, that he sent soldiers against them, whereby, even before the pagans were massacred, the first persecution of Christians in the name of the Church took p l a c e , the storming of basilicas, the murder o f men and women, the killing of two Donatist bishops, and a bloody Bavarian war, as the persecuted joined forces with the hard-harassed land slaves. And, of course, nothing about the fight against the Marconite Church, which was perhaps larger, or at least older, than the Catholic Church.

He banned their religious services, confiscated their properties and destroyed their prayer houses. In this way, the expert, largely omitting everything detrimental in detail, can finally pay tribute not only to a murderer many thousands of times over, but also to an unavoidable murderer.

the first emperor to e s t a b l i s h his personal will as a "direct source of law" (Schwartz), the attribute "the Great ... not without reason" (i Jq).

Everything so far has only concerned a little more than two pages of text by the historian.

Now, in small print, it offers some "particularly disturbing errors and distortions". But since it already had little to say in the large print, above all little that was essential, but many incorrect things, corrections that w e r e misrepresentations, euphemistic distortions, dishonest suggestions, misrepresentations, mostly distractions from the decisive - typical for the historian with his eye on church or state power - one can probably guess what significance it offers in the small print.

I don't want to bore you with this. But here are a few examples (out of a total of ten).

The name of a senator from the time of Constantine -always written 'Anylinus'" (U2.). Well, the name occurs twice. So why "always"? And the spelling "Anylinus" is not wrong at all. For this is also how the "father of church history", Bishop Eiiseb, always writes. And of course you can write countless names in Greek or Latin without committing t h e slightest lapse. But she claims: "his real name is Annuli- nus . . .-

On page zz3 she notes --But still in the last years of his life Constantine let himself be depicted in a porphyry statue like Helios (....)" - which, according to Deschner, stands for his eminent falsity (i ya). But that is not what my account i s about at all. For this is not about the emperor at all, but about the Church Fathers, who, with the help of contradictory legends, turn his victory over Maxentius into a victory of Christianity over paganism, thus creating a myth that lasted until the First and Second World Wars.

fatal continuing political-miĺitant -religiosity, the -Cairo theology"-. In contrast, I report on page za3, Juppiter Conservator appears on Constantine's coins for a long time, as does Mars, but for the longest time the unconquered sun god, Sol Invictus. Then follows the sentence she brings, and I quote the section to the end: -Yet still in the last years of his life Constantine Íhas himself depicted in a por- phyr statue like Hclios, indeed, even a day before his death he inculcates a law 'that the pagan priests should be forever free from all base burdens'. Just as he himself was of the opinion that he had never changed the god to whom he prayed.

Where would I have even hinted at Constantine's "eminent falsity" here? The researcher invents it.

On the same page (i Jz) she takes up my remark that the head of Licinius, like that of Constantine, first appears on coins with a 'nimbus', a halo: a symbol of their inner divine experience" (a33).

What is it all about? As long as Constantine needed Licinius to destroy his opponents, the church fathers also praised and extolled Licinius. But as soon as Constantine turns against Licinius, the crass opportunists demonize the previously "God-loved" and turn him into an unparalleled monster¡ now suddenlyÍhe is cruel and madl Everything the critic can think of: "The equation of nimbus with halo is not correct for late antiquity"
(i Jz). Sic distracts from the essentials. Once again, he doesn't even address my larger and more extensive suggestions, the actual matter, and instead presents some trivialities like "not true for late antiquity ...". As if that were my topic! But does the idea even apply on its own? Because what does late antiquity mean here* How long does sic last? BİS §IŞ? Until 375? Until 47 Or until around the middle of the 7th century? There is no communis opinio on this. And everyone knows that such an epoch dividing, delimiting in time, assigning, there is always something

arbitrary - always only apparent, because in reality uncertain fixed points.

What is certain, however, is that the nimbus, which s y m b o l i z e s divine apparitions in the form of an enveloping or luminous cloud, is *already evident* in Hpnier, that it distinguishes gods, heroes, kings, Venus for example, Neptune, Mithras, Alexander, and finally, in the ¢th century, was transferred to Christ by Constantine. Century, from Constantine to Christ and since the beginning of the y. Since the beginning of the yth century, it has been u s e d regularly and generally for angels, apostles and saints. (Resourceful Catholic theologians discovered the nimbus, the gloria, the halo already in the New Testament!) However: the incriminated "equation of nimbus and halo" firstly plays no role in the context of my text, secondly it is factually correct, and thirdly it is also chronologically correct for late antiquity.

On my page zd3 f. passim, Maria R.-Alföldi ari, *-diriir-* is apostrophized as the title of the emperor, s'tter and *sanctus are* scolded in the imperial milieu as the highest form of address (-si). But in my case it clearly states, firstly, that "Constantine is no longer, as Diocletian and his co-regen- and secondly, the terms derer and *sanctus* are nowhere scolded by m e , neither as the highest formulation nor at all.

A final example of Maria R.-AI- földi's critical ingenuity comes from her small-print insert on "particularly disturbing errors and attitudes" (I$1). She quotes me:

"On coins from the mints of his Christian sons he ascends to heaven, as his father did, and here he finds -once again- how little Deschner can keep himself under control when he formulates his criticism: It has o b v i o u s l y remained unknown to him how the classical-pagan *consecratio* with the eagle of Constantius Chlorus rising from the burning pyre is depicted on coins.

So I don't just lack the research technique, no, I also lack knowledge. I am aware of that, by the way

himself very aware. Who was not lacking in knowledge? "but apparently unknown to me, with which she fills my supposed knowledge gap. She quotes me herself, Konstantin "ascended to heaven like his father ..." And almost forty years ago, in *Abermals Drähte der Hahn,* I was already aware of numerous other ascensions of pagan and Jewish rulers, those of Cybele, Heracles, Attis, Mithras, Caesar and Homer, Enoch, Moses, Elijah ... Of course: -to call this 'ascension' is at least misleading" (i y3). But why then? Is it only Lord Jesus who really and truly ascended*?

Maria R.-Alfö1di, who already found it "difficult" to "even approximate the content" of my chapter on Constantine, already had problems, as she confesses at the beginning of her second part of the text, when reading the "quotations prefixed as a motto; the selection was again "not exactly clear" to her, but at the same time "even more characteristic than the individual units just indicated, namely: - Tendency and mood-mongering thus already as a prelude" (iy3 f.). But every historiography is tendentious, without exception¡ there is no honest one! For each has a certain tendency, direction, each advocates or opposes something, -votes- for or against something. Every historian is of course predetermined, bound, subjective. Everyone has their determinants, premises, predilections; everyone has their value systems, hypotheses, selection mechanisms, projections, egoisms, their patterns of interpretation and typifications, their models of interpretation. Everyone illuminates, researches and explains the world and history in terms of their world view. And most dangerous of all: those who deny this, who act impartially, who feign value neutrality, scientific-theoretical innocence, in short, those who mime objectivity, which presumably does not exist, least of all in theology and historiography (read my -Einleitung zum Gesamtwerk- in the first volume, page37 ff.).

-Objective-, says Johann Gustav Droysen, "is only the thoughtless!

There are six quotations. The first, by Augustine, praises Constantine's wars and victories in a nutshell; the second, by church historian Bishop Euseb, hails the ruler's "eradication of all kinds of idolatry". In three further quotations by theologians from the later zo. For Peter Stocknieier, the first Christian emperor is a "shining example", for Kurt Aland "a Christian, and a Christian in heart, not just in outward a p p e a r a n c e ". And Karl Baus calls his stele posture "that of a true believer". The book concludes w i t h a text by Percy Bysshe Shelley, "the early great lyric poet from the beginning of the iq. century, who for Deschnei olfenbar has said the only true thing- (z$4): " - this monster Konstantin ... this cold-blooded and seem-
The holy brute cut his son's throat, strangled his wife, murdered his father-in-law and his brother-in-law and maintained a clique of bloodthirsty and bigoted Christian priests at his court, one of whom would have been enough to incite one half of humanity to slaughter the other."

Now Shelley's statement is by no means "the only true one". However, this view of things is certainly closer to what happened than that of the ancient and modern priests quoted before him.

Before I move on t o t h e third and final main part of Alföldi's critique, a few more accusations from her number II.

For example, she teaches me about termini technici, which I described decades ago when describing the cult of the ruler and its influence on the New Testament, and suggests - a trick as popular as it is clumsy - that mocking titles such as "savior and benefactor" o p e n s doors; it is "not worth it". As if she didn't also know: the majority of believers have no idea of these (and a hundred other) religious-historical backgrounds, have no idea of the fact that *nothing* in Christianity is original - of the Christmas festival, for example.

for the Ascension - still no idea today. That' s what churches live on! In iibrigcn my
-mocking" in the sentence - allegedly -sneeringly emphasized by me- -: -The 'savior and benefactor' had prepared the decisive battle with .religio-political actions . . .-

It has nothing decisive to say, so it can only e v e r insinuate, because it is unfounded, it has to distort, exaggerate, outright misrepresent or simply be false. However, the schoolmarmishness often attributed to me, which is downright ridiculous not only in view of what is under discussion, shows more than many things how u n s o u n d all this is. For example, when she complains (p. Ud f.) that the use of modern expressions unknown to antiquity, such as
• Aggressor" (sic) and "war of aggression" are not "appropriate" and lead the reader "astray". But how many recent historians use new vocabulary for old epochs¡ in my chapter on Constantine, I quote old master Otto Seeck with the word -war of aggression-.

Ans blatantøi lack of tangible objections sic even complains that essays are relatively underrepresented in my work compared t o the monographs (i yş). Well, that's enough. There is no standard here either. Certainly, a lot of new things are "written" in essay form; far too much.
But "a lot of new things" doesn't have to be a lot of good things, as far as I'm c o n c e r n e d . And I'm certainly not asking her about the good.

Mrs. R.-Alföldi also accuses me of "ignorance" about the tribal composition of the Franconians.

The young emperor Constantine, I write on SeİtØ AI7, had defeated the Franks as lord of Britain and Gaul and then "had their kings Ascaricus and Merogaisus eaten by hungry bears to the delight of all. A little later I add that these Frankish kings may have been Bructerians or Tubantes. But this, counters sic, does not reveal -as perhaps intended,

erudition and knowledge, but the ignorance of the historical fact that 'the Franks' are a tribal confederation in which [they] very well have their place atich the Brnkterer and the Tubanten" (i J6)

But does my text rule that out? "Possibly", I say, the two kings of the Franks "were in reality Bructerians or Tubantes". Constantine had defeated the Germanic tribe of the Bructeri on the Rhine. But there were also -Boriiktuarians-, as Beda reports, who only arrived much later, towards the end of the y. century, between Lippe and Ruhr. Century, between Lippe and Ruhr u n d e r Saxon rule. When missionary bishop SuitbCrt (d. 71 y) tried to "convert" these Westphalian Brukterer, he had to flee from the Saxons. Thus the Bructerians were by no means (completely) absorbed into the Franks at first. And even if some of them belonged to the Franks at the time of Constantine, they were still Brukterer - just as the Saxons remained Saxons under the Franks.

I never quote inappropriately. And when I quote, I do so with the utmost care. Of course, I regularly quote from the "Zussmmcnhsrig gerissene (I§4); I have that in common with all the quoters in the world. But the slander that I offer "quotations from ancient and modern sources" is astonishing. (specialist) literature mostly mutilated" ¡-i4) Even if I had not insisted on the particularly infamous word "mostly", this would have had to be underpinned b y a wealth of evidence. Where are they?

However, Maria R.-Alfö1di can really score a hit (i J6): my confusion of the Lateran Basilica with the BssiliLa at the Forum Romanum. Triumph!

I will summarize my portrayal of the emperor, include what I have already discussed and which I consider to be particularly relevant, and finally confront, also only briefly, the "counter-image of Constantine" outlined by the critic.

F o r the sake of his career, Constantine I adopted the religion of his father Constantius Chlorus, a former imperial

Lcibwächter, forged, illegally elevated himself to emperor and, in an unparalleled lust for power, smashed the Diocletianic system of the tetrarchy and had three co-emperors murdered. Constantine w a g e d war all his life. He is aggressive -from the beginning- (Stallknecht); always with -only this goal of a greater rule" (Vogt)¡ in the process again and again "practising 'terrible severity' (Kornemann): 3o6 against the Bructeri, 3Io against the Bructeri. 3•• against Co-Emperor Ma- xentius, 3i3 against the Franks,¡•4 against the Sarmatians, 3Ij against the Goths, a r o u n d this time also against Co-Emperors
Licinius, whereby Constantine is said to have destroyed more than zo ooo of his enemies. 3zo against the Alemanni, 3za against the Safmates, 3z3 against the Goths, whereby he orders anyone who stands by them to be burned alive. 3z against co-emperor Linius, a "religious war", of which Constantine, who is already out with -e1dbishops, -holy and pure-, prays with his Sol- dateska and finally jo ooo corpses cover the battlefield; E3O ships and5°°° sailors sink before the
Steep coast near Kallipolis.

Constantine promised Licinius his life on oath and had him strangled a year later, also liquidating many of his prominent supporters in all the cities of the East. "Every Christian emperor endeavored to emulate this great role model, assures the Catholic theologian Stockmeier¡
-any reference could be made to it in order to place an ideal [!] before the eyes of the princes-. Yes, he became the "ideal figure ... of Christian rulership in general- (Löwe).

All this, only listed here, is reflected in R. Alfö1di (rq8) in the sentence: -He first asserts himself, then step by step gains the territories of his co-rulers in order to finally unite the entire Roman Empire under his sceptre.- Seen in this way, history is certainly a clean, aseptic affair. There is hardly any bloodshed, even if she adds: "He has to fight repeatedly on the borders in order to secure the empire's territory".

3z8 Constantine marches against the Goths, 3zq against the Ale-

against the Goths, whose losses, also due to famine and frost, have been calculated at one hundred thousand. And still in the year of his death337 WOllte der -Schöpfer des *Christian* world empire" (Dölger) with many military bishops set out on a crusade against the Persians.

But Maria R.-Alföldi says very little about everything with which Constantine founded the Christian West, which is what makes Constantine - like Charles 1 mutatis mutanis - "the Great", and this more inevitably in the polemic against me. There is also little mention of the personal cruelty of the emperor, for whom human life had "no value" (Seeck), of the -Franconian Player (Iz(. 2-O. July), of the -ludi Gothici" (¢.-p. February), where he had prisoners thrown to wild animals en masse in the arena, there is absolutely nothing¡ similar about the massacre of his closest relatives. This brutal murder (which his son Constantius 11th continued in the year of his father's death, just as massacres of relatives remained the rule in Christian dynasties) is probably due to this terrible trait of the holy great Maria R.-A1földi's ladylike sentence, which could hardly be more grotesque: "He even seems to have a tendency to irascibility (i y8).

The " internationally respected Constantine researcher" (i ¢8) makes no mention whatsoever of the retention of torture, even in court, as desired by the idealized Christian Constantine - "and the methods used were cruel" (Grant). Likewise the wretched slave drudgery. Whenever slaves die from beatings by their masters, Constantine decrees on i8. Ap* 3z6, the slayers are -of guilt hei (ctilpa niidi sunt) ... may the masters
They should not fear any investigation (quaestionem) …- And His Majesty even expressly forbids in another decree to investigate whether the killing was intentional or not! The defender of the -Great- completely conceals such things. Almost every detail from the particularly important and therefore by far the longest sub-chapter -On the Church of the Great - is also omitted.

The church of the pacifists to the church of the field priests". It addresses the fundamental fact, which disavows Catholica to this day, that its theologians of the first *three centuries* nowhere in East and West allow military service; that they even forbid all self-defence and the death penalty, the death sentence as well as execution or even just the report that leads to it (dat according to the church order of the Roman Catholic Church) .
Even hunters cannot be Christians according to the 3rd century bishop and saint Hippolytus). Constantine does that ChPlstentum 3-5 to a permitted religion with a wealth of advantages, especially for the hierarchs - and immediately the previous pacifists deliver to the suddenly pro-Christian state the sheep to the knife. Anyone who threw down their weapons in war would be excluded, and the soldier martyrs of old would fly out of the church calendars!

In this context, I am fighting against old and new defenders of such tremendous betrayal, including Hans von Campenhausen - to which Maria R.-Alfö1di, with her own sense of the essential, knows nothing to say but the sentence: -The citation 'the free theologian' ... represents a highlight" {i Jö).

And what does her -counter-image of Constantine look like in a few sketches" (-s7)? I will abbreviate it here once again, where possible *iii literally:* The ge-
The weakened Limes is rebuilt by the ruler, a more effective tax system is introduced, the empire's territory is restructured to increase revenue, and the bureaucracy is greatly expanded. Professions and duties are - this is not my German - forcibly made hereditary, deficiencies are eliminated as far as possible, a powerful general staff is created and the new residence of Constantinople is founded in a strategically decisive location.

Constantine had unquestionable military gifts and knew how to make sovereign use of his enormous opportunities as emperor. He can be mild, but if his position comes under threat, he takes a hard line, while remaining an-

slowly a cautious real politician. He tried with might and main to level the rifts between the old and the new faith, admittedly favoring the Christians, but even here he acted mostly with foresight and realism, even though the problem of the just war of the attacked burdened good Christians heavily. In short, an intrepid neo-liberator, his work has endured for an astonishingly long time and serves as a useful basis for the future - "Christianity is also new in this sense, it has led and continues to lead historically to this day" (i Cq).

Doesn't that sound good, not very familiarly academic, the way they, according to the editor in the introduction, "fafit! Is blood flowing? Are tribes and peoples dying in the dirt? No, the dirt is piling up on me! My -overmighty, even more so, emotionally charged e- fer is alienating, seems "unbelievable", makes -genuine contributions to the discussion impossible. And so the following applies to my company

"without reservation the thoughtful words of the French poet Paul Valéry, when he says: 'The writing of history is the most dangerous product ever used in the kitchen of human intellect.'- (By the way: "when he says ...-, somewhat clumsy, stupid, completely superfluous. Not *incidentally:* the professor of auxiliary knowledge of antiquity provides the original version of the sentence in a footnote. I'll pass over the typo - dangeureux-. But there is not a syllable in Valcry about the - poisonous kitchen of the human intellect- in which -ever" something was -brewed-. If tek had taken such liberties with the translator, I would certainly have been accused of "traduttore, traditore", "tendentiousness", even "falsification").

Incidentally, I am also convinced of the aptness of Valéry's bon mot, of its significance, of the meaning of this word with regard to the usual historiography dominated by power-political categories, to a historiography that always demonizes all petty gangsterism, often only alleged gangsterism, even to the point of

T h e great criminals of history have been submissively courted through the ages. Time and t i m e a g a i n, this historical narrative has put forward the most pernicious models. Time a n d a g a i n, its perverse, malicious pseudo-ideals corrupt humanity; time and a g a i n, it has been no less responsible than the glorified bloodhounds themselves for the misery resulting from deeply unethical, misanthropic, power-hungry, success-driven thinking. And than Christianity. That Christianity of which R.-A1földi (i5q), immediately following Constantine's work, says: 'Christianity is also new in this sense'. It sounds unseemly cynical in view of its unholy betrayal at the time, but it is also undeniably true.

And nothing has been so fatal for the peoples, especially for the Christian ones, nothing speaks so contemptuously of this Christianity itself as the famous fact that it "historically continues to this day".

But if the conventional histo- riography, which only crowns the victors and cultivates a different kind of hagiography, were followed by a history that is critical of domination, a truly ethical view and assessment of history, what would be more desirable, what would be more useful to the peoples, these peoples who have been oppressed and burned again and again? And so, in closing, I too am reminded of the words of a poet and thinker, of a sentence by Nobel Prize winner Elias Canetti, which precedes the first volume of the *Criminal History of Christianity:* -Wars are as sacred to historians; these break, salutary or inevitable thunderstorms, from the sphere of the supernatural into the self-evident and declared course of the world. I hate the historians' respect for something just because it happened, their falsified, retrospective standards, their impotence, which lies at the bottom of their bellies before any form of power."

i. CHAPTER

EMPEROR LUDWIG I. THE FROMME
(8z§-8go)

-Ludwig's kingdom was supposed to be a kingdom of peace ... However, Due did not rule out wars against the pagans, but actually demanded them, as they were grilling Satan's allies.- Heinrich Fichtenau'

-How did the Church behave during this whole sad period? It is interesting to observe how the Church succeeds in gaining the upper hand at the very moment when the imperial power begins to decline. It is certain that the Franconian bishops played a decisive role in this ... Apparently, men like Agobard and Wala, Psschasius lfadbert, Bernhard von Vienne and Ebbo von Reime were in charge of these intricate intrigues and exploited the greed and ambition of the laity with the most honest and selfless intentions for the greater glory of God.- H. Daniel-Rops'

-But with the empire, driven by his own passions and seeking only his own advantage, things went from bad to worse day by day.

" . and the misery of the people grew many times over with each day - Annalcs Xaotenscs (Bye)'

Charlemagne, the saint, was not only active on the battlefield. As far as is known, he also had nineteen children, eight sons, eleven daughters, and this with no less than nine different wives - (admittedly still an almost modest flock in view of the 6z children of Bishop Henry of Liège, this industrious worker in the pure mountain of the Lord, to whom Pope Gre- gor X. ifR 13th century alone attests "within zz months I§ sons").

Despite the Carolingian blessing of children, there were no problems with the question of succession.

In the event of his death, Charles had divided the kingdom between his three sons in the so-called Divisio re- gnorum. Each was to take over the defensio sancti Petri, the protection of the Roman church. However, the father saw the two older sons sink into the grave completely unexpectedly: Pippin 8io, Charles, who had apparently long been intended to be the main heir to the imperial crown, the following year. It hit the ruler so hard that he thought of becoming a monk. Only the youngest and, as he knew, the least suitable for the throne, Louis, born yy8 in Chasseneuil near Poitiers, remained of his "legitimate" sons, only to be installed as emperor at the age of thirty-six, then deposed, reinstated, overthrown once again and brought back once more.

All's well that ends well? Well, in any case, the pious Ludwig, which counts more than anything, from an early age "always God learned to fear and love", as one of his contemporary Biographers u *i7 the noble Franconian Thegan, choir bishop of the Trier diocese, provost of St. Cassius Abbey in

Bonn. Louis had been sub-king in Aquitaine since 7g and had been anointed by Pope Hadrian I. And on Sunday, September i i, 8i3, the father had him proclaimed successor in Aachen, including crowning him co-emperor, admittedly renouncing any involvement of the pope, indeed of any clergyman.

But the whole thing took place in front of an altar, "in honor of our Lord Jesus Christ" after long prayers by the two potentates. Charles admonished his son and successor to love and fear the Almighty in particular, to obey his commandments in everything, to lead his churches, to honor the priests as fathers, to love the people as sons. He was to force arrogant and wicked people onto the path of salvation, comfort the monasteries and appoint God-fearing servants. He hardly found an end to his invocation of the Lord, but then crowned Louis co-emperor after the latter had sworn to uphold everything, whereupon the people shouted: "Long live Emperor Louis!" and both monarchs heard mass.

Since this coronation, Karl, already quite decrepit and lame on one foot, has only, if we may trust Bishop Thegan, prayed, given alms - and the four Gospels, the infallible Word of God, - improved- or, as Thegan also says,
-corrected" (optime correxerat) before he died on z8. January 8z9. He left his son a huge empire consisting of four powerful units, which he and his highly esteemed ancestors and predecessors had *almost* completely zitsnm- miigernii6ed: Francis, the center of the state, with the royal courts and the great abbeys, a s well as Germania, Aquitania and Italia.

KILLING AND PRAYING

Two areas that had long been decisive for Christian rulers and would remain so for many centuries also shaped the life of the young Louis: war and the church.

All noble Christians had the so-called craft of war

from early childhood. As a rule, they had to be trained in mounted combat by the time they reached puberty and be able to wield weapons at the age of nt or i5, sometimes even earlier. And, of course, the nobles were eager to go into battle (Riché). (In contrast, hardly any of them were known to be able to read or even write. -Three fingers shout, but the whole body works, was a much-quoted **saying. It** spoiled the eyes, it was said, bent the back, hurt the ribs and stomach, the kidneys ached, the whole body nourished the fatigue).

Ludwig, who had a strong body, strong arms, was skilled in riding, archery and lance throwing - not his equal - but according to research was peaceable, accompanied his father at the latter's request during his Avar expedition.
(IV 4 J), at least as far as the Vienna Wood. Soon afterwards, in 7s5, he supported a campaign of revenge by his brother Pippin in southern Italy, again on his father's orders. First the Catholic youth celebrates the Nativity of Christ in Ravenna, as
the author of the second contemporary biography of Louis (the only complete one) writes - an unknown clergyman of the court chapel who, according to his own account, had lived at the imperial court since 8r¢ and was called Astrotiomus because of his knowledge of astronomy - then "they invade the province of &nevent with united forces, devastating everything they come to "

Ludwig was a particularly good Christian, even better than the Holy Father. A wealth of contemporary testimonies, including al-lein z8 Fulda documents from the]ahren 8iq ' - 3 . names him
"pius", -piissiinus-; a word that has long since become a cliché.
The title of ruler. But people often rave about Ludwig's
-Piety"; indeed, the Frankish cleric Ermoldus Nigellus writes in the panegyric epic "In honorem Hliidowici Chri- stianissimi Caesaris Augu5ti" (from whom he admittedly hoped that his sentence of banishment would be lifted) that Louis ruled "with the help of his pietas". Incidentally, the emperor was given the epithet "pius" (the From- me, le Pieux, i1 Pio, the Pious, also Louis le Débonnaire, the

Good-natured, a modern devaluation of French historians) not at all during his lifetime, when he was usually called Hludovicus imperator, but probably in the late q. century at the earliest. century.

As a child, however, Louis had already been given the sub-kingdom of Aquitaine together with a regent's council, and it was there that he returned to the kingdom.

He returned after the Benevento campaign in spring s4 ---backed by his father's -comites-. 5o, he was not only able to curtail the power of the local nobility, but also frequently

He often advanced into the neighboring country to the south, certainly on higher orders, which applied to all foreign policy and military actions of the sub-king.

On Charles' orders, the pious, peace-loving son repeatedly invaded Spain. He subdued and destroyed Lerida. -Here- on-, writes Astronomus, -and after the other towns had been devastated and burned, he proceeded as far as Huesca. The area of the city, rich in fruit fields, was cut down, devastated and burned by the warriors, and everything outside the city was d e s t r o y e d by t h e devastation of the fire.

As was almost always the case at the time, it was only winter that prevented the young Louis from further acts of Christian culture. ln addition to cities, the Catholic hero also occasionally burned people, even if only "according to the law of recompensation" (Anonymi vita Hludowici)¡ quite biblically: an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth. And as soon as "this was done", according to the same source, "it seemed necessary for the king and his advisors to attack Barcelona". And when the prisoners had been devouring old leather used as door hangings for weeks out of hunger, and others had thrown themselves headlong from the walls in despair at the misery of the war, the evil enemy surrendered, and Louis celebrated this -with a thanksgiving worthy of God-, entered the city gate with the priests -who preceded him and the army- in a solemn procession, accompanied by songs of praise, and went to the Church of the Holy and Seventh Cross ...-.

Of course, King Ludwig always came back to the bad

Spanish neighbors, nothing was closer. Astronomus reports such attacks from ever new years. "The next summer, however, he marched into Spain with as great a war force as seemed necessary, via Barcelona as far as Tarragona, taking prisoners there whom he found, chasing others into flight, and destroying all the towns, castles and cities as far as Tortosa and multiplying the greedy flame - then again they fell into the back of the completely unprepared enemy from ambush,
-They laid waste the enemy's land far and wide …, fought fiercely and forced them to flee with Christ's help. Those they seized, they killed and happily took the spoils ... King Louis, however, returned home after he h a d cheerfully received his own and devastated the enemy country everywhere."

A bouncy Christianity.

An old Catholic standard value of Ludwig reads: -He meant well everywhere", his mind was "noble", his heart
-with all good manners decorated- (Wetzer/Welte). A bloody sword and a golden mind' that fits this religion perfectly; was it not a distant, modest reflection of the dear God himself and his hellfire practice?

For, according to the razor-sharp theo-logic of the Doctor of the Church, Pope Gregory I. -the Great": -The Almighty God, inasmuch as he is benevolent, has no pleasure in the torment of the wretched; but inasmuch as he is just, he will not be lenient by the punishment of the wicked for eternity.

A commode religion. Something for all occasions.

With this very God, "kind, but against evil - and all enemies are evil - not mild for all eternity", every robbery and murder, as in the times of the blessed Merovingians and Pippinids, happened again and again in the Christian West. So we read again: -However, with confidence in God's help, ours, although unequal and far weaker in number than those, nevertheless forced the enemies to flee and filled the path of the fleeing with many deaths: and they did not desist from murdering (et eo usque manus ab eorum caede non continuerunt) until, as

When the sun had disappeared and with it the daylight, and shadow covered the earth, the shining stars appeared to light up the night. Then, with Christ's help, they returned to their own with great joy and many treasures."

Almost romantic, such a small vein. And always with God, with his help, his blessing, his protection. For example, when someone had just b e e n hanged, "the wives or sons of almost all the others were taken," it says immediately afterwards: -"Then the king and his people went home under God's protection."

Sometimes Louis is not allowed to lead and accompany a campaign "in his own person". But the next year he marched against Tortosa again, -he besieged and damaged the city so badly with battering rams, slingshots, protective roofs and other siege machines that its citizens gave up hope …- Or it goes against the Wasks. Only o n the "rumor" that they wanted to rise up does the king decide on a new campaign for "the public good", he leaves "all their possessions to the army for plundering. Finally, when everything t h a t seemed to belong to them had been destroyed, they came to beg for mercy and, having lost everything, considered it a great gift that they had b e e n pardoned" (Anonymi vita Hludowici).

This is how one educates one's own. In short, it is confirmed time and again that with Louis the Pious, to paraphrase researcher Fichtenau, "the Christian doctrine took hold of deeper layers ..."

So that the blood of all those barbarically slaughtered does not gush too thickly, so that it does not drown this chronicle of horror completely and utterly, the spiritual, the divine is always applied even more strongly and dignified w i t h the blood. Just as Louis had no equal in archery or lance throwing, in the use of weaponry, of murderous instruments, he, who grew up in the strict monastic spirit of Aquitaine, the "Adjutor Dei", the adjutant, the helper, so to speak, of God, which always means the Church, also possessed a remarkable priestly dignity, indeed spiritually gifted knees, as it were. Chorbishop Thegan therefore says in the same passage

of him: -He never raised his voice in laughter.- And: When he went to church every morning to pray, he always bent his knees and touched the floor with his forehead, praying humbly for a long time, sometimes in tears …- In short, the episcopal biographer says immediately afterwards: -and always adorned him with all good manners.- Yes, -driven by holy piety-, the anonymous author also affirms, he let
"nothing undone which he thought could be for the glory of the holy Church of God.

Louis the Pious had been under the influence of the clergy since his childhood. He was so devoted to the Church from an early age that only his father prevented him from becoming a monk. As the Astronomus also says of him, he was so -concerned for the divine service and the elevation of the holy church that one would rather call him a priest than a king, judging by his works. Louis, pietistic, hyper-clerical, and also rather hostile to the education cultivated by his father, not only replaced pleasure-seeking dandies with clerics in Aachen, but also expelled all prostitutes and put his daughters in a monastery (p. 3 j).

Accordingly, his governmental measures were shaped by ecclesiastical ideas or determined by prelates, if not often alone. Even when there were personnel changes among his advisors after 8iq, when Archbishop Hildebald of Cologne died and Abbot Helisachar withdrew, the new councillors, above all the arch-chaplain and head of the court chapel, Abbot Hilduin of St-Denis, Abbot also of St-Germaine-des-Prés, of St-Médard near Soissons, St-Onen in Rouen and Salonne, were of course not only close to the Church, but were once again mostly clerical, indeed they represented an "even more radical direction in church matters than their predecessors" (Konecny) - and later became the main opponents of his second wife Judith.'

- "A FIRST START TO REFORM ..." - UP TO FGNF LITERS NO AND FOUR LITERS HERE PER DAY AND IJÄNONIKER

Particularly in the first few years after taking over the reins of government, Louis convened a series of synods in Aachen and soon had the high clergy meet to discuss the details of a major church reform. After all, the unity of the church was the prerequisite for the unity of the empire in his program of the "Renovatio regni Francorum".

For example, a rule for canonesses was created in the -1nstitutiones Aquisgranenses- at the day of Aachen in late summer 8i6, but above all the canonical rule of Chrodegang of Meta was renewed, which this holy bishop from one of the "very first families of Frankish nobility" had created in the spirit of the -vita communis- around yJ$. In contrast to his "reform within a local framework, a generally binding reform was now carried out and, in particular, a much stronger orientation of the canons towards the monastic ideal was sought" (W. Hartmann).

The food and drink regulations of the Great Synod of Aaeh£fl 816 give a certain idea of this. Every canon was to receive the same amount of food and drink - so "equal" were they already in this highly feudal era - each not only four "pounds" of bread a day, but also, depending on the region, between one and five liters of wine. And up to four liters of beer a day as well! Of course, research sees the monkish a1deal as "aspired to". (Or as Wilfried Hartmann puts it: -a) New attempt at reform". - HR 12. century, the Sunday dinner of the Bamberg cathedral chapter consisted of eight courses. In the z8th century, the birthday banquet of the abbot of Ebrach consisted of z8 courses)'.

The documents reflect quite faithfully what was (as today) the focus of interest for the high clergy at that time, namely that his kingdom is "of this world".

MPF UM DAS - KIRCHENGUT" AND AGAINST YOU EITHER CHURCH

As early as 8i 3, a wealth of canons of the five Frankish
-The "concilia" (in Arles, Reims, Mainz, Chalon and Tours) recalls the church property, the church buildings, the church seekiing, indeed, each of the five synods thematizes the tithe. Incidentally, it sheds light on the spiritual greed for money when (not only in those days) markets had to be forbidden to take place in the church! But after all, even in biblical times, the house of the Lord was
-2ti of a robber's den- made. It is not surprising when after Christmas 8i8 a -conventus- in Aachen -discusses the state of the church and monasteries; when chapter i of the Imperial Assembly 8i8/8iq already deals with the protection of church property.
Chapter 7 deals with donations to the church, as does chapter 8; if chapter iz deals with the tithes of newly founded villages, chapter zą once again discusses the church tithes, including the church neiinten¡ and if the concluding chapter sq
turns once again to church estates and the problem of proprietary churches, which had already been dealt with in chapters 6 bİfl Ip. A proprietary church (ecclesia propria) was a so-called house of God (monastery) that was under private property rights, which stood on the property of a secular or spiritual landlord and was absolutely subject to him in every respect, both economically and spiritually. As every country church was already
q. Just as the landlord of a private church owned their own income and land in its e n t i r e t y i n the 16th century, the landlord also had control o v e r the church building as well as his other private property. He had the undiminished use of the entire property of such a church, including its income, assets, buildings, earnings, all kinds of levies, tithes in particular, regalia, spolia, etc., as well as the appointment and dismissal of the clergy or (in the case of proprietary monasteries) the abbots. **The** ecclesiastical system, which had already begun on Roman soil in antiquity, eventually

spread throughout Europe and reached its peak in the Germanic states of the qth and qth centuries.

io. century. Since the introduction of the general tithe requirement, it was therefore worthwhile to build a church and be its owner, and proprietary churches became increasingly lucrative, becoming sought-after objects of economic speculation, purchase, exchange, loan, donation, inheritance, etc. In short, the "houses of God" became "a profitable capital investment" (Schieffer), a "profitable enterprise" (Nylander).

This certainly has a decisive connection with the fact that the Church gradually fought against the proprietary church system in the High Middle Ages, which it had initially tolerated for a long time and had recognized both factually and legally since Carolingian times. Remarkably, in order to keep up appearances, it first denied that the disposal of ecclesiastical property by the laity was obviously particularly bad, but then the private use by the laity, which was certainly far more important to it, up to the threat of excommunication and finally a fundamental ban - while the rule of the bishops and monasteries remained unaffected!

Thus Louis the Pious, who was strongly influenced by the Church, also intended certain radical agrarian innovations with regard to church property, as the landowning laity were to be deprived of significant sources of income and lose all influence on the filling of church offices, which put the emperor in sharp opposition to the nobility.

Time and again, however, the bishops remind us of the
The Imperial Diet of Attingny 8aa, the Imperial Diet of Compiegne 8aa, the Imperial Diet of Compiegne. Thus at the Imperial Diet of Attingny 8aa, and again a year later at the Imperial Diet of Compiegne. And in further declarations before and after.

In a speech to the Synod of 8az, the notorious Archbishop Agobard of Lyon, whose great mission in life was the -christianization of the world- (Bos- hof) and the -apparently unapproved by the emperor- beheading of the Jews (which Agobard attacks in five treatises, whereby already

he anticipates the Nazi slogan - "Buy from no Jew"). But the church's property should be as sacrosanct as possible. Consequently, the archbishop declares all canons to be inalienable, as they were created at the councils in accordance with the Holy Step and with the cooperation of the Holy Spirit. Ergo, every violation is a contradiction against God, every secularization of church property a violation of divine rights.

That's how it's done: everything the clergy wants to have, grab and keep belongs to God. And under no circumstances should you take advantage of God! (God, of course, as the believing world must learn, is in practice always the money- and power-hungry bunch of prelates).

Louis the Pious also consolidated and promoted the exceptional position of the monasteries in the national economy by granting numerous customs exemptions, minting rights, exemptions from fees, and by waiving compulsory military service, which continued under his successors, where market and mint conferrals in particular became increasingly common.

EHBREFORM UFfD MOxDFINSTERISES OR FROM THE SUPERSTITION OF THE ISERS

It is hardly surprising that the Church's code of virtue and morality became even more widespread under the monk-like ruler, even if, as usual, often only on paper. This is particularly true of Ludwig's marriage law and his marriage policy. He identified fully with the wishes of the clergy, not exactly to the advantage of the state. **While** the Christian Merovingians **had** still vigorously promoted polygamy (see for example IV qq), as did the early Carolingians, and the concubine had long enjoyed almost equal status to the wife, so that even the Church tolerated it at times, as the Synod of Mainz (8 c. xy) testifies, Louis the Pious no longer even tolerated monogamous concubinage.

Initially, he had apparently lived in a cohabitation relationship himself.

He was married to Ermengard, the daughter of Count Ingram of the Robertine family, as early as 7 4, when he was about sixteen, probably to protect him from debauchery, from - according to his an anonymous biographer - -to protect him from the "naturally hot instincts of his flesh". Yes, he had apparently already had previous relationships with women from whom Alpais and Arnulf were descended. However, since his sole reign, he lived both his first and second marriages entirely in accordance with canon law, neither taking a wife nor dissolving a marriage on his own authority, just as he married off his children in full marriages, at least those given to him by Ermen.
gard-born sons, Lothar (7 5) 'ppin (c. 7s7) and Lud- wig (8o6), while one or other of his daughters, Rotrud and Hildegard, may only have had full marriages at a later date.

However, the monarch failed with his purely ecclesiastically inspired reform of marriage law. For the renunciation of the previous variety of forms of marriage as well as of special forms of marriage under his rule jeopardized the unity of the realm he was striving for and led to considerable legal uncertainty. After him, people returned to the old legal concepts, and in the realms of Louis the German and Charlemagne the Great, they largely placed their own advantage above church doctrine, which was usually only remembered in order to eliminate political rivals or unwilling partners."

The emperor also promoted Christian superstition, as did a long line of his predecessors.

Thus, holy corpses were repeatedly taken from Rome, including St. Marcellinus and St. Peter (by Einhard's scribe Ratleik via Michelstadt in the Odenwald), whereupon they, the corpses, the imperial annals assure us, "became famous through many signs and miraculous powers". Also -the bones of the blessed martyr Sebastian- came -army saint", patron saint of soldiers, shooting clubs, good furthermore against cattle plagues, pestilence. And also "the remains of the holy warrior of Christ" soon had "such an abundance of blessings that their quantity exceeds any number. And their nature made them almost unbelievable ..." But, adds the spiritual anonymous -

and this, as so often, not even out of his own lngenium, but plagiarizing the imperial annals - for the one who believes that this is possible (omnia possibilia e s s e credenti)."

The ruler of all the Franks also reacted immediately when "signs" troubled his mind, "dirges with which he w a s much preoccupied ... ...", celestial movements, terrible comets, earthquakes, lunar eclipses, grain falling from the sky,

"unheard-of sounds ... at night-, frequent and unusual lightning, the falling of stones with hail, plagues of people and cattle-. He was no less moved by the fasting of a girl of about twelve from the village of Cömn ercy near Toul, who, naturally "after the enjoyment of the holy supper" from the priest, neither drank nor ate, but rather

-The imperial annals record that the emperor was fasting to such an extent that he consumed no physical food at all and spent three full years without any desire for food. Such things sometimes deprived the attentive emperor of sleep. It happened that he barely slept a wink for an entire night, but instead

"with songs of praise and prayers to God", it was clear to him that these miraculous signs indicated serious misfortune for the human race. He therefore commanded fasting and persistent prayer and rich alms for the atonement of the wickedness caused by unrepentant, unrepentant sinners. Alms not only for the poor, but also, of course, for the servants of God, secular priests and monks, "and had masses read by anyone who could; not so much in fear for his welfare as in concern for the church entrusted to him - although many a sign, as he knew, pointed to a change in the kingdom and the death of the prince ..." Yes, and then "he went hunting in the Ardennes" (Anonymi vita Hludowici)."

Year after year of war, murder, manslaughter, enslavement. And day after day, going to church, lame humble prayer. But all of this complements each other here - and not only here - like the most natural thing in the world, in honor of the holy church.

And then there was the hunt.

"... THAT **MURDER GAME THE HUNT"**

For Louis the Froeimen, hunting even replaced war and diplomacy for months at a time, and was itself a way of preparing for war. The huge forests of the early Middle Ages were poor in game, "empty for starvation", as an Old Saxon poet almost wrote of the hunting season.
"grave of the forest" (waldes hléo). Nevertheless, in the month of August, when the stags are at their fattest, it was used for hunting until the time of the boars came." This simply happened
-according to the custom of the Frankish kings'. Louis' son Pippin, King of Aquitaine, is also reported to have suffered in the same way. Even the cleric Er- moldus Nigellus, who lived at the Aquitanian court, admonished Pippin not to neglect the duties of his high profession because of his inordinate passion for hunting and dogs.

And hunting remained a feudal, princely custom (to commit the alleged sin of historical "anachronism") throughout the centuries. For, as Christian Wei8e says: "Of all knightly amusements, there is none so pleasing to the great lords as that murderous game, the hunt." And Friedrich Heer, who has recognized the close connection between hunting and war, animal and human hunting, especially in aristocratic life since Charlemagne's time, has been a great proponent of hunting.
-The 'murderous lust for hunting of these "high gentlemen" should be examined in terms of depth psychology and metapoly.[3]

Hunting was and is indulged in primarily for "pleasure", but also for profit, which is why in the early Middle Ages, for example, a certain Othere killed 6o walruses in two days with just six assistants ("Sperren"). -Westerners are destroying forests, destroying 'biotopes', exterminating half animal populations," writes Johannes Fried in his highly readable work "Die Normierung Europas".

Even the pious Louis was not deterred by anything, no miracle, no sign, no epidemic. Even when a particularly severe epidemic

broke out among humans and animals in 8zo, which spread throughout Fran-

kenreieh -kaiim a dash of land, the
passionate Nimrod does not give up his usual "fall hunt".
-Autumn hunt" - a historiographical understatement. For the hunting, wounding and killing of animals in the jealously guarded hunting grounds (brolium, foresta, forêt, forest) - even vis-à-vis monks - often took place from late summer to winter, preferably in Aachen, the Vosges, the Ardennes, the Eifel, Franconia, the Frankfurt estate and Kreuznach. But the area around Paris had also been chosen by the Merovingians for its extensive forests, and centuries later there w a s still no less forest there.

There were also special murder enclosures in the immediate vicinity of the Palatinatenn

- The Carolingians had their own hunting palaces (later there were also special hunting treaties) for the purpose of hunting with a small entourage, occasionally with state guests and state trophies.For example, Ludwig invited the Danish King Harald to a hunt on an island on the Rhine during his visit to Engelheim, followed by a meal of roast deer, roe deer and boar, with bear parts - "The clergy also received many a good piece", all in the middle of the forest under an airy tent. Yes, first "autumn hunting", then - according to traditional custom, which was always dear to him - "the Lord's birthday and Easter", followed by the summer war. Then the cowardly stags. Then the horny boars - the emperor "amused himself as usual in the fall with hunting"; "amused himself until the winter time in the ... Hunted here as long as he pleased and the near cold of winter allowed "as long as he liked fishing and hunting". Then again, "worthy as it was", various feasts, especially "the feast of the Lord's birth and the others", above all that of his resurrection. And now again a fresh and cheerful little war. -But in the month of August, when the deer ..."

That reads like satire, but it is not my direction, it is that of the masters themselves. These are the highlights of the imperial Christian year. And sometimes the hunt dominates the whole year. Anno 8zy, for example. Hardly had Aachen celebrated the holy Easter"

celebrated, at the beginning of April, "in smiling spring weather, he went hunting to Nymwegen-. In mid-May he returned to Aachen for a Diet, then off "to the Wasgenwald forest in Remiremont for a hunt; "after the end of the hunt to Aachen", in August another Diet, then back to Nymwegen and r e t u r n e d to Aachen at the beginning of winter after the end of the autumn hunt".

Governing is exhausting. You need to relax. Not only by killing deer, fallow deer, hinds, sows, but also wolves, bears, buffalo (bubalus), aurochs (urus), etc. There were many animals in the German forest. And they were just waiting to shed their blood for the emperor. And for the aristocracy, of course, who also hunted the "game" to death, stabbing it from horseback, slashing and slaying it, stalking it, chasing it, with their four-legged h u n t i n g packs.

Apparently, the noble huntsmen had already developed a form-fitting hunting technique (Schwenk) in the early Middle Ages with many types of dogs, lead dogs, pack hounds, scent hounds, sighthounds, shepherd hounds, pointing dogs, rummaging dogs, running dogs, bird dogs, beaver dogs. From terriers, spitzers and pintschers, which are among the oldest hunting dogs, to pointers, setters, quails, spaniards and mastiffs, all of these were bred to satisfy the highborn lust for murder, even in monasteries, in the Ardennes monastery of St. Hubert, for example, and they appeared, lovingly depicted, in monks' manuscripts and altarpieces in churches. (Ingrid Voss lists hounds and relics - one immediately after the other and in that order - as presences of medieval princes to princes). Despite the ban on councils, the ecclesiastical nobility also played a major role here. After all, bishops, abbots and simple priests afforded themselves expensive packs and always preferred the great hail to Sunday mass - as they "valued the hymns of angels less than the barking of dogs" (Bishop Jonas of Orléans).

Even the children of the nobles were brought up to hunt. Also

Ludwig's own son Karl accompanied his father, together with his mother Judith, from the age of three, as g 6 near Ingelheim. And as soon as little Karl spotted the game, says Ermoldus Nigelliis, the Frankish cleric, perhaps a monk, he wanted to take it -unconditionally follow the example of his father". He begged for a horse, for weapons. "But other young people catch the fleeing Jiing deer and bring it to Karl unharmed. **Sofon** grabs his toy weapons and beats the trembling animal.

Practice early. That's how people grew up in the Christian West. So -heard" it ...

Killing, humans and animals. And praying. Ludwig, the pious one, was trained to do both from an early age. One thing as self-evident as the andexc. -The king's pious mind was from his earliest youth-, writes the so-called Astronomus again, -concerned with divine service and the elevation of the holy church, so that one would rather call him a priest than a king, judging by his works.- Indeed, he brought it about that "the whole clergy of Aquitaine", which had previously devoted itself "more to riding, military service, lance-wielding than to divine service", then held it almost the other way round. Now, thanks to Louis - who did not **even** completely refrain from riding in the fa- sten era (!) - divine service and secular science flourished "faster than one could believe". Yes, this clergy, before Louis -entirely decayed- (conlapsus erat), flourished through the young king, who also reformed, restored or even b u i l t many monasteries - up to 8nt allegedly ay - in his sphere of power, now in such a way -that he himself followed the memorable example of his grand oheiin Karl- man- (vgJ. IV 3yO < 3 y!) -wished to imitate and thought of reaching the summit of godly life-."

Well, nothing came of it. **Power** tasted better. Because his older brothers Pippin and Charles h a d already died, "the hope of ruling the entire empire awoke in him" (Anonymi vita Hludowici). And so the pious potentate no longer simply called himself 'rex Francorum', but from the very beginning 'imperator Augustus'.S

PURGE OF "HIGH TRAITORS" AND WHORES

Louis the Pious, aged thirty-six at the time of his father's death, was staying in the Palatinate at Doué-la-Fontaine (near Saumur) in Aquitaine, that vast region that only became known after a long time.

The land between the Atlantic and the Rhone, between the Loire and the Pyrenees chain, was finally subjugated after heavy fighting. First of all, he ordered a church funeral, prayers, hyenas and the singing of mefis. Then he moved via Orléans - where the local bishop

Theodulf, the experienced courtier, in an ad hoc ode as pompous as it was effusive - and Paris to Aachen, first visiting Christian temples and monasteries everywhere,

5. Aignan, S. Mesmin, S. Geneviev, S. Germain-des-Prés, S. Denis, the burial place of his grandfather Pippin. And everywhere the high nobility rushed to him, says the astronomer, "in great numbers". Even Wala, Charles I's cousin and one of his most influential advisors, a man from whom it was perhaps least expected, immediately swore allegiance to Louis. While still on the road, the new lord ordered that the Palatinate of Aachen, where the clergy and prostitutes in office under St. Charles had indulged in an excessively unrestrained genuflection (IV oz f.), be purged of unworthy elements and that some, who had made themselves guilty of the crime of lèse-majesté through particularly heinous fornication and arrogant arrogance, carefully until

his arrival in custody.

Allegedly there was a rabble of whores, thieves, thugs and other criminals (Simson) at court and in the surrounding villages. A messenger of Louis, Count Warnar, was killed during this sanitary measure in Aachen, his nephew Lambert was seriously injured; their opponent Hoduin was killed. The pious, but usually hot-tempered monarch, the emperor who was **always** kind to others, then had the eyes of an "almost" pardoned man,

Ttillius, plucked out in his "mild-heartedness (clementia)", as the Astronomus asserts.

And even before Ludwig moved into Aachen, people there

some people out of the way as "high traitors". It was precisely those who had last had significant influence at Charlemagne's court who quickly disappeared, such as the children of Bernhard, a brother of King Pippin. Charles's step-cousin Adalhard, abbot of Corbie on the Somme (lV 49s), already an old man at the time, was deposed without questioning or trial and deprived of his goods, ending up in the monastery of St-Filibert on the remote Atlantic island of Heri on the Aquitaine coast, while his sister Gundrada, Alcian's girlfriend, himself abbot of half a dozen monasteries, ended up in a nunnery in Poitiers. Her brother, Count Wala, forestalling Louis' wrath, hurried to the monastery of Corbie, from where the emperor sent the third, youngest brother Berar, who was living there as a simple monk, to the monastery of Lérins on an island on the coast ofProvence.
referred to.

Charles I's much sought-after daughters, Ludwig's much-swarmed biological sisters Bertha and Gisla, whose casual love life, or only spot at the imperial court, was the £romme
-The sisters, already fed up for a long time, were now sent to various convents - strictly against their father's decree to let them choose between marriage and the veil; also strictly against Liidwig's sworn vow of 8z3 to "always practice unchanging mercy" towards sisters and brothers, the nephews and all other relatives. However, the removal of the sisters (hardly mentioned later) from the Palatinate - to where is unknown
- was one of Ludwig's first governmental measures. And he
It is likely that her "immoral" lifestyle only served as a pretext for the newcomer in Aachen. In reality, he was probably more afraid of their interference, rebelliousness and familiarity with the officials who had long been in charge of state affairs, fearing that they could handle power better than he could.

However, while the emperor is not always so close to his family He treated his own descendants with care, not even with closer relatives - the half-brothers Drogo, Hugo, Theoderich, his holy father's "Bastar- de- of his daughters Regina and Adallindis aside

for the time being - he took care of his own descendants.

caringly. He made his grown-up sons Lothar and Pippin sub-kings in Bavaria and Aquitaine, his illegitimate offspring Arnulf Count of Sens and his son-in-law from the Gerardinian family, Bego of Toulouse, who had been married to his daughter Alpais since around 8o6, Count of Paris.

Her mother Heilwig was given the noble royal abbey of Chelles, her brother Rudolf the monasteries of Saint-Riquier and Jumieges, her brother Konrad, who rose to become a magnate in Alemannia, was given Saint Gall and, as his wife, Adelheid, the daughter of Count Hugh of Tours, Louis' father-in-law."

As soon as the monarch was in the Palatinate of Aachen, he not only took over "all the kingdoms that God had given to his father" - to quote a great robber of world history - but, understandably, according to the choir bishop Thegan, "above all, he had all his father's treasures in gold and silver, precious gemstones, etc. shown to him with great haste". and sent most of the treasure" of course "to Rome at the time of the blessed Pope Leo … - after all, there is always need there like nowhere else. And Ludwig's father had already sent large quantities of looted goods to the "Holy See" (iv 4g8'· For as Goethe's -fist- knows:

-The church has a good stomach, has
eaten up whole countries
And yet never overeat ...-"

DERISER , THE CLERGY AND THE SAFETY

Louis the Pious was even more accommodating to the clergy than his father, and the numerous historians who call him pious, clerical and bigoted are quite right.

Right at the beginning of his reign, the young monarch earmarked -all the decrees that had been issued for the Church of Cotte in the time of his ancestors". In doing so, he relied almost exclusively on clergymen, mostly "Aquitanians", people of whom even Bishop Thegan, who was well-disposed towards the emperor, again said that he had "trusted his advisors more than was necessary". With the exception of the arch-chaplain Hildebald of Cologne, Louis left none of the previous leading men of the state in office¡ he filled almost all the important court positions with new people, especially with people who already had leading influence in Aquitaine. Among them w a s the priest Helisachar, who had already been head of the Aquitanian chancellery since 8o8 and now took over the imperial chancellery in Aachen, soon generously endowed with the abbey of St-Aubin, then with the abbey of St-Riquier and probably also with the particularly rich St-Jumieges, together with its widely scattered possessions from the Loire to the Scheldt region. In gratitude for this, the priest and abbot went to Louis' enemies over.

Probably the emperor's most important advisor, however, was the Visigoth Witiza, a son of the Count of Maguellonne, a fierce warrior, who was highly revered by him and had the programmatic monastic name Benedict. Benedict (feast: February I), who grew up at the courts of Pippin III and Charles I, took part in Pippin's campaigns as a good Christian - also a "good Christian" and "great soldier" (IV 32I Ü.) - like **Charles,** before the tragic death of his brother drove him into the monk's habit. However, he repeatedly failed in his ascetic career. He left the monastery of St. Seine near Dijon because he found it too lax. He then repelled his first disciples on his father's estate at Aniane near Montpellier by becoming a monk. He now professed the monastic rules of Pachomius (I I63) and Basil, as he found Benedict of Nursia's rule only suitable for weaklings and beginners. But when he once again found himself in a "vocation" crisis, he -

-uncompromising" (Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche) - precisely the-

rule for "weaklings and beginners" has become the only

rule of monastic existence and became the "second Benedict".

However, things were hardly ever too weak under Benedict. If one of his monks was being taunted by a superior, they had to lie at his feet until he allowed them to stand up. And when a monk fled, Benedict ordered him to be dragged back with his legs tied and whipped. The saint also ordered a prison to be set up in every monastery - and the medieval monastery dungeons were barbaric, the conditions of execution in them extremely harsh, as imprisonment was tantamount to corporal punishment" (Schild). In addition, this monastic reform -always contained a point directed against human knowledge and education- {Fried)."

Abbot Benedict of Aniane, to whom Louis first entrusted the monastery of Maursmünster in ElsaB and then, next to Aachen, the monastery of Inden (Kornelimünstcr), a new foundation richly endowed with crown property, a kind of "model monastery" in the entire empire, spent more time at court than in his monastery, which the ruler nevertheless visited often, earning him the nickname "the monk". Benedict, who ruled over all Frankish monasteries, probably also remained the authoritative man at court until his death (81I), where he dealt with minor matters, petitions and complaints as well as major issues and, last but not least, advised the emperor on the comprehensive secular-ecclesiastical reform begun in 8i6.

The abbot's reform movement in accordance with the Rule of Benedict of Nursia sought to turn the many peoples of the empire - and this corresponded exactly to state policy - into a single Christian people, to make Christianity the basis of all public life, indeed to establish the -Civitas Dei- on earth: One God, one church, one emperor, whose office was always regarded more as an office conferred by God within the church. The prelates were therefore very interested in the unity of the empire, and their leaders in particular passionately championed the idea of this unity. However, they were not primarily concerned with the empire, but with the church, not with its advantage, but with theirs. For the principle of division,

This system, which was deeply rooted in state and legal opinion, led to more and more kingdoms the more hereditary sons a ruler left behind, and consequently to smaller and smaller kingdoms, i.e. to greater and greater fragmentation. But as the state union was torn apart, the ecclesiastical union was also torn apart, the numerous, often widely scattered lands of churches and monasteries came under the most diverse lords, church property became more difficult to administer, more difficult to control, and it could be confiscated more easily and quickly, especially in times of crisis. In short, for no one were the disadvantages of fragmentation and the advantages of the unity of the empire greater than for the bishops.

After all, &nedict's monastic reform, his principle of "una regula", did not only concern monastic life, so-called spiritual matters. The church property was at least as important, if not more important. The emperor did not want it to be divided or reduced, not even under his successors. However, he also banned the already flourishing practice of soul-catching, the luring of children, men and women into monasteries in order to obtain their property; he thus banned a practice that had been practised since antiquity (cf. 471 ff.
esp. 501 ff.) and as far as possible still highly popular today.
business of disinheriting relatives in favor of churches."

Apart from the previous Aquitanian chancellor, the presbyter and abbot Heli- sachar, and apart from Abbot Benedict of Aniane, Hilduin, abbot of St-Denis, St-Médard in Soissoris, St-Germain-des-Pris in Paris (a monastery which at that time owned more than 7i ooo hectares of land in the immediate and wider surroundings alone!) After the death of the arch- chaplain and enbi
Hildebald of Cologne, the court chapel, the court clergy and gradually asserted the title "arch-chaplain" (archicapellanus). During the first revolt against Louis in 83o, however, Abbot Hildiiin, like Abbot Helisaehar, switched to the camp of the imperial enemies, which included the leader of the Gallic episcopate, Archbishop Agobard of Lyon, the enemy of the Jews who had become particularly prominent under Louis."

The ORDINATIO **IMPERII** (8 x7) AND THE)RONY OF HISTORY

The fundamental constitutional change made at the Aachen Imperial Assembly in J- ' -7, which was heavily attended by secular and ecclesiastical grandees and initiated by three days of fasting, praying and reading mass, decreed the divisible unity of rule in the Frankish realm. The new law of succession to the throne, the Ordinatio imperii, replaced the Divisio regnoruni, the Imperial Stewardship Law and the Succession Order of Charles I of 6 February 8o6 (which - in accordance with the law of succession of 6 February 8o6 - was to be replaced by the Ordinatio imperii). February 8o6 (which - in accordance with Frankish inheritance law - provided for the division of the empire among all the sons of the emperor) and, for the first time in Frankish history and contrary to the previous custom of the division of the empire, ordered the traditionally equal inheritance rights of all legitimate royal sons, jetit assigned the Unitas imperii to the Unitas ecclesiae and condemned every division as a crime against the Corpus Christi. Ancient orders of succession to the throne and legal principles were thus overturned, not least in the interests of the church, indeed - primarily by circles of the high clergy" (Schiefer).

The whole thing had, of course, been discussed in detail in the inner circle. But since all this contradicted deeply rooted legal views, since it was new, it was also necessary - as always in such cases, says Bernhard Simson - to clothe the new law that they wanted to create with a religious consecration, with the appearance of divine inspiration and providence. In well-practiced hypocrisy, they pretended to investigate the will of the Most High through three days of general fasting, praying, reading mass, etc., and then the pious prince proclaimed what had long been decided and mainly

-This was the sacred interest of the churches, rather than a sudden divine inspiration. Thus the empire could not now be torn apart out of Louis' love for his sons; instead, the eldest son, Lothar, had to become sole ruler out of obedience to "God". And so, "by

divine inspiration", he was elected co-emperor and crowned immediately afterwards, with Louis, like

The Pope had once entrusted his father with the protection of the Church and especially the Apostolic See. However, Lothar received the crown from his own hand, i.e. without papal or episcopal mediation¡ he also received the largest part of the realm. The younger sons, Pippin and Louis, received the title of king as well as relatively small, albeit not insignificant, territories: Pippin Aquitaine, Wasconia, the Margraviate of Toulouse and a few other counties, while Louis received the greater part of Bavaria, the Ostmark, Pannonia and Carinthia. In order to prevent the disintegration of the empire into separate kingdoms after Louis' death, both were emphatically subordinated to Lothar, considerably deprived of their most important sovereign rights, restricted to domestic politics and, as sub-kings, obliged to pay an annual tribute to the emperor; they were also only allowed to marry with his permission and had to obey the imperial assembly. In short, the younger brothers were excluded from any equal The following are excluded from participation in the regency.

On the other hand, the lower kings had the right to grant all offices in their realms, not only the secular ones, such as the countships, but also the ecclesiastical ones, the bishoprics and abbeys. And of course the Frankish bishoprics and monasteries (St-Denis, St-Germain-des-Prés, Reims, Trier, Fulda and others) retained their more or less extensive possessions in Aquitaine, Italy and other dependent territories.

At the imperial assembly of Aachen 8iy, the kingdoms thus b e c a m e parts of the empire. They were not to be independent states, but subject to Lothar, the ruler of the entire empire, and any further division, for example as a result of further legal heirs of the brothers, was to be ruled out. All swore to u p h o l d the decrees signed by the emperor himself.'*

The irony of history: Charles f. Divisio regnorum of 8o6 provided for the division of the realm among his three sons. However, as the two elder sons died, Louis became sole ruler and the empire remained undivided. *Ludmig's* Ordinatio imperii of 8-7 sought to secure the empire at all costs. However, despite divine inspiration, the attempt failed and the

Empire was divided. Not least because King Bernhard of Italy, a nephew of the emperor, had been ignored in the Ordinatio imperii, but also because none of the younger sons of the emperor agreed to it. The new order led to
- As so often, indeed, as usual, this led to a new dispute, to continued rivalries within the imperial house and thus to the beginning of a major crisis in the Carolingian empire.

L **WIG DER** FROMME LASsz VERWA2'IDTE **SCHINDEN SCHEDULE AND DISCLAIMS A PUBLIC DEBT**

The first rebellion against Louis' new rule, which was intended to ensure the unity of kingdom and church, throne and altar, came from Bernard of Italy. The only son of King Pip
pins, the Avar treasure robber (IV § 7 -). Raised in the monastery of Fulda after the death of his father (g to), he had held office as - king of the Lombards- since the Diet of Aache in September 813. He had paid homage to the new emperor at the change of government, had been sent to Italy "wicder unverschrt", as choir bishop Thegan says, but was neither consulted nor even mentioned in the law dividing the empire. But when, by virtue of the Ordinatio imperii, he was to be subject to Louis' son Lothar I as he had been to Charles "the Great", his grandfather, and
Emperor Louis, he rebelled with numerous magnates of his realm. However, as the sources unanimously report, the initiative for this did not come from the young, adult king, but from his advisors.

A few months after the publication of the Ordinatio imperii **YOR &I/ Öät** alSO, Bernhard, who was completely out of his depth in it, together with the purifying bad people (Annales regni Francorurn), incited grandees, including Bishop Theodulf of Orléans, the court poet, Bishops Anselm of Milan and Wolfold of Cremona and, according to an old source, also

abbots - a widely ramified, but poorly prepared
-revolt" was staged. Louis was supposedly to be dethroned and Bernhard put in his place. However, there is every indication that this was not about overthrowing the throne, but about securing Bernhard's partial kingship.

The emperor mobilized extensive troop units, demanded that abbots and abbesses "do their military service" because "by Satan's lict, King Bernhard was preparing for an uprising", marched south in a rush and had the Alpine passes to Italy occupied. But even before the uprising had really begun, Bernhard and his followers apparently surrendered voluntarily in Chalon-sur-Saone without a single stroke of the sword. He laid down his weapon and threw himself at the emperor's feet. Similarly, Bernhard's next grofie, who "also freely explained the whole course of the affair at the first interrogation". In vain. Louis had them arrested, taken to Aachen and there in February 8i8 at the imperial assembly, delicately, as the imperial annalist reports, sentenced to death only after "the forty-day fast was over, at least all the so-called seculars, then pardoned to the more cruel punishment of blinding". They were "merely deprived of their eyesight" - "legally free from the wall" (Boshof}.

Count Bertmund of Lyon was the executioner of the king, who was always kind to others, a monarch who "always practiced leniency" and was "merciful by nature". King Bernard, whom Louis had previously called his son and who had just become the father of a son named (his grandfather) Pippin, felt that he had been punished too severely, and rightly so. He was in pain and died two days later, on April 7, 818, with empty eye sockets - despite the emperor's merciful actions.
Chamberlain and advisor Reginhard and Reginhar, the son of the Count Meginhar, whose grandfather Hadrad 7*y instigated the conspiracy of the Thuringians against Emperor Charles, defended himself and succumbed to the brutal procedure; both because they -did not endure the blinding patiently enough" (Anonymi vita Hludowici).

The others survived. And the bishops, abbots and other priests involved got off much more lightly, as always, because they were only judged by the 5ynod, by their peers, and the clergy - which had to encourage criminality - always p r o t e c t e d them from the worst, but the laity from the worst of the clergy. Their rebels were imprisoned on ry. April 8I8, other secular participants were either banished or shorn into monks, their goods confiscated."

His cruelty, especially against the young and friendly King Bernhard, who had been seduced by his surroundings, was generally suspected by the pious Louis. Now, however, he had even his little stepbrothers, who were not

-I, **Drogo to** Luxeuil, Hugh to Charroux, Theuderich to an unknown place, both against his will and again contrary to his oath to always be unchangingly merciful to his sisters, brothers and all other relatives.

(p 33) But in this way he prevented any possible claim to the kingdom, a share in the government. He later reconciled with the two and bought their lasting loyalty by granting them ecclesiastical posts and benefices. Stepbrother

Drogo became bishop of Metz at the ageofzo, stepbrother Hugo abbot of the rich monastery of S. Quentin, abbot also of S. Omer (Sithiu) and Lobbes; Theuderich seems to have died early.^ Presumably his influential friend Abbot Benedict of Aniane contributed to the emperor's brutal actions. In any case, it is striking that as soon as Saint 8xi had died, Louis pardoned the surviving rebels at the Diedenhofen Imperial Assembly in the autumn, and even brought back the brothers Adalhard and Wala, who had languished in years of exile.

the court and made them important advisors.

In August 8az, Louis even made a public confession of guilt at the Diet of Attigny on the Aisne. He lamented his crime against the young Nef- fen Bernard, who had perished horribly, and lamented his hard-heartedness towards his beloved

The emperor's rebellion against the shorn little stepbrothers and against Adalhard and Wala, his father's cousins: a unique event in Frankish history, a humiliation of the emperor emanating from the clergy, which was perhaps supported in particular by the once deeply humiliated Charles cousins. In any case, the bufiact imposed by the prelates diminished the reputation of the ruler in the eyes of the people, while it enhanced that of the bishops, even if they casually confessed their negligence in doctrine and office - in several places that it would be impossible to list.

No, they are discreet.

DISGUST OF THE PROSECUTORS **AND THE PASSENGER**

This development did not improve the situation in the state, it made it worse. Growing egoism, dissatisfaction and disobedience spread. The military campaigns were increasingly unsuccessful, the intrigues at court and breaches of the law escalated, exploitation by servants grew, as did the corruptibility of the nobility and brutality.

The continual internal feuds and external wars (p. q ff.) had often made the rich richer, but the poor remained poor or became even poorer. Moreover, they were further fleeced, burdened and subjugated by the greed of the magnates and priests. Both secular and clerical lords dictated prices, tortured their serfs and let them starve. Even according to one of Louis' biographers, his royal messengers found an uncountable number of oppressed people who were deprived of their inheritance or freedom by the injustice of the officials. But the intrigues of the greats, their competitive battles, their desire to outdo each other, to pander to ever more wealthy benefices, the rampant corruption in the church, simony, which was at its worst in Rome, all added to the misery of the masses. And while many powerful and rich people indulged in hunting, gambling, drunkenness and gluttony, while they pursued bloodlust

and all kinds of sexual excesses, while they were sometimes i n cahoots with thieves and criminals, bribed, allowed themselves to be bribed, they beat, whipped, mutilated and killed those who were dependent on them, almost without rights. And while the bishops indulged in opulence, luxury and power, while priests and monks left their homes and monasteries, while they went about in pursuit of pleasure and usury, while they squandered the church property, while they drank, whored and preached that "servants are equal to masters by nature", they pushed the mass of the people into ever greater poverty, deceived them with false measures, weights and bloodsucking prices. Quite a few of the oppressed emigrated or formed gangs.

In his church history of the Middle Ages, Karl Kupisch writes that the various attempts at church reform initiated by Louis the Pious were also "in a bad way", because: -In the church, these efforts had little success because the high episcopate strove for independence and increased wealth after the death of Charlemagne. But the successes in the monasteries were also limited.

It was a time, laments Paschasius Radbemis, the abbot of Corbie and eyewitness, that "dissolved the bonds of brotherhood and blood, created enmities everywhere, separated countrymen, caused faith and love to cease, did violence even to the churches and caused corruption everywhere ...". In short, it was a clerical time, a time that we essentially know from earlier centuries. And, in essence again, also from all later ones. It was a time, as the Franconian Nithard, one of the few lay writers of the Middle Ages, reports, in which the empire was constantly deteriorating because everyone, driven by their evil passions, sought only their own advantage. And the latter is likely to be true for many times - right up to the present day.

Natural disasters added to the prevailing ills,
sheer endless downpours, floods, major fires - anno 8z3

in Saxony alone, z3 villages were set on fire by lightning "in broad daylight and clear skies". Earthquakes shook the world, epidemics ravaged all creatures and spared "hardly a piece of land". Harsh, prolonged, snowy winters raged, in which man and beast perished, sometimes even the largest rivers, the Rhine, Danube and Marriage, were so frozen over for many weeks that wagons full of freight could cross them "as if on a bridge", followed in spring by devastating ice drifts. Unusually dry, hot summers, famines, the agricultural production of the early Middle Ages shows anything but a high degree of "mastery of nature".

"a low level of culture" (Bentzien). Mortality was rampant. The misery grew continuously in those early twenties."

In addition, as always, foreign policy.

ODBR " DRS $OMMERS
SWEET RBIZE .....*

Louis the Pious waged war almost year after year, as befitted a Christian ruler, primarily because of dynastic conflicts and domestic political problems. Time and again, however, he crossed borders or allowed them to be crossed, for as a general ruler he almost never took part personally in military campaigns, but let others fight for him - now the method of all rulers in what were now admittedly much larger battles.

They hardly cared about contracts.

Shortly after the emperor's accession to power, for example, the Saracen king Abulaz, the father of 'Abdarrabmän, Emir of Cordobä (7P $zz), sought a three-year peace.

-This was also granted first," reports Ludwigs anonymer biographer, "but later discarded as unfavorable

and the Saracens." After the "sham peace" was revoked, as he notes on another occasion, "war was declared." Neither the Merovingians nor the Carolingians needed peace. Thus, under these Christian princes, slaughter was almost as regular as prayer, at least as soon as the horses found food, as soon as, as the same source says shortly afterwards, "the lovely charms of summer followed ..." Indeed, they hardly let one of these charms pass without striking in some direction, in several, sometimes even in all of them, of course - "with Christ's help ...-°

After all, war against pagans and enemies of the holy church was a sacred duty. And as the first Christian maje-
The Carolingian rulers were also accompanied by field priests (1 *47 ff.). "Every bishop should celebrate three masses with three psalms, one for the king, one for the army of the Franks, the
The Franconian warriors plundered unrestrainedly in enemy territory¡ it was forbidden to plunder beforehand. But then "a scorched earth policy was applied ...; and whoever fell into the hands of the troops was killed. Aquitaine, Brittany, Saxony, Septimania and many other regions were devastated to such an extent that the consequences were felt for centuries" (Riché).

WAR GRGzx THEN, **SORBEH AND BASKES**

The latest research attests that Louis the Pious was the
-Attempt at a consistent ethical foundation for his policies" (R. Schneider). However, the fact that the attempt is not yet a reality is set aside: politics is not only made by the emperor and the imperial court. And when Louis, at the beginning of his reign, had national inquiries made in all parts of his realm, as Chorbishop Thegan writes almost touchingly innocently, "whether any injustice had been done to anyone", his men found - a

countless numbers of oppressed people, be it because they were deprived of their paternal inheritance or deprived of their freedom: which unjust officials, counts and deputies used to do in a deceitful way - but one already jumped with one's own subjects.
how to deal with enemies!

8Ij A Saxon-Abodrite army drove the Danes home, but returned without success after devastation "all aroundhez" with forty troops. 8i6 Louis sent his army against the Sorbs. This time, they complied with the emperor's order "vigorously" (strenue compleverunt: imperial annals), and attacked them, according to the sources, "as quickly as easily with Christ's help" and "with God's help won the victory"; but the emperor
-went hunting for the Wasgenwald". Furthermore, at the other end of the empire, on the northern slopes of the Pyrenees, the likewise rebellious Basques were overpowered, albeit only after two campaigns, but completely" (Annales regni Francorum), whereupon, according to the anonymous author, they "greatly desired the subjugation" that they were trying to shake off. '3

KRI BG AGAINST DIB BRETON

Louis repeatedly carried out devastating operations against the rebellious Bretons, whose princes sometimes claimed the title of king themselves. Several times he attacked "the lying, arrogant and rebellious people, whom not even his father had completely defeated, and whom the Merovingians before Charles and Pippin had always wanted to conquer anew.

In the summer of 8i8 he marched in persona - almost his only military campaign as emperor - with Franks, Burgundians, Alemanni, Saxons and Thuringians against the "disobedient Bretons, who went so far in their insolence that they dared to appoint one of their own, Marmanus, as king and refused all obedience" (Anonymus). The imperious Christians free

who looked down on the people who were so foreign to them - like their king Morman, who was also a Christian - demanded the -Sovereignty", subordination, interest. The denial of homage, of tribute (fifty pounds of silver "from time immemorial") was certainly enough for them as a reason for war. But Louis may also have been moved by clerical motives. The Breton church was still fairly independent, i.e. more determined by the Scottish church, which deviated from the Benedictine rules, and was noticeably removed from the influence of Rome. Above all, the Frankish Clenis detested the greater freedom of Breton marriage law, the permission of marriages between close relatives.

Already on his approach, Louis went on pilgrimage from church to church in Paris. And on the way he visited monastery after monastery, was richly endowed by the abbots Hilduin of S. Denis, Du- randus of S. Aignan, a zealous official of his chancery, by Abbot Fridugis of S. Martin in Tours and others, as was the custom. He then ravaged the land over a wide area; but all, according to the imperial annalist, without much effort. The pious ruler, of whom Bishop Thegan cautiously praises: - 'He increased in holy virtues from day to day, but to enumerate them would go too far-, crushed the Bretons with his overbearing power. He incinerated all the buildings, with the exception of the churches, and during all the murderous fires he had the Abbot Matmonocus of Landevennec inform him in detail about the monasticism of the country.

Killing and praying, praying and killing, then everything was fine, everything, at least in war, was allowed - provided it happened on the
-righteous- side. King Morman, who had cut down a part of the Frankish cavalcade, fell at the hands of an overseer of the imperial horses, Choslus, who rammed his spear through his skull, then cut off his head with his sword, before he himself was killed by a Breton, who was again cut down by Choslus' squire, whereupon the Breton, already dying, stabbed him: interior views of the war, a snapshot, so to speak, of the sweetly honorable death for the fatherland ... A lot of prisoners, a lot of cattle were led away, and the Bretons

submitted - "on whatever terms the emperor wanted ... And hostages, whomsoever and however much he commanded, were given and accepted, and the whole country was furnished according to his will, writes Astronomus."

WAR AGAINST ABODRITES AND BASKE1'1

8Iq Wad Ludwig sent an army across the Elbe against the Abodrites. They dragged their renegade prince Sclaomir (8o9-8iq) to Aachen, took his land and banished him¡ a little later they chased him back again, but while he was still in Saxony he succumbed to an illness, although in the meantime he had received the sacrament of Holy Dew¡ the Slavic people on the Elbe were still quite ethnic and Ltidwig's sovereignty was still subject to serious uprisings in 838 and 83q (p. qy).

The prince, so often praised as peaceful, also won a bloody victory against the rebellious Basques or the Wascones, who were allied with them.

Since the fiasco of Roncevaux, Gascony had been a kind of no-man's land for the Franks, monitored only with difficulty by the Count of Toulouse. Although Louis himself never again visited the land of his early battle experience as emperor, he did subject the border region with Islamic Spain to the increased control of a Count of Bordeaux and Duke of the Vassons in 8i6. And 8xq his son Pippin, through a military campaign in Gascony, a duchy in its own right in the early Middle Ages, -established peace in this province so completely that no more rebels or disobedients were to be found there "¡ while the regent - as the imperial annalist and Astronomus again report - turned to "hunting in the Ardennes" in the "usual manner". - There were, of course, repeated clashes with the Moors in the twenties.[33]

WAR AGAINST1'4 Dls CROATS

The emperor waged a three-year war against the Croats with a large contingent.

The K roats were Slavs who roamed the Mediterranean as nomads or semi-nomads in the first post-Christian centuries. Blackmecr region to the Carpathian region,' 7 century to Dalmatia and Pannonia. However, almost nothing is known about their history in this and the following period. Around 8oo during the Avar massacres (IV ą8J ff.) they were subjugated, albeit not yet definitively, including Christians, and Pan-Norman and Dalmatian-Croatia were ecclesiastically placed under the Patriarch of Aquileia.

8Iq the Duke of Lower Pannonia, Ljudevit Posavski (d. 8z 3), who ruled between the Drava and Sava rivers, rose up against the empire, incited by the Patriarch Fortunatus of Grado, who even provided Ljudevit with the craftsmen, builders and masons needed to build the fortress.

The patriarch had once been very close to the mighty Charles, had repeatedly appeared in the north, the first time with rich gifts as early as the summer of 803 in the Palatinate of Salz (today Bad Neiistadt) on the Saale, and had also been granted extensive privileges by the ruler himself, including a benefice in the Frankish kingdom. Now, however, the agile prince of the church, who indulged his greed for wealth and power, believed in the stronger power of the Slavic tribes, in the future of the Slavic kingdom in his neighborhood, sensed his advantage there and collaborated accordingly. (Over the centuries, success-hungry prelates have repeatedly made such turns to the east, of course also and especially in Rome - up to Leo XIII, for example, who before the First World War took full control not only of France, but even more of Rutland).

The super-stupid sentence that is used to make a lot of money: history does not repeat itself. But everything that is typical of history, everything that is motoric, betrayal, oppression, exploitation, economic crises, currency fraud, state-ordered murder and manslaughter, all this is repeated incessantly (cf. 3 ff.). What does it do, whoever is dancing around the Golden Calf - and leads the dancers around by the nose - in the main thing: semper idem.

In his uprising against the Frankish central power 8iq, Ljudevit initially stood his ground against Margrave Cado- lah of Friuli, but was then defeated on the Drava by Cadolah's successor (who himself did not survive his unceremonious retreat), Margrave Balderich of Friuli, and chased out of the country. However, Ljudevit was still able to defeat Borna, the ruler of coastal Croatia, with whom he traveled to the court meeting in Aachen in 8i8, at the Kulpa; Ljudevit's own father-in-law, Dra- gamosus, perished as Borna's comrade-in-arms, but the latter was able to flee thanks to his bodyguard. The Croatian prince also continued to seek his advantage with the Franks and successfully resisted his rival, who had invaded Dalmatia, from the strongholds on the coast; He attacked him sometimes in the rear, sometimes from the side, allegedly day and night, and finally forced him to withdraw at a loss, "for three thousand of his men had fallen, over three hundred horses were captured", claims the imperial annalist, while the ruler was once again recovering from the hardships of government in the royal hunting grounds in the Eifel. 8zo Borna appeared again in Aachen to propose a joint war against Ljudevit, but died the following year, probably of a violent death.

Izo, as soon as the horses found fords outside, three armies of Louis from three sides simultaneously, from Italy, Carinthia as well as from Bavaria and Upper Pannonia, invaded Lyudevit's territory (Anonymi vita Hludowici) and plundered -almost the entire country- (Annales regni Francorum), but otherwise remained unsuccessful. Indeed, a considerable part of the troops (which had traveled through Pannonia) perished from an epidemic, while

Louis the Pious devoted himself to "hunting" in the Ardennes in the usual manner. And the very next year, in 8zi, three of his slaughter piles -the entire territory- of the Ljude- vit were again destroyed, while his majesty now spent the rest of the summer and half of the fall hunting in the remote Wasgenwald" (Imperial Annals).

8zz can be found in almost all directions.

In the south-east, troops from Italy were thrown into Pannonia. This time, the Croat had to flee to Serbia, where he enjoyed the protection and hospitality of a Serbian leader, whom he treacherously murdered in order to seize his castle and town. But it was only when Ljudevit himself was eliminated in 8z3 in the castle of Srb on the Una, when he was killed by someone by stealth, incidentally as the guest of an uncle of the Croatian prince Borna, that the entire area between the Drava and Sava rivers came under Frankish sovereignty again."

In the north, where the Saxons had built a fortress on Louis' orders in Delberide on the other side of the Elbe, a garrison was established in the Orr and "the previous Slavic inhabitants of the area were driven out" (Annales regni Francorum)."

And also in the southwest, in the northwest: robbery and murder.

WAR IN SPAIN AND AGAINST THE BRETONS

The Counts of the Spanish Marches invaded "the interior of Spain via the Segre and returned happily from there with great booty" after "devastating and burning everything", as Astronomus writes. The imperial annal also records the devastation of the fields, the burning of the villages and the

-"In the same way, after the equinox, in autumn, the counts of the Breton Marches invaded the property of a rebellious Breton named Wihomarkus and devastated everything with fire and sword." And why

not - after all, the emperorship was "considered a divine mandate and like an ecclesiastical office" (Schieffer). But Louis then went "hunting in the Ardennes" and then to an imperial diet in Frankfun, where he "had to receive gifts from all the eastern Slavs". He had to receive gifts from all the eastern Slavs: from the Abodrites, Sorbs, Wiltzes, Bohemians, Moravians, Rradecians (an eastern Abodrite group in the Branichevo district) and from the Avars of Pannonia - this people then disappears from history forever.

Of course, the court did not want to be lavish and reward his fearsomeness. Even the distant prince Grimoald of Benevento was bound by the emperor from his accession to power "by pact and oath (pacto et sacramentis),
to pay 7 SOlidi of gold annually into the royal treasury" (Anonymi Vita Hludowici)."

8a¢ The monarch again led three army groups - one of which he led himself - against the Bretons and their prince Wiho- march, Morman's successor. The other two armies were commanded by the emperor's sons Pippin and Louis, with the leaders of the neighboring districts, the counts of Tours, Orléans and Nantes, apparently becoming particularly involved.

Just as thrushes and other birds invade the vineyards in dense flocks in the fall to gather the grapes, the Franks came as soon as the harvest began and plundered the rich yield of the land. This is recounted in the fourth canto of his heroic epic by the Frankish priest Ermoldus Nigellus, who, armed with shield and sword, accompanied the campaign against the Bretons (not without self-irony) and sang of it as the greatest achievement of Ludwig. "They searched for the riches hidden in forests, marshes and ditches. They took unfortunate people, sheep and cattle with them. The Franks devastated everything. The churches were spared, as the emperor had ordered, but everything else was s e t on fire.

According to Frankish sources, Louis the Pious devastated the entire country with fire and sword for forty days, ravaging it with great devastation (magna plaga),

who is "the most pious of emperors", as Chorbishop Thegan praises him, "since he spared his enemies before", fulfilling the word of the Evangelist, where it is said: "Forgive and it will be forgiven you". Louis destroyed fields and forests, ruined much of the vegetation, killed many Bretons, dragged many captives away and returned with hostages from "the disloyal people". (King Wihomarch was soon surrounded and slain in his own house by the people of Count Lambert of Nantes).

In the same year, a military expedition to Pamplona ended "less -happily", where, on the way back through the Pyrenees, the Franks were sent to Roncevalles in the same narrow pass.
sal, in which, as legend has it. 77 the rearguard of Charlemagne" after his destruction of the Basque city of
Pamplona perished (4 6 ff.). Now, just under half a century later, the troops of Counts Aebliis and Asenarius "were defeated in the dark mountain gorge by the treeless
Mountain dwellers ... almost down to the last man". The two counts survived - after losing their entire army (Astronomus)."

In his legislation, the emperor then began to cling clearly to the church again, with whose representatives he had had such painful experiences in the meantime (p. f.), without learning or being able to learn from them. In any case, he now expressly stood up for the honor and protection of this church, for its elevation and, of course, for the dignity of its leaders, to whom reverence was to be shown and whose sermons were to be listened to. He demanded fasting, Sunday sanctification, the establishment of schools for the education of the clergy, but also felt compelled to admonish the bishops to fulfill their pastoral duties to the fullest extent."

In general, God and the Church could not be relied upon alone. Therefore, whenever Ludwig invoked heaven's blessing on his measures in the increasingly difficult times, he never forgot what gave them their effectiveness in the first place. When, just a few years later, he gave everyone a

He imposed a three-day fast and asked for the highest support, but at the same time, in view of the enemies of the Christians all around, he ordered all those liable to serve in the army to be ready with horses and weapons, clothing, carts and provisions' in order to be able to move out without delay if necessary. Yes - he who trusts in God, who is good t o himself …°

However, when he learned of the apostasy of the noble Visigoth Aizo at the royal court of Salz an der Saale in 8z6 and of the turmoil he had caused in the Spanish Margraviate, where he had brought castles into his possession, counts on fugitive legs and the enormously exploited population on his side, and the enormously exploited population, often driven from their courts or enslaved, to his side, the monarch immediately decided to consider the evil matter carefully and, above all, to let his anger burn off during the autumn hunt (-autumnali ve- natione-).

In the meantime, Aizo threw garrisons into the castles he had taken, conquered more, felt his way with the Moors, who had a well-functioning state on the peninsula and with whom the population, Goths and Spanish settlers - who had already complained bitterly under Charles I about the oppression of Christian counts and their beadles - got on better than one might think. Day after day, they walked and traded with each other, with Frankish silver coins, with Arab gold coins, and Aizo, who apparently sought to wrest the Spanish marrow from the Franks, did not fail to make contact with 'Abdarrabmän II (8xz-8yz), your Emir of Cordoba, and quite successfully too.

Louis the Pious, for his part, first sent Abbot Helisachar, his former chancellor, and then his son Pippin, King of Aquitaine, to the south with "countless Frankish troops" in 8zy. However, the Moors, who crossed the Ebro, pillaged the area around Barcelona and Gerona, burned churches, cruelly murdered priests and dragged away many Christians, were able to retreat back to Saragossa without the Frankish troops - who for whatever reason arrived too late - even seeing them.

which, of course, had already been foreshadowed by "terrible battle scenes at night", as the astronomer knows. As a result, the monarch, who was as godly as he was superstitious, hurried when he heard of the gruesome signs, sent -help troops to protect the margraviate and enjoyed himself hunting in the forests around Compiegne and Quierzy until winter. 8a8 A platoon of his son Lothar also remained
"with a numerous Frankish army - without result. And Aico disappears from history without a trace."

WAR AGAINST THE BULGARIA

There was also a conflict with the Bulgarians.

Their Khan Omurtag (-s- ca. 83I), who was the first Bulgarian ruler to confer directly with the Franks, had been sending legations - including gifts - to Louis since 8z im- ter.
and asked for clarification of borders and the establishment of peaceful relations. Time and again, however, Louis kept the envoys waiting for an unduly long time and stalled the khan. Finally, after all attempts had failed, he forced g-7 to
ship entered Lower Pannonia from the Drava, devastated the land and appointed Bulgarian officials there. As Pannonia was lost, the following year the younger Louis undertook a hecr journey against the Bulgarians, but evidently again without success, although the monks of Fulda boasted of celebrating a thousand masses during Lent (ip. February to April 4) and also of celebrating a thousand masses during Lent (ip. February to April 4).
to have sung a lot of psaltery for the troupe. The very next
The Bulgarians sailed up the Drava again in the second year and burned some of our villages near the river" (Annales Fuldcn- ses). The imperial court described the "invasions and devastations of the infidels" - atich the Saracens raged in the Spanish march - as well as other calamities as "just punishments of God".[2]

The margrave apparently had a little more "luck" at the time

of Tuscia, Bonifacius, to whom the emperor had entrusted the protection of Corsica. In his "hunt" for pirates who believed in Ting, the zealous defender of the island went as far as Africa, landed between Utica and Carthage, attacked whole masses of invaders, "put them to flight five or more times and put down a large number of Africans "¡ but also lost
"a considerable number of his own people. After all, he "left behind great fear through this deed" (Annales regni Francorum)

Especially in the last decade of Ludwig's regiment, the
the atis-related conflicts receded considerably. The Catholic ruling house now had enough to do with itself due to palace revolutions. However, this had also been the case at other courts in the Christian West for some time, right from the beginning of this common rule.

For example in Rome.

ROMAN CONDITIONS: WHY MURDERER POPE LEO III WAS CANONIZED

On the Tiber, the death of the old Emperor Charles was soon greeted with the scent of dawn. He had barely died on January 8iq at the age of two and seventy. January 8iq at the age of two and seventy and Louis had succeeded him in the government, when the high clergy on the other side of the Alps immediately sensed that they could act differently towards their son. They now sought more independence, power and "freedom of action", especially within the Papal States, and they got it. When, in the same year, the Eternal City fought against Pope Leo III, who was badly behaved and accused of fornication and perjury, the latter (by virtue of his miraculously healed eyes and tongue after, according to the sources, only an attempted, but underbliebenen Verstümmelung!) 1 73 canonized hundredfold desk murderer (IV ¢j6 ... ff.) -, he let the "majesty-breakers" dangle in heaps. It even dismayed

the pious Louis, -that such severe punishments had been imposed by the first priest of the world- (Anonymus). After all, even his father Charles had once commuted the apparently numerous death sentences against Leo's city-noble opponents into banishment. And in *the* year *8z, after Lco had* already been terminally ill for more than two decades after he *had* occupied the chair never occupied by Peter, a new rebellion, a revolt of the nobility and a building uprising, shook the reign of the saint, who had estates forcibly confiscated for the apostolic chamber, expropriated property owners beheaded, death sentences passed in rows, and who, of course, was himself wanted f o r h i s precious life.

The Romans gathered in droves, writes the imperial annalist, - and first p l u n d e r e d the estates that the pope had recently established in the territory of the individual cities, and then burned them down. They then decided to go to Rome and take by force what they complained had been taken from them." However, as they advanced towards the city, they were defeated by the Frankish Duke Winigis, although he was already old and weak like the pope. As a consolation in his affliction (not for his subjects), the Geplagre used to *say* mass several times a day. And Duke Winigis later became a monk a n d died soon afterwards.

But why did LCO Ill- ' *7th century enter the Roman martyrology? Why was this murderer's eulogy pronounced holy* (A pope, by the way, during his xi-year pontificate)?
cat did not hold a synod on his initiative that would have issued canons to strengthen church discipline). He was not canonized because of his brutality, not because of his liquefactions, and certainly not because of his prostration before Charles the Great - it was, if not the first, at least the last proclamation of a pope before a Western emperor - to which alone he owed his survival (more in office than in power). No, he was canonized because he gave Charles the crown on Christmas 8Do
(IV 449 f.); because in this way he impressively forged the popes' lust for power, their insatiable striving for supremacy.

cated, because with this signal that shone through the ages, this "stroke of genius" (de Rosa), he wrote their absolute claim to leadership into the dreary book of history forever, as it were. This is the only reason why Franz Xaver Seppelt, the Catholic pope historian, sees Leo III's name in the "catalog of saints". Leo III's name in the "catalog of saints" - despite all the fatalities of his long death, all the corpses that line his path - holy, holy, holy! (Feast: June iz.)"

$CHWINDRL WITH ISERCRO2'tE AND -CROWNING: S r IV (8 i 6-8I7) AND PASCHALIS I. (8I7-8*4)

Leo died on iz. June 8i6.

His successor Stephen IV, a noble Roman who had been drilled in the Lateran from childhood and who was elevated within ten days without consulting the emperor, reigned for only a few months, but his noble family provided two more popes over the course of the century. Stephen himself set off from Rome in August and, accompanied by King Bernard, traveled "with the greatest haste over the Alps to Reims, where in the first days of October Louis, bursting with gold and precious stones, prostrated himself three times before the pope to the praise of the clergy, in accordance with Byzantine ceremonial, and greeted him with the words of the psalm: -"Blessed is he who comes in the name of the Lord". Embraces, kisses, church services, tedeum, new hymns of praise - and on the next and following day "many gifts" and "glorious gasps" (Reichsannalen). The emperor offered the prince of the church silver, goblets adorned with precious stones, tableware made of gold, horses laden with gold, etc. Stephen donated sparingly, some gold as well, and gifts, whereby he of course received back "many times over what he had brought with him from Rome" (Ermoldus Nigellus). Yes, that's the joy of giving. Even the Pope likes to give.

And holiness that does not forget, Ludwig "a second king

David" (Thegan), was only so eager to crown the emperor as emperor at a festive mass in St. Mary's Church in Reims, where Clovis was supposed to have been baptized: although he had already been crowned emperor in Aachen three years earlier, II j, and had been ceremonially acclaimed as emperor again in Aachen after his death, even in the curial view "was already undisputedly 'emperor'" (Eichmann). Nevertheless, that was not enough. Rome's participation should, had to be necessary for the full assertion of Caesarian dignity. The popes wanted to award imperial crowns, no matter how stingy they were towards emperors. But Stephen already had a crown in his luggage - "a golden crown of marvelous beauty adorned with the most precious gems" (Thegan), one that the pope also passed off as the crown of Emperor Constantine! (The Catholic Handbook of Church History presents this crown of Constantine discreetly in quotation marks).

The hoax, although legally irrelevant, could and should of course also remind us of the Roman origins of the empire and of the relationship between the two potentates, of the "Axis" Aachen-Rome, as it were. Above all, however, it was a continuation of the coup of his predecessor, a continuation and a new advance in favor of the Roman view of things, of the highest aspects of history; in a sense, the papal view of the imperial dignity, ... of the pope's right to the imperial coronation and of the papal conferral of the imperium- (Seppelt). The empire was now solemnly confirmed as the Holy Empire.

At the time, Stephen IV also anointed the young monarch and his wife Irmingard, combining the coronation of an emperor with the anointing for the first time. Significantly, l'crson's anointing emerged in the Western church; in the Oriental church, where only the altar and the church were anointed much earlier than in the West, it was unknown and was only later adopted from the West.

After the blessing, **Pope Stephen** prayed in an evocative manner: -O Christ, ruler of the world and of all ages, you who gave

you wished to see Rome as the head of the world ..." Louis, for his part, apparently took an oath of protection for the Roman Church, which soon became known as the Pactum Hludowiciantim, which drew on the Franks' earlier generous acts of friendship and granted Rome internal bishop- ship, It also enumerated the entire territorial possessions of the prince, gave him generous privileges, guaranteed both his ecclesiastical goods and sovereign rights, and of course also sought to secure the Frankish supremacy.

As always, the pursuit of power and possessions was at the forefront, while the ecclesiastical reform policy so promoted by Louis remained - tellingly enough - "without any recognizable involvement of the popes" (Schieffer). However: "As long as the pope was present, they held daily discussions about the best of the holy Church of God (de utilitate sanctae Dei aecclesiae). But after the emperor had showered him with great and innumerable gifts, more than three times as many as he himself had received from him, as he always used to do, giving more than he took, he sent him back to Rome ...- (Thegan); "... the pope, who had achieved everything he desired, returned to Rome - (Astronomus). In fact, he arrived there richly laden with gold and silver, but above all with guarantees of possession, confirmation of privileges, immunities; he had also received an additional imperial gift, the Frankish crown estate of Vendeuvre (near Bar-sur-Aube), but left the following day, on January z¢. January 8iy, and worked a few miracles after h i s death.[4 ']

Stephen's successor Paschal I (8iy-8z¢) soon had the Pactum Hludowicianum negotiated with his predecessor confirmed by the emperor, i.e. the entire scope of the promises and donations made by Pippin and Charles, Louis' grandfather and father, the autonomy of the Papal States, the papal rights to rule and, last but not least, the free election of the pope. The document, a much-disputed document that is not even mentioned in the official pope's book and is only known as an ab-

This document (not in the original), which survived in the ecclesiastical legal collections of the i i i./Iz. This document, which has been handed down to us since the middle of the 15th century, was long regarded as a forgery due to its peculiar formulas, which differed from the usual diplomas. In the meantime, however, it is mostly regarded as genuine, both formally and factually - apart from various distortions and interpolations, such as the insertion of Sardinia, Cor- sica and Sicily, which were apparently swindled into the document in the course of the old forgery.

The act of Reims 816 was significantly repeated and supplemented in Rome at Easter 8z3.

At that time, Louis' son Lothar I was in Italy, where, advised by Wala, he had had to continue the reign of Pippin and Bernard since 8zz. At Easter, Stephen's successor Paschal 1, a harsh pope with a lot of bad blood, asked him to join him, who had again been consecrated without consulting the emperor, for which he apologized. And on Easter Day (April y, 8k3) he celebrated ITtit Lothar in St. Peter's Church,
had already been crowned emperor **7 *°m father in Aachen, the same ritual as his predecessor had once performed with this father in
Reims. And again, the coronation, which came to Lothar all the sooner as the empress's pregnancy had just been discovered, had the same purpose: to bind the empire to Rome, to make the anointing and coronation by the pope appear indispensable even for emperors who had already been appointed and crowned by secular authorities. And indeed, the "right" of the popes to crown emperors was no longer recognized, as was the "right of Rome and Saint Peter, for which a precedent was created here, to be the place of coronation" (Kelly). Remarkably, this second coronation of Lothar was also associated for the first time with the presentation of a sword; just as cooperation in the mission of the north was now intensified
(S. 7 . 470)· But the sword, which the pope presented to Lothair in addition to the crown, was a symbol of protection and violence, a sign of the obligation to eradicate evil."

POPE PASCHALIS DAZZLES AND BEHEADS HOLY U1'4D IS CANCELED AGAIN IN KALRNDER

But no one recognized evil better than the popes.

Paschalis, for example, recognized it even in his own ministers, and, interestingly enough, in the leading heads of the Frankish party. For this reason, two of the highest papal officials, the highly noble Primicerius Theodorus (still 8ai nuncio at the Frankish court) and his son-in-law, the nomenclator Leo, 8z3, were expelled after Lothar's departure "because of their loyalty to Lothar" (Astronomus), because, according to the imperial annals, they "remained loyal to the young emperor Lothar in all matters", they were blinded and beheaded by papal servants in the Lateran Palace - without any legal proceedings. According to the astronomer, everything was attributed to the pope or "with his consent".

The whole affair is somewhat reminiscent of the bloody proceedings of St. Leo III in 8i J (p. Jy f.). However, the monarch also sent his judges to Rome in 8z3 and withdrew to the Wormsgau for the rest of the summer and to the Eifel for hunting in the fall. But Paschalis (who was so popular with the Romans that there were still riots at his funeral) denied any complicity and evaded the trial - he had reason enough to do so - by publicly swearing an oath of purification, a "means of proof" already tested by St. Leo III in December 8oo (IV type) and particularly common among the ecclesiastical officialdom, with the help of 3q bishops and five presbyters and deacons. At the same time, he cursed the murdered men as traitors, called their deaths an act of justice, as they deserved their fate as criminals of majesty, and took the murderers as servants of St. Peter (de familie sancti Petri) "most resolutely under his protection" (Annales regni Franco- rum).

Emperor Louis resigned. And Pope Paschalis I died in 8zq in the midst of the sancti Petri family. The man was clever, unmistakably superior to Louis, and tough. Fulda monks, who gave him a

He had those who brought him unpleasant news thrown into prison and threatened their abbot Rhabanus Maurus with excommunication. In Rome itself, his rigorous regiment, which was completely disrupting the state, was in disarray. And since not only his intended burial, but also the subsequent papal election was marked by serious riots, Paschalis' body remained unburied for a long time until his successor was able to bury it, albeit not in St. Peter's.

However, somewhat later, at the end of the Iä. A little later, at the end of the 19th century, the church historian Caesar Baronius - he had to be forced to accept the cardinalate by the threat of excommunication - entered his name in the Catholic Church's calendar of saints (feast of May), and again a little later (Rome's mills grind slowly), i9d3, and his feast day was canceled."

Mitkaiser Lothar I. und die «Constitutio Romana»

When bitter battles broke out between the people and the nobility after Paschal's death, during which the latter made the archpriest Eugene of Santa Sabina **pontifcx** maximus, the energetic junior emperor Lothar I, who had developed considerable political talent, came to Rome for a second time. He protested against the murder of his followers - who had been loyal to the emperor, himself and the Franks - protested against "the ignorance and weakness of some popes", against the habgjer of their judges, the unlawful expropriation of goods in the name of the popes and against the entire incompetence of the ecclesiastical regime. And his actions were gratefully welcomed by the Roman population.

The capitularies of Emperor Louis had already denounced the simony and greed for profit of the bishops in Italy, who often exploited their parishes financially, allowed the churches to fall into disrepair and

The Roman Catholic priests were instructed at a synod in Rome in 8a6 under Etigen II that they must not gamble, engage in usury, hunt or catch birds, that they must not squander the church furnishings, fornicate, etc. (Incidentally, this is the only Roman synod from the entire first half of the qth century for which records exist. century of which there are records. And in the first quarter of the century, there were apparently no church assemblies in Rome at all). Now Lothar undertook a sharp investigation of many crimes and abuses: the "Roman conditions, which had been in great confusion for some time due to the wrong behavior of several popes", as the imperial annalist says.

-The extent of the unlawful con'fiscations of goods that occurred, the arbitrariness and greed with which the papal officials managed their affairs, became ever more alarming (Simson).

Of course, the high priests did not stop at monasteries, which they also attacked, especially those that were particularly rich.

Farfa, for example.

The Benedictine monastery founded in UtR 7 was one of the richest abbeys in Italy in the Middle Ages. Located between Rome and Rieti, it enjoyed the protection of the Lombard kings. It owed its extensive holdings in and outside the Sabina to the Spoleto dukes in particular, but also to many private donors. Endowed with Frankish immunity, the right to elect abbots and exemption by Charles 1 as early as y and confirmed in its possession and legal status by subsequent emperors, it was also able to present confirmation bulls from the popes. Just a few days before his death, Stephen IV recognized all this, albeit in return for an annual interest of io gold solidi.

Nevertheless, other popes had repeatedly sought to ignore Farla's imperial immediacy by virtue of their sovereignty over Sabina and to subjugate the rich abbey. Hadrian had taken goods away from it, as had St. Leo III; finally, St. Paschal had claimed that the abbey was a part of the empire,

Farfa was "subject to the law and rule of the Roman Church", brought a lawsuit against Abbot lngoald before the imperial court and lost. (But just a few years later, in 8zq - popes can hardly give in, as they are always in the right, it is always about God - Gregory IV brought a new legal dispute over Farfa).

After a formal trial, Lothar condemned Pope Eu- gen II (8zd- *7) to hand over all confiscated Roman goods, banished the popes from the city to the cheers of the people, and ordered them to leave the city.

He was also a judge in the Frankish kingdom and arranged for the return of those persecuted under Paschalis I. And on November i i, 8z¢, he established a new regulation of Frankish-Papal relations, the

(again restricting the Pactum HludowiCianum of -7), the so-called -Constitntio Romana"'°, restored the supreme power of the emperor in the Papal States as well as the dependence of the pope, he placed the administration of the Papal States under the control of the pope.

of a permanent papal and imperial missiis, before which finally every "electus", every pope to be consecrated, first had to take the oath of allegiance to the emperor "pro conservatione omni-um-. Thus, as was the case from Justinian until the loss of Italy from Constantinople, confirmation of the papal election by the emperor was once again necessary, the Pactum Hludowicianum was partially abolished and a culmination of imperial power over the Curia was achieved - albeit without lasting success. After all, John IX expressly sanctioned it at a Roman synod in 8q8 in order to prevent the almost usual unrest during papal elections. Indeed, Lothar's constitution still found its way into the canonical collections of Gregory VII's time, even if, unsurprisingly (cf. p. i8i ff.) - mutilated and corrected - (Mühlbacher)."

THE FRANKISH BISHOPS HUMILIATE THE ISER AND DO NOT WANTTOBE BE DIRECTED

Like the shepherds in Rome, those in the empire gradually became more and more rebellious. This was certainly not only due to them, but also to their secular colleagues and occasional opponents. For priests always know quite well when they have to shower, when they can bark, when they can pack, when they can bite.

Louis the Pious, much softer than the "great" father, much less energetic, brutal, had correspondingly much less "success - in foreign policy, against Danes, Bulgarians, Moors, but also in the empire and, despite all his reforming zeal, often because of this, in the church.

Although the bishops were prepared to anoint and crown the kings and elevate them above all laymen, they also wanted to be above all princes. They strove for a theocratic state and made Louis a king "of their grace" (Halphen). And if he soon renounced the confirmation of the papal election to Rome and the inspection of the Papal States, he was at times even more inferior to the episcopate in domestic politics.

In August 8xz, the emperor appeared at the imperial assembly of Attingny in the church there in his penitential robes and made a public confession of repentance. He did so on the advice of the prelates. He confessed his complicity in the death of his nephew Bernhard, his injustice towards his stepbrothers, cousins and others. He humbled himself as his father had never done and would have submitted to the judgment of the priests. At that time, Agobard of Lyon demanded the restitution of all the goods that former princes had taken from the church!

Ludwig bore it contritely, jagre troops in all directions.
sent an army to Pannonia, a second to Spain, a third to the Breton Marches - and was himself - according to the custom of the Frankish kings - hunting during the autumn season ..." All this, to be remembered again and again, is part of Christian-

western culture, not an incidental but an essential part.

Likewise this.

In an effort to subordinate themselves to the state, the bishops in Paris demanded, with recourse to the unusually lofty teachings of Pope Gelasius 1 (II 3oą If.), that no one should judge them, that they themselves were only responsible to God, but that the local grandees were responsible to them, the bishops. Yes, their -auctoritas- is also above the -potestas- of the king, the emperor, who would otherwise become a tyrant and lose all moral right to rule.

Their arrogance, sometimes clothed in phrases of apparent modesty, in pseudo-deference - the notorious clerical hypocrisy - could hardly be greater. They praised, even sincerely, the humility of the emperors, for they always find humility in others very commendable. But they acted as those to whom the Lord gave power to bind and loose, and complacently recalled the alleged words of the Emperor Constantine to the bishops (from Rufin's ominous church history): **-God** has appointed cuch to be priests and has given you the power to judge us as well. That is why we are rightly judged by you, but you cannot be judged by men - too fictitious to be true. They are gladly believed, they plead with all their might for the church property - which they themselves did not hold together, with which they often disagreed as with private property. Only envious people, they explain, think it is too much; in fact, it can -rightly- be used -never too much-!"

Well, we are pursuing that. (Cf. however already: 43$ff., esp. **465 ff.!**)

If all this already revealed an episcopal arrogance and lust for power that could hardly be surpassed, they were soon even more disgusting in Louis' quarrel with his sons.

But hadn't the regent himself provoked this through his devotion? Had he not himself, at the deliberations in Aachen in mid-December 8a8, when all unhealthiness, hunger, and - grassierend freiĺich "während des ganzen Mitte1alters- (Goetz), eine

"wild world, a world in the clutches of hunger" (Duby) - when poverty, epidemics, plagues, plagues, abominable superstition, rebellion of the magnates, greed of the officials, the counts, corruptibility, simony, moral depravity of the clergy, whoremongers, pederasty, sodomy, raiding of the pagans, etc., etc. - in short, when all evil was attributed according to established custom to divine wrath over the sins of Christendom, In short, when, according to established custom, all evil was attributed to divine wrath over the sins of Christendom, but when exemption from taxes was demanded for the priests and the emperor renounced any interference in church affairs, did he not call it the task of the bishops to investigate what particular sins were responsible for the misery, so that they could be duly atoned for? And also in 8z9, at the Paris Synod, the prelates expressly g a v e spiritual authority precedence over royal authority."

However, Ludwig slipped into the worst domestic political troubles with undoubtedly world-historical consequences through an event that is normally considered a joyful one: the birth of a child, a son born after his birth.

THOLIKRN UI'4TER ITSELF: THE FIRST AUFSYAIID

Empress Ermengard had given birth to three sons for the ruler: Lothar (1795). Pippin (7s) and Louis (8od). When she d i e d in Angers on October 3, 818 after a marriage of around twenty years, it was feared that the pious widower would disappear into the monastery. And, of course, the clergy valued "monastic gain on the throne more ... than an emperor in monk's garb between monastery walls" (Luden). Thus one presented

In a kind of beauty contest, a "viewing", as the sober imperial annalist somewhat indelicately puts it, he was presented with a selection of the high nobility. And the Carolingian, who was by no means unreceptive to women, opted for the daughter of Count Welf, Judith, who recommended herself not only because of her origins - the originally Frankish, then mainly Alemannic and

Bavaria's wealthy older Guelph dynasty - but who supposedly united all the advantages, was unusually sweet and seductive (Archbishop Agobard), but also rich, intellectual and educated. Just a few months after the death of his first wife, the emperor married her in early 8iq, and after a daughter Gisela, she gave birth to a son on June 3, 8a3 in the new palace at Frankfurt, who was named Charles after his grandfather and later nicknamed "the Bald"."

For by virtue of the mother's efforts to secure an inheritance for the young offspring like his stepbrothers, through these now constant interventions by the attractive and strong-willed young Welf, the story took a different course.

7 (p. 38 ff.), which had already divided the realm among his sons from his first marriage, and instead of the three-part division he made a four-part division.

men.

Prince Charles was only six years old when Louis proclaimed him king of Alemannia, his mother's ancestral land, at the Diet of Worms and granted him Alsace, Raetia and parts of Burgundy. And as a result of the cabals that now began, probably mostly emanating from the empress, Louis became enemies with his elder sons, Lothar was pitted against the brothers, the brothers against Lothar, but also one brother against the other - in short, demoralization, corruption, bribery and betrayal in abundance. And, God knows, it was no coincidence that all this was preceded by signs, the moon darkened at dusk on July I and again on December zy. Decembef 8z8 at midnight. Indeed, during the coming -holy forty days of Lent-, before the -holy Easter", a nocturnal earthquake together with a violent stormy wind at Aachen even demolished the -church of the holy Murter of God, which was covered with blciplars" (Reichsannalen). Consequently, things soon went from bad to worse for the empire".

The first indignation 3 because of the senior led in the from-

The western world, which is so family-friendly, ushered in a decade of continued palace rebellions and civil wars.

The emperor's elder sons were understandably bitter about this development. Especially Lothar, whose realm had been greatly reduced in favor of Charles, also saw his future rule endangered. But the younger brothers Pippin and Louis were also threatened with further loss of territory. The ecclesiastical hierarchy, which was concerned about the unity of the empire, also feared for its con- cept. The situation came to a head when Lothar, who had formally been the equal regent of Louis' court since the end of 8zy, was deported to Italy in the fall and Wala was sent to his monastery in Corbie. Instead of her, however, Count Bernhard of Barcelona, who had previously been arrested as the leading magnate, arrived as chamberlain, the second in command, an apparently particularly arrogant ambitious man who sought new supporters by giving up the crown property.

Ludwig himself, after he had "put the state in order", naturally moved to his Frankfurt estate for the autumn hunt.
-and hunted here as long as he pleased," the biographers note. Only towards winter did he return to Aachen to celebrate the festivals as they fell, St. Martin's Mass, St. Andrew's Day, the holy Christmas spectacle, and everything, the imperial annalist assures us, 'with joy and rejoicing'.

However, he should forget about them.

Bernhard, descendant of Franconian high nobility, son of William - the Count of Toulouse, who was highly respected under Charles I, and who was lastly taught the strictest asceticism by his friend Benedict of Aniane Mönnh - Bernhard felt little inclination for such things. According to malicious tongues, especially episcopal ones, the bed of the young empress was much closer to his heart. And Louis the Pious had supported the man from an early age, had already baptized him, then appointed him Count of Barcelona and placed him at the head of the Spanish Margraviate, where he successfully fought the Gothic revolt under Aizo (S. C. f.).

As a partisan of the empress, Bernhard 8zq was brought to the court and with his help the "Imperial Unity Party" was smashed. But precisely the opposite happened. Bernhard's appointment was a step that even Ludwig Lobredrier, the

Astronomer, who "did not stifle the seeds of discord, but rather increased them". And Nithard, Charles "the Great's" grandson, who joined Charles (the Bald) in the Briider quarrel, on whose behalf he documented contemporary history, also says of Bernhard: "Instead of strengthening the wavering state, he completely destroyed it through the rash abuse of force.""

The chamberlain is said to have quickly helped his own followers to power and dignity. However, the group was relatively small and consisted mainly of his brother Heribert, cousin Odo, the empress's brothers Konrad and Rudolf, and of course Judith herself, allegedly the emperor's evil spirit. But the circle of his adversaries was large and influential. For all around them gathered the amused, the humiliated, all those who hoped to profit from an overthrow or at least a change of circumstances, the pack of those who, like dogs and birds of prey, sought to harm others in order to profit themselves" (Astronomus). Rumors circulated, perhaps slander, downright campaigns, especially from the prelates, who were adept at this and accused the empress of all sorts of things, including adultery with the chamberlain Bernhard and others.

-The lesser people made fun of it, colpor-

According to Archbishop Agobard, "the noble and great suffered from the fact that the imperial camp was defiled, the palace dishonored and the reputation of the Franks darkened because the mistress played frivolous games even in the presence of the clergy. Abbot Regino of Prüm immediately speaks of her -various fornication- (miiltimodam fornicationem), which is at least uncertain.

Judith was also accused of devilish arts, insidious sorcery. But amulets, magic, divination, fortune-telling, interpreting the future and dreams and similar "pernicious evils" had only just been condemned by the Synod of Paris, and it naturally wanted to see all those who "serve the nefarious devil" in this way punished - particularly severely.

Bernhard, however, seems hardly less bad. The one in the non

St. Abbot Paschasius Radbertus, Wala's biographer, who was educated in the monastery of Soissons, sees the villainous emperor rolling around in all the pits of filth, ravaging the palace like a wild eater and even occupying the empress's bed. "The palace became a house of pleasure, in which the adulteress rules and the adulterer reigns, in which crimes abound, in which especially nefarious and witchcraft spells of all kinds are used.- In contrast, the -great and safiftinütige Kaiser" goes deceived -like an innocent lamb to the slaughter ..."

Bernhard had not kept his wife Dhuoda - author of the "Liber manualis", the urgent guide to a Christian life - at court, but had expelled her to Uzes. Whether the saint's insinuations contained any truth has not been proven to this day, but the campaign was certainly successful. Ca- lumniare audacter ...

In order to distract attention from the desolate internal situation, the emperor once again wanted to march against Brittany with the entire army of the empire, and on the
*April 4th, Maundy Thursday! Allegedly, this "enraged the whole people" (Annales Bertiniani). In fact, only the powerful were upset by the new ruling in favor of the later-born Charles, who was now entitled to the title of "Holy Thursday" according to Frankish customary law.
This was to disadvantage the three sons from Louis' first marriage, Charles' stepbrothers, Pippin I of Aquitaine and Louis of Bavaria, but especially Lothar. The latter quickly hurried across the Alps from Italy to defend his rights in accordance with the decision of 8ry. He was assisted by secular and ecclesiastical princes, all of whom w e r e outwardly fighting for the unity of the empire, but in reality more for their own interests.

At the head of the conspiracy were former supporters of the emperor, some of his first advisors, the former chancellor Helisachar, the arch-chancellor and abbot Hilduin of St. Denis, the bishop Jesse of Amiens, but above all the then 56-year-old abbot Wala, the spiritual head of the uprising and the most dangerous opponent of Louis, who coined the slogan -pro principe contra principem- and

whose monastery Corbie became the "center" and "headquarters" (Weinrich) of the rebels. (Throughout the centuries, Catholic monasteries have served as conspiratorial headquarters, as was the case during the Second World War in the preparation and dissolution of the *clerical-Catholic* murderer's paradise *"Ciro-*croatia")."

The rebels, who, taking advantage of Louis' move against the Bretons, gathered in the monastery of Corbie, accused the emperor of having "ordered a general military campaign against the Christian religion …, without any benefit to the state and without any particular necessity for Lent, and of having designated the day of the army on the outermost frontier of the empire as the day of the Lord's Supper".

The rebels not only wanted to remove Bernhard and the young empress and her entourage, but also the old emperor and possibly replace him with Lothar.

Judith was even threatened with death after various peiriations and forced to promise to force the emperor to have her hair shaved and enter a convent. She herself had to take the veil and disappear into the nuns of St. Cross (St. Croix) in Poitiers. Her brothers, the waves Conrad *and* Rudolf, were shorn into monks and, in King Pippin's custody, sent to Aquitaine monasteries in *order to eliminate them* politically. The highly hated imperial advisor Count Bernhard of Barcelona and Duke of Septimania, the "5chänder of his father's marriage bed-- (Astronomus), rescued himself to Spain with Louis' consent. (Charles the Bald had his mother's former favorite beheaded as a traitor in 83q). Bernhard's brother Heribcrt, allegedly complicit, was "punished" with the loss of his eyes and d e p o r t e d to Italy, his cousin Odo was exiled.

Lothar took Louis and little Charles "into free custody". He commissioned monks from the Médard monastery near Soissons to introduce the emperor to the ascetic life and persuade him to voluntarily join their order. But the pious Louis was now far f r o m it.

Lothar, who had persistently pursued the imprisoned princess's followers, at least avoided completely disempowering his father at the imperial assembly in Compiégne in May 83o. He contented himself with annulling his decrees from the previous year and may have believed that he was in control. But while the greats became increasingly hostile, each seeking only his own advantage, the situation did not improve and resentment of the new government grew, the emperor succeeded in inciting his two younger sons against the elder. Through a certain Guntbald, a monk, he offered Louis and Pippin an enlargement of their parts of the empire, which quickly brought them over to his side and the hitherto allies apart, especially as the brothers found Lothar's suzerainty no less oppressive than that of the va- tef.

The coup d'état was a complete failure. At the Diet of Nymwegen in October 83o, the monarch regained his freedom, Lothar submitted, his leading partisans were imprisoned and sentenced at the Diet of Aachen in February. Abbot Wala of Corbie, who initially returned to his monastery -

d already hoard of the Lombard king Desiderius (IV 4*Off.)

- mufite, came to an inaccessible rocky nest on Lake Geneva, where he saw only the snow of the Alps and the sky. Bisehof)esse of Amiens was stripped of his dignity by the prelates, Abbot Hilduin was replaced as arch-chaplain by Abbot Fulco and sent to the monastery of Korvei in Saxony, and Abbot Helisachar was also banished. As usual, harsher action was taken against the so-called laymen, who were deprived of their offices and estates. And Lothar himself, dethroned as co-regent, finally found himself back in Italy after promising "never to commit such acts again".

The empress returned with the express dispensation of Gregory IV.

and the Frankish bishops and, using their kinsmen as co-conjurers (sacramentales), took an oath of purification, which released them from any further "evidence", and which was then also taken by the re-breathing bishop.

Count Bernhard swore. Judith was rehabilitated and more powerful than before. And of course, her two shorn brothers had long since shed their monk's robes again."

THOLICS AMONG THEMSELVES: THE SECOND UPRISING

While Lothar was now confined to Italy, the emperor granted the other sons, Pippin, Louis and Charles, regnas of roughly equal size in February 831. However, despite their considerable expansion, the conflict continued to smoulder, with some wanting the unity of the empire and others wanting more influence or more land - all dictated by naked selfishness, not least by the empress's never-ending efforts on behalf of her scion, the latecomer Charles. The emperor's son Pippin revolted in Aquitaine and lost it, Judith's son got it. And the country's nobility, who had faithlessly betrayed Pippin, swore an oath to the new Herm. After all, this nobility is hardly any less oppositional than the episco-pat, as it usually runs from one to the other and usually, of course, to where it hopes to get more money and property, more power - all of which then results in more honor and nobility: sociisagen higher nobility ...

At Easter 83a, the Bavarian Duke Ludwig (the Deutsche).

With all Bavarian and even Slavic troops, even with serfs (liberis et servis, et sclavis), he undertook a military campaign to reclaim Alemannia, which in the meantime belonged to his stepbrother Charles (the Bald). Gradually advancing as far as Worms, Louis had "devastated everything terribly", but in the absence of the hoped-for influx of Franks and Saxons, he had to surrender at Augsburg in 83a and was sent back to his country. He swore -never again to commit such acts or to give his consent to others" (An- nales Bertiniani) - and broke his oath the very next year.

As the young Charles was to receive Aquitaine, Pippin was subdued at Limoges in October, deposed and "exiled to Trier with his wife and child in order to correct his bad manners". However, he escaped during transportation, reached Aquitaine and was soon pursued by his father, who was forced to retire after suffering heavy losses.

And at the beginning of the next year, 833, the three older brothers joined forces to attack their father with a large army, regardless of their vassal oaths and filial duty. They appealed to the people to "create a just government".

Louis the German (who had already revolted in 838 and 39 İ ß d e r) and Pippin I of Aquitaine also saw themselves threatened. Lothair set out with a hastily mobilized army including

Pope Gregory IV (8z 8ą), who had tried to win over the Frankish clergy from Italy, entered Burgundy. The archbishops there immediately defected, Bernhard of Vienne and Agobard of Lyon, the jealous against the Jews (J8o), who now also, in defiance of the Fourth Commandment, vedafite a manifesto for the right of the sons against the father.

Lothar joined the brothers and once again became the leader of the unifiers. However, the majority of the Franconian church leaders initially remained loyal to the old lord and recalled the

"Brother Pope - to his oath of allegiance, which he had sworn to Louis, and even threatened him with excommunication if he took hostile measures. However, a smaller group of prelates, including Abbot Wala and Agobard, stood by the pope, who ordered obedience, even if his orders were opposed by Louis, because the spiritual office was more important than the secular, the guidance of souls was more important than anything temporal and the papacy was generally superior to the empire - a statement that later popes constantly hurled at the emperors. But Gregory was quite right when he reviled the bishops (admittedly only his opponents) as fickle as the wind and the swaying reed, characterless weaklings and egotistical sycophants before the worldly whale*.

As Ludwig was in danger of being defeated, fewer pre

lates to him. The pope scolded their letter as arrogant and stupid and vehemently denied the accusation made against him by the emperors that he had merely come as an instrument of the sons to impose the ban o n their opponents.

Between Strasbourg and Basel, in the wide plain on the Rotfeld near Colmar - said to have soon become the -Lügenfeld" (Campus-mentitus), by Swabian annalists -The Franks' disgrace" (Francorum dedecus) - lay close to each other in battle order for days in June 833. And while Gregory IV, old clerical tactic, always emphasized only one goal, to make peace between the contending parties, while he also, but only ktirz (non din), says The- gan, negotiated with their father on behalf of the sons, he took -the leading role" in the proceedings "which culminated in the deposition of the emperor" (Dawson), and allowed himself t o b e "misled into a deplorable verdict of guilt ... ..." (Grotz S. J.).

It is clear that the pope was to justify the uprising for the masses and draw the hesitant remainder over to the side of the rebels. Just after his return to the brothers, almost all of Louis' army (despite his additional tea oath to fight against his sons as against enemies) treacherously went over to them - "like a torrent", writes Astronomer, - partly seduced by gifts, partly frightened by threats - in which the clergy on Lothar's side recognized a divine n'under. And now most of the bishops, who had previously threatened Gregory IV with deposition, changed fronts so that the latter, who had done his duty, could return to Rome - with Lothar's consent."

That summer, however, the old emperor had to surrender to mercy and disgrace. He was now regarded as overthrown by the hand of God, as an unking, a second Saul, and the bishops and others, such as the chorbishop Thegan, did him much harm. Lothar had initially led his father through the Vosges, via Metz and Verdun to Soissons, where Louis was imprisoned in the monastery of St. Medard and the ten-year-old Charles w a s taken away from him and sent to the Eifel monastery of Prüm, where he was kept in strict custody.

A serious criminal, Charles later said, but he was not made a monk. Judith's brothers, however, were deported to Aquitaine under Pippin's control, while she herself w a s transported to Italy with Gre- gor and exiled to Tortona.

With papal approval, the transfer of the empire from the old emperor - known by the bishops only as the "former emperor, the "venerable man" or "Lord Louis" - to Lothar was decreed. He collected most of the spoils, the inheritance intended for his younger stepbrother, with the exception of Alemannia (which Louis the German received with almost the entire eastern part of the empire).

The victor now dated his documents after the reign of Emperor Lothar in Francia. And the supremacy of the senior also disappeared from the diplomas of Louis (the German). Louis no longer issued documents as rex Baioariortim, but as rex and dated after his years of reign -in orientali Francia" (for the first time on October iq. 833). Only Pippin of Aquitaine still dated after the emperor. ln other respects, the empire was divided anew between the three brothers. And even if Lothar took the place of his father and was the main winner, the other two brothers also won; and all three lands stood independently side by side. Of course, stepbrother Karl was completely ignored, disinherited."

At the time, Hrabanus Maurus, the Abbot of Fulda, an advocate of purity, took sides with Louis the Pious and wrote in a treatise written for him that it was "completely inadmissible for sons to rebel against their father and subjects against their ruler". Hraban pointed out the injustice of the plot against Louis. Neither was Lothar entitled to dethrone his father, nor was the episcopate authorized to condemn and excommunicate him. (After 8qo the '- Praecep- tor Germaniae-- seized the throne for Lothar, a few years later for Louis.
German Party, which enabled him to become Archbishop of Mainz in 47)."

On the other hand, led by Agobard of Lyon, Ebo

of Reims, Jesse of Amiens, at least part of the high clergy agreed to the principles already adopted in 8zq: A ruler who has violated his airit duties is no longer king but tyrant and may be deposed. Anyone who has broken the agreements of 8-7 and has been deprived of his power by the -Cottesurteil' of the meeting in Alsace must publicly confess his guilt and do penance."'

MUCH WORSE THAN CA1'tOSSA - U1'4D ALL "1'4AFTER THE PART DBR RIESTER"

When on i. October 833, when a general imperial assembly convened in Gompiegne under Lothar's chairmanship to discuss this Christian tragedy, Archbishop Agobard, who had once been particularly favored by Louis and owed him a great deal, called for the deposed, former emperor (dom- nus dudum imperator) and public sinner in a separate step. Not only this time, of course, had he agitated against the ruler, had he possessed his wife Judith by the devil and was capable of every misdeed to destroy his court from the

-The "filth of crime" was declared contaminated and the rebellion of the sons was justified unreservedly, even passionately.

Agobard, like most of his guild, was a great hater, even of pagans, -heretics - and not least of the Jews. He wrote five harsh books against them, including the infamous Nazi slogan "Don't buy from Jews"! In this way, the highly esteemed church light (admittedly already in pre-Nazi times) could be placed alongside the "most brutal enemies of the Jews of all time", Jesuit Rahner could promptly play iq3¢ Agobard - along with other church-fatherly enemies of the Jews - for the Catholic Church. Emperor Ludwig, on the other hand, had granted the Jews numerous letters of protection."

But how did the chief shepherds gathered in Compiegne, who, along with all the greats, pledged their loyalty to Lothair, interpret Louis' defeat? As a consequence of his failure, of course.

obedience to the admonitions of the priests. He had done much that was displeasing to God and man and had brought his subjects to the brink of destruction. He was therefore declared "tyrant", but his victorious son and successor to the -free children of the Lord Christ-. They, the "representatives of Christ", the -The "key bearers of the kingdom of heaven" demand a full confession of sin from the old prince, call on him to confess his sins and present him with a document about his transgressions so that he can "see the ugliness of his actions as in a mirror".

Wilfried Hartmann remarks on this in one of the latest histories of the con- ciliar: -These events were only possible because the Frankish episcopate had already 8zq formulated guiding principles in Paris that provided for a kind of control of the secular ruler by the bishops." Thus canon 5y proclaimed: -When one rules piously and justly and mercifully, he is called king according to merit; but those who rule impiously, unjustly and cruelly are not called kings, but tyrants-. Of course, the prelates determine what a king should be called, just or impious.

And how happy they were under Ludwig's father and long before that!

They reminded everyone "how this empire was pacified and unified and gloriously expanded through the administration of the most excellent Emperor Charles of blessed memory and through the work of his ancestors ...! In fact, the Merovingians and Carolingians, not least the -most excellent- Charlemagne, had waged one war after the other, these princes of the Franks had been *nothing so much as robbers and butchers*, exploiters, enslavers, in two words: Christian Westerners, for which the majority of historians still glorify them today!

Like the pious shepherds of souls in their day. Who, on the other hand, despised the Son, at least at the time of his humiliation, his defeat, the defeated one, through whose -short-sightedness", -negligence-, as they now wrote, the kingdom -xu sank to such ignominy and wretchedness that it was not only

became a source of grief to his friends, but also of ridicule to his enemies, and how the same prince conducted the office entrusted to him carelessly and both did and caused to be done or allowed to be done many things that pleased God and man, and in many insane acts provoked God and gave offense to the holy church ... and how by divine and just judgment the imperial power was suddenly taken from him".

The princes of the church worked on the prisoner in groups and together, "forged many accusations against the Kai- ser, brought them to his attention "diligently, - whereby he offended God and gave offense to the holy church … - And so he is said to have obeyed their advice and their very salutary admonitions"; but this is probably a lie. We also read: "But he refused and did not submit to their will. But all the bishops pressed him hard and especially those whom he had brought to honor from the state of the lowest servant shah …" (Thegnn)¡ "and they tormented the emperor until they made him lay down his arms and change his clothes, and drove him from the threshold of the church, so that no one dared to speak to him except those who were appointed to do so" (Annales Bertjniani). According to the An- nales Fuldenses, he laid down his arms at the judgment of the bishops and was imprisoned for doing evil.

Louis is said to have been in St-Médard, where the prelates still gave him a

He was deeply humiliated, prostrated himself three times or more before the chief shepherd and a crowd of other clerics, confessed everything that he was supposed to admit in sayings that were apparently drilled into him - the brainwashing that is still practiced today - and asked for forgiveness.

To savor their malice, the hierarchs had staged this play in front of the altar in the monastery's St. Mary's Church. In the presence of a large crowd of people, they had the emperor, stretched out on a hard penitential robe - "with a loud voice under a copious stream of tears ..." - three or four times the confession of sin they had made, in which they held him responsible for almost all the misery of the empire, even if he was only indirectly, only passively involved in it.

He was held responsible for three capital crimes in particular: sacrilegium, homicidium, periurium' for disturbing the public peace, banishment, murder, manslaughter, temple desecration, church robbery, confiscation, plundering, fornication, civil war, and in general for offenses against divine and human law, for anger and perjury, incompetence and arbitrary division of the realm, etc., etc. - all - according to the judgment of the priests". He had to hand over this lengthy decree of shame in writing to the pastors, had to lay down his arms in front of the altar, "in front of the corpse of the holy confessor Medardus and the holy martyr Sebastian" (p. 58d), take off his outer garment and receive the penitent's robe under hymns and prayers, into which the spiritual masters immediately put him with their own hands.

On the one hand, the whole procedure was intended to destroy the monarch morally, to make him incapable of returning to the throne, indeed, only of bearing arms - canon law ruled this out, as Louis also knew, after a public church penance. On the other hand, the immense degradation was intended to demonstrate the full supe- riority of the bishops.

In a memorandum in which they celebrated themselves as "the representatives of Christ and key bearers of the kingdom of heaven, who **possess** the right to bind and loose on earth as in heaven", they also proclaimed to the common Christian sharks: - Because this prince handled the office entrusted to him negligently, offended God in many reprehensible resolutions and scandalized the holy church, and only recently brought all the people who were subject to him to complete ruin, the imperial power was taken from him by virtue of divine and just judgment, according to divine decision and ecclesiastical authority" (F. Schneider). It was the same people who had already carried out the uprising of 83o, augmented by new oppor- runists, were above all, though by no means alone, the church leaders from western France, Burgundy, Aquitaine, the archbishops of Reims, Lyon, Vienne, Narbonne, the bishops of Amiens, Au- xerre, Troyes."

Only 33 years ago, Charles 1 had judged Pope Leo III (IV *6 lL.}* Now the Frankish episcopate was judging the emperor! With the lamentable ceremony, the greatest disgrace in the life of Louis, one of the deepest humiliations of all princes, far worse than Canossa, Louis the Pious was also excluded from the church community and was only allowed to communicate and speak with a few, very specific people. When Lothar was therefore reproached for his father's imprisonment, he could rightly reply that the bishops had condemned him to it. "No one," he said, "had more sympathy for the weal and woe of his father than he did; he could not be blamed for having accepted the rule offered to him, since they themselves had deposed and betrayed the emperor; not even the imprisonment could be held against him, since it was known that it had been caused by the judgment of the bishops. bishops was imposed.

Archbishop Otgar of Mainz served as Ludwig's jailer.^

A leading role in this tragedy, which triggered a chain of civil wars between 833 and 8q3, was played by none other than Archbishop Ebo of Reims, a close friend of Agobard of Lyon, a prototype of spiritual ingratitude and treachery - and also a man with considerable missionary achievements. Years ago, following the advice of the emperor and with the authorization of the pope, he had gone to the land of the Danes to "preach the gospel" and had "converted and baptized many of them …".

In fact, this prelate, appointed by Pope Paschal I as the Legal of the North, is regarded as the initiator of the Nordic mission as part of Carolingian Scandinavian policy. Charles "the Great" had once accepted the descendant of "goatherds", the son of an unfree peasant, into his court school, Louis, who had befriended him from his youth as King of Aquitaine, had made him court librarian, as Emperor 8x6 Archbishop of Rheims and Abbot of St. Remi, almost from nothing to one of the first men of the empire. But now

he deposed his imperial friend and patron, who also often favored the prince of the church, from his throne in his worst hour. -They were searching for him at the time, writes Chorbishop Thegan,
-an impudent and cruel man, Bishop Ebo of Rheims, from an originally unfree family, that he inhumanly tormented the emperor with the lies of the others.- So one prelate was impudent and cruel, the others lied at the drop of a hat, kurn, the whole holy mob fell upon the ruler.
"They spoke outrageous things, they did outrageous things by reproaching him every day ..." And none other than Ebo personally condemned his former patron to church penance in October 8 j3 zti St-Médard in Soissons, for which Lothar is said to have given him the abbey of St-Vaast.

Louis, "the most pious of princes", as Thegan calls him more than once, was driven from Compiegne to Aachen. And the one who drove him was also a Catholic prince, his own sonl And in Aachen the whole Catholic coterie behaved - not only not more humanly", the yearbooks of St. Bertin lament,
-But his enemies raged even more cruelly against him, striving day and night to break his courage by such severe cramps that he would voluntarily leave the world and go to a monastery."

THE UNSCRUPULOUS BISHOP'S PACK **CHANGES THE THREAT AGAIN**

Louis's abdication was followed by many years of heavy fighting, not only between father and sons, but also between the brothers, with the fronts becoming blurred. Greed for various shares of power led to changing coalitions, depending on the advantage that was promised; the most enduring political principle, the punctum saliens par excellence.

At first, all three brothers apparently tried to extend their power, Pippin of Aquitaine and Louis the German gc-

against Lothar, the latter against the former. Atich, the leading magnets, Hugo, Lambert, Matfried, "argued over the question of which of them should take second place in the empire after Lothar. In short, -everyone'-, Nithard continues, -was looking out for their own advantage- -as (most) politicians still do today. (-Anachroni- stic" again?)*.

The mood changed again during such arguments. Lothar was not only blamed for his greedy, violent behavior, but apparently also for the merciless treatment of his father, who was constantly dragged along by him. Louis (the German), who probably had the least to risk and lose in the event of a new turnaround, had already been elected in the winter of 833 3' for the
father, who was inspired by Hrabanus Maurus, the Fulda
abbot (79). And Pippin of Aquitaine apparently also changed his stance again, especially as he feared an attack by Lothair on his kingdom, which would have taken all the profits from his kingdom.
and seemed determined to seize control of the empire. However, when both brothers came at him with two armies, Louis from the east and Pippin from the west, he lost his courage, fled and left the old emperor behind in Saint-Denis, as well as the young Charles, whom he had brought from Prüm. While Lothar ann z8. February with his followers to Bur- gund f)oh, the unscrupulous pack of ecclesiastical princes who had dethroned Louis came to Saint-Denis, solemnly re-admitted him to the church the very next day, on Sunday, March i, 83d, and paid homage to him. -As soon as Lothair had departed, the bishops present met in the church of St. Dionysius, absolved the emperor from his throne and put on his royal robes and arms" (Anales Bertiniani) - which they had previously taken from him - and -humbly offered songs of praise to God" (laudes Deo devote referunt: Nithard).

Most of the chief shepherds immediately changed fronts. Of course, Louis had been asked beforehand whether, if the reign was returned to him, he would return the kingdom and above all the divine service, the upholder and leader of all order, to

and promote it to the best of his ability. And of course the pious Ludwig -had declared himself ready for this without further ado". Ergo
"it was quickly decided to reinstate him" (Nithard). And of course the emperor knew what he had to do now, namely to put an end to many of the bad things that had become established,
"but especially the following. He ordered his son Pippin, through Abbot Hermold, to return to the churches without hesitation the spiritual goods in his kingdom which he himself had either given to his own or which they had appropriated to themselves. He also sent messengers around the cities and monasteries to restore the almost completely dilapidated church system ..." (Anonymi vita Hludowici).

In the meantime, Lothar had reinforced his army in the dioceses of his most loyal comrades, the archbishops of Lyon and Vienne. And while Emperor Louis, after celebrating "the holy feast of Easter with great devotion", was already "enjoying himself" again with sporting animal killing, first in the Ardennes, then, after Whitsun, hunting in the Vosges Mountains
and fished, Lothar's party 8 4 won a bloody battle against a far stronger imperial contingent. The battle took place on the border of the Breton march, with Bishop
Jonas of Orléans, Abbot Boso of Fleury and many other prelates fought with him, and many of Louis' grandees, including his chancellor Abbot Theoto of Marmoutier lès Tours.

Lothar felt disheartened.

He marched against Ch3lon sur Sa6ne, an important arsenal of his opponents, incinerated the entire surrounding area and then, after a settlement with the town, had it plundered and burned to the ground. In the process - good Catholic work - "in the manner of cruel victors, the churches were first robbed and devastated", then the leading defenders, Count Gauxhelm of Roussillon, Count Sanila and the royal vassal Madahelm were beheaded - Chorbishop Thegan speaks of "martyrs" - and the other counts were dragged into captivity. The sister of Duke Bernhard of Septimania, the nun Gerberga, was imprisoned as a "Gihmischerin" in a wine factory and was imprisoned in

the Saöne drowned. -And he tormented her for a long time," writes Thegan,
-Finally, he had them killed according to the judgment of the wives of his unworthy counselors, fulfilling the prophecy of the Psalmist: "And with the pure you are pure, and with the perverse you are perverse."

Lothar initially ignored his father's admonition "that he should turn from his bad ways", but avoided a confrontation with the man allegedly against Blois.
-He then threw himself and his most prominent followers at his feet in order to swear loyalty and obedience to him and to promise never to leave Italy again without his father's command.

Lothar's followers were free to go with him, and most of them, including the most notable ones, joined in: Counts Hugh, Lambert, Matfrid, Gottfrid and others, who probably lost all their Frankish estates, fiefs and dignities. Lothar compensated them, however, by giving them, regardless of all their older, younger and most recent oaths, residences of Frankish founders in Italy, entire monasteries, San Salvatore in Brescia, for example, the famous Bobbio Abbey, a foundation of St. Columban (lV iq3), even papal estates - maximeque ecclesiam sancti Petri, and this in the cruelest way, crudelissima (Astronomus).

Some prelates - Archbishops Agobard of Lyon, Bernard of Vienne, Bartholomew of Narbonne, Bishops Jesse of Amiens, Elias of Troyas, Herebald of Auzerre and Abbot Wala of Corbie - also left their bishoprics as a precaution, against all Caenonian regulations. And almost all of them followed Lothar, behind whom the Alpine passes were closed, to the south in order to return with the future emperor after Ltidwig's death. Many of them, however, fell victim to an i7 assing plague."

THE "CAUSA Eaoxis"

In the meantime, in November 83d at the Imperial Diet in Attigny, the terrible general conditions were once again condemned and remedial action was once again promised. But all that really happened was the emperor's order to return the church property alienated in Aquitaine as quickly as possible. The misery of the people remained unchanged.

At the imperial assembly convened in the Palatinate of Diedenhofen on February z, 83y, which was above all a church assembly, Louis demanded that the declaration of nullity of his deposition and ecclesiastical penance, as had already been carried out in St-Denis, be repeated in detail and in a dignified manner. And of course the venerable chief shepherds were now also in favor; of course "a large assembly of almost all bishops and abbots" from the "entire empire" declared the decision of Compiegne - their own - to be "undeserved", the machinations of the imperial opponents, "the disloyalty of the malicious and hostile to God", to be thwarted by a new
-God's judgment". And -'finally all without exception and unanimously found and affirmed that, after the machinations of those had been put to shame by God's help and the emperor had been restored to his paternal honors and rightly clothed again with the royal dignity, he was henceforth to be respected by all in the most faithful and unconditional obedience and subservience as their emperor and lord- (Annales Bertiniani).

And so, on the anniversary of his liberation, these ever-disgusting opportunists once again performed the most solemn reconciliation in the Imperial Assembly on z8. February 83y in the cathedral of Metz, the ruler was once again reconciled. Surrounded by jg bishops, half-brother Drogo placed the crown back on his head. With the wording of the e@jjjjaleSBertiniani (i.e. the West Frankish continuation of the 8iq abortive imperial annals), our most important source, which extends from the time of Charles the Bald to the time of Charles and Louis III (88s): -and after the heil. Mass was read and the whole course of the matter was then explained to the

The holy and venerable priests took a crown, the symbol of sovereignty, from the consecrated altar and placed it on his head with their own hands to the great rejoicing of all those present - - for with the realities, the "will of God" had also changed (covenant).

The chief shepherd, however, who in the first place had staged the disgraceful spectacle of the emperor's disempowerment, the -banner-

The "bearer" of the anti-imperial party, Archbishop Ebo vori Reims, "the disgraceful peasant Ebo- (turpissimus rusticus), according to the then chorbishop Thegan, but also -the apostle of the north-, had not accompanied Lothar to Italy, but had instead hidden in Paris. However, in the spring of i4 * - he was arrested by his confreres, the local bishop Erchenrad and Bishop Rothad of Soissons, and then imprisoned in **Fulda.**

had been set. And now, immediately after the official ecclesiastical restitution of the monarch in Metz's St. Stephen's Basilica, Ebo ascended the pulpit, albeit not voluntarily, and condemned Louis's replacement "with all his heart before all the people", which had been against all law, "contrary to the law and all commandments of justice", and celebrated his reinstatement in due form and dignity.

At first, the bishops did not dare to send Ebo into the desert, fearing that "he might become a traitor against them". But then he - like some of the prelates who had escaped to Italy - was unanimously deposed by the assembled pastors at the emperor's request. Even the empress is said to have intervened with the bishops in favor of Ebo, but in vain. One after the other spoke the formula: -After your confession, give up your office!

It is a special kind of genius to see how Ebo, after the "laity" had been excluded by virtue of episcopal protest, quite rightly defended himself by claiming that he alone would be held accountable, while all the other bishops involved in the events of 833 remained unmolested. They talked themselves out of the "predicament" in which they found themselves.

They would not have approved of the sad act in their hearts. But outwardly they had manfully stood up for it, even, as now, in a double protocol, in a declaration signed by each individual bishop and in a document also signed by the whole.

Yes, now they were happy to have a scapegoat, someone they had once appointed themselves, but through whose condemnation they could now make an example and cover up their own shabby role - a role that they continued to play just a few years later! A role in which countless of their own shone and continue to shine through the ages. The scoundrel did not find a single defender among all the scoundrels in Christ. But seven archbishops sang at the top of their voices during Mass.

se . . ."

The "Ebonis case" was constantly revisited and glossed over by the so-called Ebo clerics, including bishops, for many years in the synodal processions of West Franconia. Ebo himself was imprisoned again in Fulda, then in stricter custody with Bishop Frechulf of Lisieux, and finally with Abbot Boso of Fleury. He later also fell out of favor with his protector Lothar I, who restored him as Archbishop of Reims only a few weeks after Louis' death, but was granted the vacant diocese of Hildesheim by Louis the German 8¢y, whereby he also secured the uncanonical transfer to another diocese with a forged letter from Pope Gregory of the Holy Roman Empire.

IV. tried to justify. After all, in the struggle for his reinstatement he had "produced or had produced numerous forgeries" (W. Hartmann)."

The solemn coronation ceremony in Meta did not put an end to the Carolingian feud or the covetousness of the high clergy and their desire for ever greater power.

At a synod in Aachen in February 83ö, the episcopate, after repeating earlier reform proposals, once again emphasized the primacy of priestly authority over royal authority. Even the preface quotes Gelasius' 1st ('s* 4g6) infamous two-

The doctrine of powers, which makes the state the beadle of the popes (II 3*4 ff., esp. 3-9 +-); received for the first time in Carolingian synods 8zq in canon 3 of Paris. Moreover, the bi-
the bishops in Aachen - where they exhorted themselves to "sobriety", avoiding "covetousness", where they
-in part to brothels", to cities -in which crime flourishes" - of course their loyalty to the emperor. And although they in particular "have obviously missed a lot and in many ways", it is of course "mainly" the others who are to blame, especially "the shameful apostasy" of the emperor's sons as well as "the wickedness and disloyalty of some great ones". And of course everything can only end well if "the honor of the holy Church of God is fully restored and the bishops can once again exercise their own office entrusted to them by Christ".

The KniSer**MPF FORXL (THE HLEN) AND AGAINST THE ENKEL OR** FtlR e **ORDER" AND** AGAINST **THE** "PEsv"

Louis' trust in the church leaders may have been somewhat shaken in the meantime. In any case, he ignored Laub's reminders and pleas¡ that Pippin should at least return the church property he had confiscated. However, the monastery reform that had previously been so intensively pursued with Benedict of Aniane was of little concern to the ruler. Instead, he now tolerated the ever-increasing affluence of the orders, for example in St-Germain-des-Prés or St-Denis. Abbot and monks shared the income here, a n d the monks even withdrew their endowments from the abbot, who was not allowed to reduce them, demand benefits from them or increase the size of the convent without also increasing its income accordingly - all formally documented by imperial charters. (Around the turn of the i 3rd to i g . century, the Abbey of St-Denis of 33ooO Parisian

Pounds annual income - not, as was the case for more than a century, until the ry. In the 19th century, the church $efordett, cf. III q66 ff. esp. '73!, a quarter, but - less than iooo pounds, three percent of the budget, for poor relief. However, this was enough for the ascetics to organize -special distributions- on holidays and during Lent: Geremek).

Only the young wife and the endowment o f their son seemed to really m o v e the ageing monarch." The new division at the Imperial Diet 37 'n Aachen in favor of Charles (the Bald), to whom Emperor Louis "at the urgent request

The new division also ultimately led to a new quarrel and to Louis the German's revolt. He felt, not unjustly, at a disadvantage, as in the summer of 838, at the Imperial Diet in Nymwegen, his father took back from him all the non-Bavarian regions that had fallen to him after the emperor's arrest at Lügenfeld and the division of the empire and, out of the ruler's gratitude for his liberation, had been left to him: Alemannia, Alsafi, East Franconia, Saxony and Thuringia.

The monarch had been incited by some of Bavaria's personal opponents - presumably including Archbishop Otgar of Mainz, the emperor's former jailer, who knew how to flatter his way back into the highest favor. These lands were now considered "usurped". There was "a rather fierce dispute between the two and Louis had to give everything back to his father" (Annales Bertiniani), whereupon it was said that the Bavarian king wanted to "s e i z e the entire half of the empire on the other side of the Rhine" (Nithardi historiarum).

At the Imperial Diet of Quierzy in September 838, the emperor placed a crown on Charles, who was just five years old but had come of age, which was very unusual and had not happened to any of his stepbrothers on their accession to power. And Pippin of Aquitaine, who had been a loyal supporter of his father for years, now stepped up to the plate.

even on Charles' side as a 'confederate'. Charles received further territorial allocations, his possessions grew and grew. The Bavarian king marched to Mainz - here the pious Varcr, there the ill-fated son. But when the East Hanse, Thuringians and Alemanni, whom Louis the German had initially won over, fell away from him and all the East Frankish tribes, with the exception of the Bavarians, left him, he fled back to Bavaria.

In the meantime, 3 'ppin I, King of Aquitaine, had died in the late autumn. He had called himself "rex Aquitanorum" in his charters and had already been -4
g was deposed as a result of a reconciliation with the king.
However, he was again entrusted with Aquitaine rule after his death, albeit without being able t o realize any further hopes. After his death, Louis the Pious, obviously urged on by his wife, who was only interested in her son's rise to power, disregarded the right of succession of his two grandsons Pippin and Charles, Pippin's sons, the eldest of whom, Pippin 11, had just come of age. He gave Aquitaine g39 to his own son Charles, who initially found it difficult to gain a foothold there.

The land south of the Loire was particularly strongly influenced by Roman culture and, according to the ecclesiastical writer Salvian, was the richest part of Gaul in the 5th century. Previously largely independent, Aquitaine had developed various forms of particularism under the influx of pagan Basques and others; the Romans were often mocked and defamed by the Franks. During the many campaigns against the Aquitanian dukes, against their monastic duke Hunald (IV 8) and against his worse than any beast
hunted, then treacherously murdered son Waifar (lV 37* f.), the Franks systematically devastated Aquitaine in order to "break" the resistance by damaging the economy
(Claude). After eight murderous wars, Pippin III conquered the country, but neither he nor Charlemagne were able to conquer it.

83q in the autumn, Louis led a military campaign against his own grandson - a particularly brazen attack, as his father Pippin I had always remained steadfastly loyal to the emperor and the empire in his final years. As soon as Pippin was dead, however, Louis cold-bloodedly abandoned his grandsons and began,
-to restore order in Aquitaine". After all, Pippin II and his followers were practicing robbery and tyranny everywhere, as is the way of such people, at least according to the chief shepherd Ebroin of Poitiers, the head of the imperial army. Therefore the
-noble bishop- the ruler "not to allow this disease to spread for long, but to bring healing at times through his presence, before this plague infects the majority- (Astronomus).

The pious Louis thus campaigned for order, "healing" and - and this too has been a clerical slogan for two millennia against everything that does not suit priestly selfishness - against "disease" and "plague", hoping to return from Aquitaine victorious with God's help. He had mustered strong forces and achieved partial successes in a grueling small-scale war. However, his troops were decimated by -heavy losses-, by an enervating guerrilla war, especially around the rocky outcrops of the Auvergne, by all kinds of raids and raids, a paralyzing heat wave, an epidemic, -while the rest returned under the greatest difficulties-.

In the north, too, uprisings shook Ludwig's Oberho-
health.

Thus, in the fall of 83q, while His Majesty himself was indulging in the pleasures of hunting in the Ardennes, an East Frankish-Thuringian army under Counts Adalgar and Egilo marched against the Sorbs, and a Saxon army against the Obodrites and Linons. Eleven strongholds of the Sorbs were conquered, their king Czismfslaw fell in battle and his successor had to take hostages and cede land.

The emperor went into winter quarters in Poitiers, the richest city in Aquitaine at the time, where he celebrated the feasts of the Nativity, the Apparition of the Lord and the Purification of the Blessed Virgin Mary, the Pure Maid, while at the same time endeavoring to subjugate her.

the Aquitanians tind received new bad news: son Lud- wig claimed "in his long accustomed supremacy the rule of the realm as far as the Rhine" (Annales Bertinisni). The previous year, at the Diet of Worms, his father had reconciled with Lothar, his "prodigal son" (Nithard), in a rather shameful deal with the most unfaithful of his sons, who had harassed him the most. And this - allegedly to the applause of all - at the expense of Louis, who had been disinherited (apart from Bavaria between the Lech and Danube and the eastern Alpine countries). In this way, the monarch sought to protect the young Charles, for whose sake he had robbed his son Pippin's children of their rightful inheritance. Now he drove Louis away by following him through Thuringia

-He followed them "to the border of the barbarians", so that they had to buy their way back through the Slavic country and could only return home to Bavaria with great difficulty (Annales Fuldenses)."

But immediately afterwards, the ruler himself disappeared from the scene of his eventful life on earth.

DES KAISER's sound

Louis the Pious, whose lungs were mucous, whose chest was weakened, who was generally prematurely old and who was also suffering from an incurable ulcer, perhaps an emphysema, began to languish with frequent chest complaints, nausea and a complete aversion to food. After coming to Frankfurt via the royal court of Salz an der fränkischen Saale zu SchiG ant denn Main, Ludwig I died at the age of sixty-two on Sunday.

day, zo. June ®4o, in a "tent-like summer dwelling" on a small island on the Rhine below Mainz. It was opposite Ingelheini, the magnificent Carolingian palace in which his father had once given the Bavarian Duke Tassilo and his family the

(lV d8I ff.) and then, converted into a monastery by Charles IV, was finally ruined in the Peasants' War and the Thirty Years' War.

The emperor died shortly after he - just at the beginning of the "holy fasts" he usually observed in the West (but sometimes did not observe at all) - had begun preparations for war against his son Louis, whose last uprising he had then put down and to whom he had declared that he -may he remember how he had brought his father's gray hair into the pit with his suffering and despised Gorte's and all our father's commandments and threats-.

i7 years Louis was King of Aquitaine-. -He had been emperor for 7 years. His closest relatives, his wife Judith and his son Charles, were far away from him in Aquitaine. However, several prelates, including his former jailer Otgar of Mainz and many Priests surrounded his deathbed, where he made the sign of the cross over his forehead and chest for as long as he could. He also had a (supposed) splinter from the cross of Christ placed on his chest as a precaution. And "forty days", claims the astronomer, who was not present himself,

-The body of the Lord was his only food: and he praised the righteousness of the Lord because of this, saying: 'You are righteous, O Lord, that since I have neglected to fast during Lent, you now require me t o fulfill this obligation to fast.

Even before the ruler went, he shouted twice - as if in anger - with all his might: Hutz, hutz! that means: Get out! It is clear from this that he saw an evil spirit whose company he would not tolerate in life or in death. Then he turned his eyes towards heaven, and the more gloomily he had looked there, the more cheerfully he looked here, so that he seemed almost to be smiling. Thus he reached the end of earthly life and, as we believe, went happily to rest, for it is said of the true teacher: -He cannot die badly who has lived well-- (Anonymi vita Hludowici).

Louis the Pious's body was transferred to Metz, where it was buried in the old Carolingian tomb by his bishop.

his half-brother Drogo next to his mother Hildegard - but in the absence of all his sons - "honorably" buried and thrown out of the coffin at the time of the French Revolution."

F FISH AND COSUIC

The bloody family quarrel, which dragged the entire Frankish empire year in, year out, was naturally (or more correctly supernaturally) accompanied by miraculous signs from heaven and earth, bad signals usually with terrible consequences, which were carefully recorded by the yearbooks, especially those of Xanten.

For example, earth tremors "in the dead of night", lunar and solar eclipses, violent storms. When Emperor Ludwig came under Lothar's control, the water level of the rivers exceeded all measure and the gusts of wind made them impassable. At his release, however, the elements proved so conspiratorial that the fury of the winds soon subsided and the face of the heavens appeared in the former serenity not seen for a long time.- Again and again comets: "a terrible comet in the constellation of Scorpio-; "soon afterwards the death of Pippin-. Or: "a comet in the constellation of Virgo". It "passed through the signs of Leo, Cancer and Gemini in twenty-five days, which is wonderful to report, and finally laid the fiery body with the long, fiery body at the head of Taurus under the feet of the carter. down" - three years later: the death of the emperor.

The -Church of the Holy Mother of God Mary", already mentioned (p.7). is largely covered, but the small church "in honor of the holy martyr George" stands undestroyed in the midst of a conflagration - an astonishing miracle. And just as

When a strong earthquake struck almost all of Gaul, the famous Angilbert was solemnly raised to Centulum, and twenty-nine years after his death he was found in a completely intact state without having been embalmed. Also

worthy of congestion, indeed. But after all, Angilbert was always on good terms (or -drauf-) and as court chaplain and abbot of Saint-Riquier had made two sons in wild marriage to Charles' fifteen- and twenty-year-old daughter Berta (IV qq)¡ one of them the historian Nithard, who has just told us the magnificent miracle (in his -Histories- written on behalf of Charles the Bald; although very biased, it is the most important source on the fratricidal struggles),[7 ']

The cleric Gerward, the Palatine librarian of Louis the Pious, produces almost more of a natural history than a history of the state or the country in the Annales Xanten-

After lunar eclipses 83z, 83z: Louis' indignation against his father. 83d: "the waters in the north storm far across the land" - and "the heathens storm into the highly famous Wyk near Durstede. Lunar eclipse 8i5: -meut "heathens in ... Friesland ... And they plundered Durstede again". February 836: "at the beginning of the night wonderful lights", and again "the heathens fall upon the Christians here". 37 s-Whale whirlwinds, a comet "with a great sweat in the east ...: and the heathen ravaged Walcheren and carried away many women captive from there together with immeasurable assets of various kinds".

Next year -Donnei", -sun heat-, "earthquake-, -Fire in the shape of a dragon in the air': -a heretical doctrine'- begins. The following year, the wildest whirlwind, sea-flooded shores, houses, farms, people sinking away in heaps and whole fleets on the horizon. People think the devil and all the infernal hosts must appear. But: "This year, the bodies of St. Felicissimus and St. Agapitus and St. Felicitas came to Vreden." **Isn**'t it wonderful? On the other hand, light phenomena and a solar eclipse in the year 8¢o obviously heralded the emperor's death, truly Bengali celestial phenomena.

leuchtenungen ®4- the raging of the Christians - with great bloodbath against each other -, also "much irresponsible- the Stellinga in Saxony. And so on and so forth."

The family dispute fueled by the clergy was mainly due to

Episcopate and high nobility. They were given greater political 'self-importance', especially in the later years of King Ludwig's reign. However, the external enemies of the empire also profited from this, especially the Normans.

Dis NER OF THE NORTH WIND

The Normans, also known as Vikings or Northmen, interpreted in the Middle Ages as "men of the north wind", were Scandinavians. From the end of the 8th to the II. From the end of the eighth century to the first century, initially as pagans, they sought out other countries out of a thirst for adventure and booty, out of displeasure with the conditions at home, in which t h e y finally settled here and there, in Friesland, at the mouth of the Loire and other strongholds.

Their tactics, highly maneuverable and notorious for being diabolical, were full of cunning, with the lightning attack being particularly popular. Suddenly their sails were on the horizon - and before a coastguard could intervene, they had already dragged their prey away. On the Christian side, by the way, the secular and spiritual leaders were "often the first to flee" (Riché). Hinkmar of Reims, the famous archbishop, had frowned upon the retreat of priests "who had neither wives nor children to support", but fled headlong from the invaders himself in 88z.

Not all prelates were rabbit's feet, however. When the invaders massacred everyone who did not take refuge on the He de Paris during the siege of Paris in 88y (p. z8z ff.), while the Franks in turn served the enemy with boiling oil, **wax** and pitch, the Abbot of Saint-Germain proved to be no slouch either. He managed to "pierce seven people with a single arrow shot" - admittedly more of a Catholic pipe dream - "and jokingly ordered them to be carried into the kitchen".

The plundering of the Normans began in 795 with the raid on the (by Iro-Scottish monks in the 7th century.

The monastery of Lindisfarne (later known as Holy Island) off the north English coast of Northumberland, apparently a particularly wealthy abbey. It continued to exist, however, acquiring more and more land on the mainland, but was abandoned in 8yo erncut. Norwegian Vikings, as usual in hot seas for weeks at a time, needed provisions, slaughtered the monastery cattle and took them aboard their dragon ships, robbed all the treasures and slaughtered the monks.

The Northmen ravaged Ireland, over which the catastrophe came in 8zo. -The sea spewed out floods of strangers over Erin, and there was no harbor, no landing place, no fortification, no castle, no defense without fleets of Vikings and pirates, the Ulsterannals report. The Northmen raided England and then, more and more, also from England, the Frankish kingdom, especially West Francia with its enticingly long coasts, but also the Frisian territory· They snatched the weapons, dragged hostages away to extort ransom money, but not only plundered the coastal towns. They sailed up the rivers in their agile sailing ships and even burned cities such as York, Canterbury, Chartres, Nantes, Paris, Touts, Bordeaux and Hatribiirg, where they burned down the bishop's see. They liked to attack monasteries, such as Jumiùges and Saint-Wandrille. On the Atlantic coast, the monks were forced to abandon Noirmoutier in 836, which had been under siege since 8ao.

It is hardly a coincidence that the Norman attacks took place during the most violent Carolingian family feuds, when the power of the Relche was weakened towards the outside world, i.e. in the middle of

d*° 3 -r years, began to accumulate frighteningly¡ that the Nordic pirates, then the most terrible enemies, especially Danes, returned year after year. One through the whole year n ongoing Norman invasion has since swept across the Christian world.

34 <- 3i Danish Vikings attacked the most important trading center in the north, the highly famous Wyk near Durstede, and devastated it with tremendous cruelty. From -the Hei-

den", people who were still fervently attached to their old gods, the Asen, were "slain in no small number" (Annales Xantenses). Nevertheless, Dorestad (Dorestate, Duristate), the important, deserted trading center in the Netherlands, south of Utrecht (near the Rhine river and today's Wijk-bij-Duurstede), also an important ecclesiastical missionary center and the temporary or permanent seat
of the Bishop of Injustice, was robbed four times between *¡4 <Rd 837 and partially incinerated.

836 Antwerp is burned and the port city of Witla is handed over to
the mouth of the Meuse. 37 the Normans attacked the island of Walcheren without hesitation, "killing many and completely plundering an even greater number of the inhabitants¡ after they had
and levied tribute at will from the inhabitants, they continued their raid to Dorestad and collected tribute in the same way" (Annales
Bertiniani). 3 a sea storm prevented a new attack, but in 83q they devastated Friesland again. They also ravaged the Loire regions as far as Nantes - a "scourge of God", about which the monks' writers - perhaps also over-
a quarter of a millennium: -pirates, murderers, robbers, ravagers, plunderers, barbarians, ragers, devils- just heathens . . .-'

Oh, how much better the Christians were on their war trains!

But why did the Vikings rage like this? Wielant Hopfner writes: -They had had their first experiences with Christianity. Their contemporary Charlemagne had issued the 'Saxon Laws' for the forced conversion of the Saxons. The most common phrases therein are: 'Is punished with death ..., shall be killed …, is forbidden on pain of death …, forfeits the property of the church …, shall be executed.'- In fact, Charlemagne's blood laws, a side arm, so to speak, of the Good News, threatened everything they wanted to exterminate among the Saxons with a stereotypical -morte mori- atur", concerned of his fourteen death-imposing decrees, the "death penalty" and the "death penalty".

The provisions of the Capitulatio ten alone are offenses against Christianity (4/8 ff.).

Of course, the Normans knew that the Carolingians -The church had been enriched beyond all measure", whereby these treasures "primarily" came from the looted "pagan places of worship". -The Christian chroniclers did in fact say that cathedrals and churches were -gloriously built- or -wonderfully furnished'. Where would the wealth come from, if not from the property and the drudgery of the Germanic population?

These people, however, were already being fleeced by their Christian leaders within the usual limits. Now, however, they also had to make enormous payments to the Normans; 8¢y, for example, 7 pounds, 861 **SOOO** pounds, the next year 6ooo pounds, 86 4 pounds. The rulers sometimes demanded more than the Normans in order to create "reserves" for themselves demanded. In general, one may assume that not a little of this money flowed into Christian pockets.

And the following is noteworthy here.

Not only did military leaders and princes call Normans into the country against troublesome rivals. Not only did they naturally also set Normans against Normans. No, when this land plague gradually became worse and worse and, especially on the West Franconian side, too little was done against it, the people organized resistance and took up arms themselves against the pirates who were advancing ever deeper. And it was not the enemy of the country that took them, but their own aristocracy! They feared that their peasants, the Frankish conspirators, might also rise up against them - as no less serious oppressors - (Mühlbacher), might find an opportunity to "free themselves from their masters" (Riché).

Here too, however, the clergy knew how to turn the tide. The prelates gathered in Meaux proclaimed: "The attackers are indeed cruel, but this is only just, because the Christians were disobedient to the instructions of God and the Church."

In the south, too, the distress caused by foreign enemies grew. The Arabs were attacking there - "Saracen pirate fleets" (Saracenorum pyraticae). Only the Christians did not raid! And did not kill! But the infidel Saracen hounds attacked the Balearic Islands, Corsica and Sardinia. They began to establish themselves in Sicily in 8-7. They attacked Marseille in 8j8 and "took captive all the nuns, of whom there were quite a number there, as well as all the clergy and laymen of the male sex, devastated the city and also took all the treasures of the Christian churches" (Annales Bcrtiniani). But the Slavs threatened the eastern border. And misery devoured their own people. -At this time, the kingdom of the Franks became very desolate in itself and the misery of the people grew in many ways with each passing day" (Annales Xantenses).

And continued to grow after Ludwig's death.

z. CHAPTER

THE SONS AND GRANDCHILDREN

About Ludwig II, the German: -He was a beautiful Christian leader, Catholic by faith . . the most zealous supporter of what religion, peace a n d justice demanded. He was very devious in spirit (callidiasimus)
. in the battles he was extremely victorious and eager in t h e a r m a m e n t of the weapons as of the banquets, since the
The tools of war were his greatest treasure - Reginonis chronica'

To Charles II the Bald - Charles did not go to Aquitaine during Lent and remained in the village until after Easter, but his court did nothing but plunder, burn and catch people, and even the churches and altars of God were not spared from their gicr and frochheir.

To Charles III the Fat (Louis II's youngest son): -And when it was already time to leave, he fell ill and therefore felt compelled to place the youngest of his sons Charles in this army, recommending the outcome of the matter to his lord ... With God's help, he burned down all the houses in the area, what was hidden in the woods or buried in the fields, he found with his own and robbed it, and destroyed or killed all those who came together with him. Thus Karlmann devastated the kingdom of Zwenùbald with f"cuer and sword.- Annalœ Euldenses'

About Karlmann (Ludwig's 11th eldest son: -This very excellent king was well-informed in the sciences, **devoted** to the Christian religion**,** just, peace-loving and adorned with all honorable manners ... He fought many wars together w i t h his father and even more without him in the realms of the Slavs and always carried off the triumph of victory, **he** increased **and expanded** the borders of his kingdom with the sword.
Rcginonis thronica-

HAD BECOME CHRISTIAN - AND NOBLE

As soon as Louis the Pious was 4 *efsChicden, his eldest son claimed the right *to* overall rule and threatened opponents with death. And now, between Lothar I (d.
85y), Louis II the German (d. 7) and Charles II the Bald (d. 8yy) fought bloody wars. All three were brothers, Christians, Catholics. All are full of mistrust. All full of envy. All of them make false sacrifices. All operate "with donations,
Promises, threats" (Tellenbach). "Everyone is just waiting for a sign of weakness in the others in order to attack his brothers or, after their death, his nephews' inheritance" (Fried). In between, they arm themselves, swear "peace", "friendship", profess "love and respect" - there are around a hundred royal meetings by the end of the century.

Much is reminiscent of the Merovingian era, the slaughter after Clovis' death, the feuds of his sons and grandsons (IV 3., y., 8. chap.). The extreme brutalization also resembles that gray period, although things developed very analogously in Christian Byzantium. Pierre Riché finds a complete catalog of all types of physical violence among the Carolingians, describing each case in detail and precisely assessing it in terms of criminal law for the purpose of punishment, including for "severed ears with or without deafness as a result, torn eyelids, torn out eyes, completely or partially cut off noses, tongues torn out, teeth smashed in, beards torn out, fingers crushed, hands and feet chopped off, testicles cut off."'

They had become Christian.

Scholarly conformists want to understand all this from the spirit of the times. Quite right. But the Christian of the time was honest. Or was he not yet Christian enough? That's what the apologists always say. So when was he Christian, Catholic enough? Around the zo. When the Catholic Croats did exactly the same thing, en masse? And, according to the Würzburg jurist and historian Ferenc Majoros, -with indescribable bestiality . . .-

People had become Christian. And the guardians of order condemned such misdeeds - according to the tried and tested biblical principle: damage for damage, an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth (Lev. 3.
4. : Deut. ip,zi) - no less brutal. The list of punishments ranges from mutilation, blinding, castration, to burning alive or drowning. And protested
Even individual clerics, in general, Riché writes, "even clergymen inflicted terrible punishments on their own kind" - not against princes of the church, of course.

The struggle for position between the various groups of nobles did not rest for a moment either. As with the Merovingians, betrayal, changing political constellations, is the order of the day; oaths of allegiance are made, broken, re-sworn. Everything revolves around the accumulation of property and power, power and glory. All these potentes, priores, primores, maiores, optimates, nobiles, viri optimi and what the so-called nobles (i.e. those who come first, who take -before- others, who take a lot from them) were called at the time, always wanted more, always wanted to become richer, even more "noble", always wanted even greater fiefdoms, whereby any injustice was fine with them, even if they preferred treachery and all kinds of underhandedness to naked violence, feuding and war. And all this among Christian, under Catholic princes, brothers in the flesh!

The kings are insatiably greedy, of course. But they do not think of themselves alone. The people, the "masses", do not play a role for a long time - the completely dependent working slaves, the servi, still at that time "slaves in the ancient sense" (Werner), completely aside. This status even seems to have increased at that

time.

The poorest and by far the largest stratum of the population, who at the time were subject to various degrees of restriction of freedom, but who were also deprived of most of their rights. And this poorest and by far largest class, in which there were various degrees of restriction of freedom, of unfreedom, but which were excluded from the vast majority of the rights of the

-This class, which after all carries everything, absolutely everything, is almost never mentioned in the sources. It is a rare exception that a text by the English abbot Alfric of Eynsham around the turn of the millennium contains the lament of a peasant: -Alas! Alas! It is a great plague, for I am not free."

Charles I himself complains that many who are known to be free are violently oppressed by the great; Louis the Pious also knows of a countless number of oppressed people who have been deprived of their paternal inheritance or robbed of their freedom. But in both cases we are talking about free people who had lost their freedom, not unfree people who, like most people, had always been unfree. Therefore, when we speak of the "people" in the early Middle Ages, we do not generally have to imagine an anonymous bunch of more or less unfree, un-noble people. No, they existed, they did not even exist for the rulers, so to speak. "Usually," emphasizes Karl J. Leyser, "popit- lris, the people who conducted legal disputes, elected bishops, raised kings or fell away from them, consisted of nobles and their followers, small hierarchies in which the nobles and those of better origin took first place.

The kings hardly had time to think about the lower classes. Instead, they thought all the more of their helpers and accomplices, especially the high nobility, who did not stand by them for the sake of honor or reward, who wanted to be compensated with royal estates and fiefdoms, especially as they themselves had to provide for their followers. Thus there was constant competition and rivalry on all sides, which took nothing more into consideration than their own interests, their own land and their own interests.

hunger. But land and soil had become scarce since the huge raids of the "Great" Karl.

ALWAYS **CHANGING** HAPPY **OR TREUEIDE, WOHLFEI** L "**HOW TO BRovBsEREN**"

Lothar was the only one to inherit the imperial title, albeit with the obligation to secure the brothers' right of succession. However, Lothar, who approached from Italy, where he had left his son Louis, demanded the entire empire, "his" empire, for himself. The high clergy also largely went over to the "successor of the father in the French Empire": the archbishops Hetti of Trier, Amalwin of Bisanz, Otgar of Mainz, a mortal enemy of Louis the German, the bishops of Metz, Toul, Liège, Lausanne, Worms, Paderborn, Chur, the Abbot of Fulda and later Archbishop of Mainz Rhabanus Maurus and others. Archbishop Ebo of Reims, who had been expelled and had been imprisoned for years, was also formally restored, but soon had to flee from Charles to Lothair again, who gave him the monasteries of Stavelot and Bobbio, until he also fell out of favor with Lothair, lost the abbeys, but was made Bishop of Hildesheim by Louis the German.

However, it was not only the combatants from earlier battles who went to

Lothar, but even prelates from the old emperor's immediate surroundings, above all Charlemagne's son Drogo, Bishop of Metz, Louis the Pious Enkapellan, who presented Lothar with the crown, sword and sceptre of his deceased father.

Since the greats, "driven on all sides by hope or fear", now flocked to Lothar, but Louis and Catl abandoned many vassals, Lothar overstretched the bow by considering "by what means he could seize the entire realm unhindered", whereby he decided to focus first on Louis and then on Louis II.

"and "destroy his power" (Nithard). However, when the latter showed him his teeth, he agreed with him on a

He now intended to attack Charles and pursue him with a mighty army 'to destruction', as Count Nithard, the -illegitimate-grandson of Charles, the historian of the fratricidal wars who fought and fell for Charles the Bald's cause with pen and sword, writes, one of the few lay writers of the early Middle Ages.

Thanks to the unwavering machinations of his now disempowered mother, Charles the Bald was entitled to half of the empire on the death of Louis the Pious. Lothar, however, advanced first to the Seine and then towards the Loire, driving Charles into a corner in the fall of 8qo. Not only did the Earl have this brother as an enemy, but Pippin of Aquitaine and the even more self-confident Bretons were also up in arms against him. Moreover, wherever Lothair advanced, people were happy to go over to him¡ nothing more than the usual opportunism of the clergy and nobility. For example, one of Charlemagne's daughters, Abbess Rothild of Faremou- tier, had her monastic possessions confirmed by Lothar. Thus, among others
"Abbot Hilduin of St. Denis and Count Gerard of Paris, apostatizing from Charles, broke their oaths to him". And like them, others also preferred to "break their allegiance in the manner of slaves and renounce their oaths rather than leave their possessions for a time" (Nithard).

But Charles did not want to give up the kingdom that had been given to him by God, especially as "God and his father had given it to him with his, Lothar's, own consent". Envoys therefore hurried back and forth several times, including Nithard, whom Lothar admittedly robbed of his goods and rights because he refused him. After all, the new emperor was a man who only sought, according to Charles' partisans, "by what means he could deceive and overcome Charles without battle; while Nithard's own employer naturally demanded peace out of pure justice. In any case, both refrained from fighting for the time being.

No sooner had the temporary agreement with Charles been reached, however, than Lothar was once again preparing for war against Louis - intent with all his soul on defeating Louis by cunning or

to subdue him by force, or what he desired even more, to destroy him completely". Louis, however, abandoned and betrayed by many of his supporters, returned to Bavaria, whereupon an alliance was formed between him and Charles. The latter had meanwhile used the time for small ceremonies and great prayers (in St-Denis, for example, in St-Germain), most recently in Aachen, where on the eve of "holy Easter" 8qx messengers sent from Aquitaine miraculously brought him "a crown and all the royal jewels as well as sacred objects" and, another miracle, "so many pounds of gold and such an enormous amount of precious stones unharmed", although - since robbery was threatening everywhere -(!), undoubtedly -a special grace", his special - indication of God" (Nithard).

It is not known which of the two, Charles or Louis, called on whom for help, as the sources contradict each other. But both were ultimately - "united as in brotherly love through their military camps" (Annales Bertiniani) - a glorious Christian fusion. In this constant back-and-forth with changing fronts, homages and oaths, each of the three had also tried to soften up the wavering greats by force, gifts, promises and threats, to make them comply with their duties, to stir them up, whereby oaths of loyalty were already "as cheap as blackberries" (Mühlbacher) among these high-ranking Catholics.

But then, on May 13, 8¢i, Louis the German severely defeated Lothar's Swabian partisans on the Ries. The
the majority of the victims died on the F-1uclit (- no, how it all sounds so -paper"! So clichéd and familiar! You have to hear the screaming, moaning, crying, the terrible humiliation, you have to see the dying, the deadly horror ...) And
already on z5 J- ' 4- the even bloodier battle of Fontenoy, which was probably regarded as a divine judgment for this reason alone (Fontanetum) at Atixerre (predominantly, as has long been the case with the Franks, a battle on horseback). Catholics stabbed Catholics, Franks stabbed Franks, relatives stabbed relatives; among Lothar's entourage with "treasures" and three envoys from Pope Gregory IV was Archbishop George of Ravenna.

who wanted to drag Charles the Bald into his diocese and force him to undergo the tonsure (but w a s captured on the run and allegedly maltreated)'.

THE BATTLE Vox Fo ov OR "WHEREGo FÜGUNG DIEACHB LRNKBN WOULD …"

Before the massacre, legation after legation had visited the other side, invoking the Lord, the Church, Christendom, and, as had long been customary, seeking the "expert opinion" of the clergy - in order to be willingly at hand wherever God's providence would lead the matter.

We have a detailed account of the Christian-Catholic brotherly meeting (one of the very rare open field battles in early medieval history) by Nithard, which is well attested by all parties, in the second book of his Historiae. He himself took part in the battle on Charles the Bald's side, indeed, -with God's help, he rendered no small assistance …-.

Immediately after uniting their forces, Ludwig and Charles complained to each other about the "suffering, these desolate conditions" through Lothar and then urgently presented to him through messengers "that he, mindful of Almighty God, grant peace to his brothers and the entire Church of God …, otherwise they could undoubtedly hope for help from God's hand "¡ which Lothar, hurrying from Aachen to Aquitaine, dismissed as "worthless". With all kinds of messages, pious as well as exploratory, they moved towards each other, strained on all sides by the length of the route, lack of horses and battles. But they would rather endure any misery, even "death", than lose their "glorious name".

And so it went with "high spirits" and "in rapid marches merrily **forward** until they clashed at Auxerre. Again, envoys changed fronts, and the allies were

stood on the fact that if people were already stabbing each other, it was quite Christian. Ergo: -first call upon God while fasting and praying, but then ... meet for open battle without all deception and deceit …- A clean thing.

Both armies changed position once again and exchanged new words of greeting and appeasement at £ontenoy en Puisaye. Louis and Charles reminded Lothair of -their position as brothers-, of -the Church of God and the whole Christian people-. And Lothar also asked for a "truce", whereby *he* had several of his grandees affirm on oath that he only wanted - the usual Christian chatter - the general welfare of the brothers and the entire nation, as justice among brothers and Christ's people demanded. In fact, he was only expecting Pippin II's army from Aquitaine. On z¢. June they arrive, a> -s it goes -to the judgment of Almighty God-.

A judgment of God promised a lot from the outset. It is said that go ooo men fell on Lothar's, the defeated, side, which is certainly an exaggeration. However, the surprise attack by his opponents in the early morning, which involved sending thousands of horsemen, also cost enormous casualties. And this in an armed *battle that had* no immediate effect. However, the unity of the empire was irretrievably lost, as was any hegemony in the West for a long time. For the empire no longer dominated the kings; emperor and king were completely equal.

It is, so to speak, the birth of the "nation state". And, as is well known, nation states tended to wage war more frequently, at least on a much larger scale - right up to the present day. Even Fontenoy, their grandiose birthday, brought terrible losses to everyone, especially to the Frankish ruling class. The -ahrbüeher von Fulda" speak of -a bloodbath on both sides, as our time has never before remembered such losses among the Frankish people. And decades later, Regino von Prüm saw this butchery as the cause of the weakness of the late Carolingian empire, seeing the Franks' "glorious

Heroism- no longer quite capable of defending itself, "consecrated to an expansion of the empire-.

That was the worst thing: not to tear others to pieces, Slavs, pagans, Saracens! Thus a contemporary is disturbed by the civil battle (omnibus christianis la mentabile bellum), which is lamentable for all Christians, because the sword of the Franks, once terrible to all other nations, is raging in his own "walls". That was it. And yet, in true Christian, evangelical fashion, it should rage in the wounds of others! In fact, however, non-Christians and Christians alike, especially Christians, are massacred over and over again
- until today. Even then, however, a fellow fighter in Lothar's army, Angilbert, who fought in the front line of battle, confessed: -"Never was there more evil murder, never even on the field of Mars,/ Never was the Christian statute so violated by a bloodbath." In reality, however, this had been the case for centuries, in *essence,* and remained so.

Also the hypocrisy.

For at the end of the slaughter, the most edifying Christian-Catholic feelings immediately blossomed. -Everywhere the fugitives were cut down, until Louis and Charles, driven by fervent piety, put a stop to the bloodshed" (Uri-nates Bertiniani). And now the victors celebrated the Lord's Day, the Holy Mass, rind - the kings themselves had mercy on the brother - from whom they certainly did not hope for "unjust intentions"! Vİelmehr solidarity -in true justice", -in true loyalty-. And of course, the bishops unanimously stated on the Sehlachtfeld: "the allies had fought for justice and fairness urid this was clearly proven by God's judgment; therefore, everyone in this context, the advisor as well as the executor, must be considered God's culpable instrument." By which they attested to themselves, as always through the ages, the most beautiful guiltlessness, divine guiltlessness, so to speak - but otherwise wanted to judge everyone in the court "according to the measure of their guilt" (Nithard)."

II SER LOTHAR ALLIES HIMSELF WITH HRIDEN U1'4D ROBBING CHURCHES - Lu wiGh THE **GERmAN EePrr**

The clergy on Lothar's side, on the other hand, saw no "judgment of God" in the bloodshed. His defeat was covered up with all kinds of untrue rumors: Charles had fallen in battle, Louis was wounded and on the run. In any case, although defeated, Lothair was neither completely defeated nor ready to surrender.

"put a part of the Christians under their control", even allowing them to "rob the other Christian peoples" (Nithard). In fact, he enfeoffed the Viking king Harald Klak with the island of Walcheren and other Frisian territories, but apparently later took them back from the Danes - and gave them to them again. He also took advantage of class differences, the feu- dalization of Saxony (cf. I> 4i5 f.), and unleashed the Stellin- ga Uprising, an uprising of the lower and middle classes there, the semi-free and free of the tribe that had resisted Frankish foreign rule the longest and hardest. According to Hans K. Schiilze, "seen with some imagination, the first re-volitional people's movement on German soil.

The emperor even forbade the rebels against the aristocracy to return to paganism. If they followed him, they would regain their rights, a s they had at the time when they were still servants of the gods (Nithard}.

However, Louis the German feared not only the eradication of the Christian faith, but also cooperation between Normans and Saxon rebels. So he - who sent noble Saxon supporters into battle against Lothar just as the latter did against him - had "the overconfident servants" (Annales Xantenses) bloodily beaten up, had the Stellinga "suppressed with severity", as the Fulda Yearbooks put it, or, as another source so beautifully puts it, "destroyed in a terrible bloodbath" in a way that was honorable for him, but not without righteous bloodshed.

-4 of his opponents on the gallows and behead I {O ringleaders, - mutilate an immense crowd and leave no one alive who still rebelled against him in any way."

While Louis the German thus extended his realm of rule honorably and justly to the north, Lothar armed himself, gathered an impressive army against Charles in Diedenhofen and quickly advanced on Paris, so that Charles now swore to Louis that he would help him militarily as soon as possible. However, as Lothar was now in a tight spot due to his war on two fronts and various circumstances, he told his stepbrother that he would make a pact with him if -Charles would renounce the alliance that he had entered into with his brother Louis and had confirmed on oath, whereas he would renounce the alliance that he had concluded with his nephew Pippin and had also *confirmed* on oath (Nithard).

But Charles did not want to, and so Lothar united with Pippin of Aquitaine in Sens, whom he had only just wanted to sacrifice to his mortal enemy. And moved on to Le Maus, "over-all", according to the Westphalian yearbooks of St. Bertin, with plundering fire.Bertin, -he raged with plunder, fire, pillage, church robbery and forced oaths, so that he did not even spare the sacred rooms¡ for he took without hesitation all the treasures he could find, even if they were laid up in the churches or in their strong rooms in order to save them, forcing even the priests and clergy of the other ranks to swear oaths¡ he also forced the holy nuns devoted to the service of God to swear oaths t o him.

Charles, on the other hand, went from Paris to Ch£lons to celebrate the feast of the Nativity of the Lord. That's how pious people were on this side.'*

Dix STRASSBURGER EIDE (4*) SOWIE GorrES **UND** DER **ÜFAFFEN KILLE**

Here and there, Lothar's followers crumbled. He was subjugated by force, surrendered or fled, like Archbishop Otgar of Mainz, who had been tasked with preventing the union of Louis and Charles at Koblenz with his soldiers. Charlemagne's son Dro8o, the Bishop of Metz, who had joined Lothar and led his court chapel, soon joined the enemy.

The allied kings met in Strasbourg (once called Argentoratum) and swore the famous oaths recorded verbatim by Nithard. They swore to each other "For love eu God and cii the Christian people and the salvation of us both" on Ib. February 8¢z in solemn form, Louis in Romance, Charles in German (Frankish) - the oldest Old French language monument and one of the oldest testimonies of Old High German (the official language, the language for state, church, literature was Latin throughout the Christian West; the German language, -Thiudisca-, was considered -barbarian-).

In Old French it sounds like this: -Pro Deo amur et pro Christian poblo et nostro commun saluarnent …- And German or Old High German (the sources call the Germanic lingua theotisca, consisting of various dialects, hence the word -German"): -In Godes minna ind in thes Christianes folches ind unser bedhero gealtnissi ..." Previously, both kings had spoken to the assembled warriors about brotherly love, Christian sentiment, compassion for the Christian people, about the common good, and of course about God's mercy, the judgment of the Almighty, and so on. And in between, beautifully shrouded in unctuousness, the evil brother was inspected in front of the two comrades-in-arms, "to destroy our peoples with fire, robbery and murder."

More and more great men left Lothat. Louis and Charles moved separately from Strafiburg to Worms, where they met for almost ten years.

days later and, after they had both "plundered the Gau Wormsfeld" (Annales Xantenses), marched to Mainz, where Ludwig's eldest son Karlmann reinforced them with Bavarian and Alemannic troops. They then turned separately down the Rhine again and united their forces in Ko- blenz. There they heard mass in the church of St. Castor and then quickly crossed the Moselle, while Ernbishop Otgar of Mainz fled, Lothar via Aachen - where he gathered the entire imperial treasure, including "that of St. Mary's" (Annales Bertiniani) - and Chalons to Troyes, where he celebrated Easter on April 8th before moving on to Lyon.

Having pillaged the land of Lothar, Louis and Charles advanced to Aachen. And there they allowed themselves to be shown by the numerous assembled clergy - as if by the beckoning of God - how selfish, perjurious and corrupt their Catholic brother Lothar was. How he - not they together! - "how often he had driven his father from the kingdom, how often he had defamed the Christian people through his lust for power, how *often h e h a d* broken the oaths he had made to his father and his brothers, how often he had sought to disinherit and corrupt his brothers after his father's death, how much murder, adultery, arson and outrages of every kind the entire church had endured through his nefarious greed, they also claimed that he possessed neither the ability to rule the state, nor could one discover a trace of benevolence in his government. For these reasons, they declared, he had not been forced to leave the battlefield and then his kingdom, not undeservedly, but according to the just judgment of Almighty God. And they were all unanimously of the opinion and agreed that God's punishment had cast him out because of his sins and that his kingdom had rightly handed itself over to his brothers as the better ones to rule" (Nithard).

But if they had not been priests, they would have given the kings a "power of government". If they had handed everything over to them to rule without first publicly

"whether they wanted to rule the kingdom in the manner of the expelled brother or according to the will of God."

But God's will is your will! Always and everywhere. Nothing else. (Or have we ever heard anything else from God than from popes and bishops?)

FROM A NOTEWORTHY INUNGELTAR

U1'tD 1'4EURR HisTORIKER

Lothar came under even more pressure. People fell away from him en masse, broke old oaths of allegiance, swore new ones to new lords and thus gained new advantages over the ever more insecure old ones - the eternal course of history. Moreover, due to the constant changes in power and the constant struggles for position, the high nobility became ever stronger, the kings came under its pressure and won and only retained their power through it.

In our most important source on these constant dynastic disputes, in the four books -Histories- of Nithard, the latter regrets the internal discord, the disintegration of the unified state, and sees the real ideal in the government of his -great- ancestors. Thus, at the end of the work, he laments the "delusional neglect of the public good", "the selfish pursuit of personal advantage", he complains because "robbery and evil are spreading everywhere from both sides", and wistfully recalls the time of "the great Karl, happy Andcn- kens". There was peace and harmony everywhere ... Now abcx there is discord and strife everywhere, because everyone goes their own way. And then there was abundance and joy everywhere, but now there is only lack and sadness ...""

These sentences, which conform to the view of historians still prevalent today, which hails Charles I's state as a unified state, an aspiring world power, a Christian universal empire, as a kind of further development of the Roman imperial idea, are therefore

so significant because they claim "peace everywhere". In fact, however, Charles's 4 year regiment had been at war almost constantly, had brought almost fifty campaigns, had conquered the Saxons alone, the
"Erzheiden", fought murderously for thirty-three years! However, what happened on the fringes of the ever-expanding Great Robber Empire did not affect the "peace" within the country. On the contrary. The more "peace and order" there, the better the killing, enslaving and annexing worked there, outside the borders. But there was -abundance and happiness everywhere- not even here, at home. This was enjoyed only by the ridiculously small class of the bcsitzenden, nobility and clergy, who swam in the foreign, bloodily stolen wealth, while chronic malnutrition prevailed among the shanilessly fleeced own people,
Misery and famine were rampant, killing a third of the population in Gaul and Ger- mania (IV ¢9o).

Under Charlemagne's grandson, war within the country, the so-called civil war - admittedly a pleonasm, because every war is a civil war!

Of course, Nithard's view was not exceptional. '

The contemporary Florus of Lyon, the poetic deacon, a diligent church servant, sees things no differently. He, too, regrets the threefold division of the empire, the reign of kings instead of a king. He too glorifies "the empire in the splendor of the sublime crown, / Lord was one and one also the people who obeyed the lord ... / Peacefulness reigned in it and bravery frightened the enemies." And after Florus has humbly and humbly emphasized his own, the -sanctified state-, he eloquently praises the enslavement in the East, the throwing of the reins of salvation around the defeated. -Here the heathen people bent themselves to the church's joehe, while / There the heretical delusion, trampled underfoot, sank away.""

Yes, Christians have always liked that: the Gentiles in the yoke, their faith trampled underfoot!

Dis VSRTRÄGE VON VERDUN (841) AND MRERSEJSt (87OJ

But people were generally tired of war. In other words, the disadvantages of the war were greater for the powerful than the advantages; this applied not least to the high clergy, whose vast possessions were plundered with relish. After long, difficult negotiations marked by mistrust - mixed dominions, ISO representatives had previously traveled and surveyed the borders - , after preliminary talks in June 8 on a Sa6ne island near Macon, in October in Koblenz, in November in Diedenhofen, a new partition took place the following year.

In the Treaty of Ver- dun, the text of which is unknown, in August 8§, Louis the Pious's empire was divided into the Western, Eastern and Central Kingdoms according to the dynastic law of succession, the old principle of fraternal equality, but after the withdrawal of Bavaria, Aquitaine and Italy, in the presence of the magnates, into three countries of equal size - "whether the kings w a n t e d to or not".

Louis the German received his ancestral land and the entire Eastern Empire, the Francis orientalis, sometimes still known by its former name of Austria, Austrasia (German -Ostarrichi- in the -(IV **7) He thus received from Bavaria the territories east of the Rhine and Aare, those of the Saxons, Thuringians, East Franks, Alemanni (without Alsace) as well as Speyer, Worms and Mainz to the left of the Rhine; thus, via the East Frankish kingdom, the "German history" became independent, so to speak, branching off from the other two sub-kingdoms.

Charles the Bald inherited the western Frankish kingdom, the Francia occidentalis, which stretched from north of the Loire to the Meuse and Schulde, as well as Aquitaine and the Spanish Marches, which created the preconditions for the emergence of the French nation, even if language, ethnic and tribal boundaries were not decisive at the time, and the borders were drawn in a rather arbitrary manner, without regard even for ethnic groups or bishoprics that belonged together. Karl,

rather unwarlike, personally cowardly in any case, he more or less turned many of the lands he had acquired against himself: Aquitaine, Brittany, Septimania, the Spanish Marches.

The historically ineffective, geographically and popu- larly inorganic middle section, the regnum of the Prancia Me- dia, which was squeezed between the other two regnums, was inhabited by both Romans (Burgundians, Provençals) and Germanic tribes (Alemanni, Rhine Franks, Frisians). It was an elongated strip of land that stretched from Italy to Friesland, connecting the Mediterranean region from Benevento via the important western Alpine passes, the Provgnce, Burgundy and the middle Prancia, the later Lotharingia, the Meuse, Moselle and Lower Rhine region with the North-East Sea area. This area was chosen by Lothair 1, who retained the title of emperor along with the imperial cities of Rome and Aachen. However, the other two kingdoms also participated in the Frankish heartlands: Louis the German received the Frankish-populated Rhine-Main region, Charles the Bald the Frankish Neustria between the Seine and the Shields.

But Pippin II, the son of Pippin 1, the now deceased son of Louis the Pious, who claimed the throne of Aquitaine and long resisted Charles the Bald, who for his part 'ravaged the country with numerous invasions' (Annales Ftil- denses), was captured in 8d4 and imprisoned in a monastery (p. i38 f.).

Lotharingia, the Middle Kingdom, did not last long (8 y-9oo). After the death of Lothar 1st (855), it was divided between his three sons, Louis II, Lothar II and Charles. The latter died young, and after the death of Lothair II (86d), his uncles, Charles the Bald and Louis the German, tore up the Middle Kingdom in the Treaty of Meersen (7O), bypassing the claims of the other uncles. Louis lI, to himself. However, when the East Frankish Carolingian Arniilf
of Carinthia 8qJ restored Lotharingia and installed his son Zwentibold as king there, the latter died in the Kampl with the local aristocracy and the independent Lotharingian kingship came to an end (p. 3^*)

Although Louis the Pious's empire was divided into thirds according to the respective proportions, the differences were considerable in terms of quality, social and cultural history and organization.

The West and Italy represented old cultural landscapes still impregnated by antiquity. They were more sophisticated, comparatively speaking. At least here and there there were more densely populated urban regions. There was a literacy of some kind, there were books, schools. We also encounter economic involvement, traders and businessmen as well as more and more powerful aristocratic clans. In contrast, large areas of the Eastern Empire appear "underdeveloped", "overgrown with forests, devoid of people and culture, and without intellectual centers" (Fried). Of course, some representatives of the "Carolingian Renaissance" also lived here: Hrabanus Maurus, who only rose to the position of -praeceptor Germaniae- in modern times¡ Walafrid Strabo, who drowned in the Loire as an envoy of Louis 8¢q; Notker Balbulus, the monk of St. Gall.

Perhaps the Treaty of Verdun was not yet, as nam-
older historians (Waitz, Droysen, Giesebrecht) believed it to be a kind of "birth of German and French nationality, of two peoples in whose interest it was certainly not concluded. However, a German and a French history were in the making, nations were beginning to grow out of older peoples, out of the inhabitants of certain countries, the pre-national tribal consciousness was finally
- especially, significantly, through the "community-building" army that united all those of different tribes and regions who were obliged to take up arms.
- to national consciousness. Just as the emergence of other national kingdoms, in England, Spain, Scandinavia, Poland, Bohemia, Hungary, for example, politically characterized the early Middle Ages. Of course, throughout the q. century, people did not yet think in ethnic categories, no nation felt itself to be a "national unit", no person felt himself to be a "German" or a "Frenchman", perhaps not even in the io. Century, even if it is the immediate transitional phase.

Luow+cvoxGormsGx*omK0x1GvOxBAYsRx———————— ;

This division of the Carolingian empire, which had been a major issue during the

q. The fact that further divisions, but also new unions, followed in the second half of the sixteenth century was a compromise forced by circumstances. Although it initially put an end to the mutual overlapping, it also led to the emperorship gradually losing its position of supremacy vis-à-vis the pope, the tripartite division into Germany, France and Italy, and the former unity - the episode under Charles the Fat (p. zy8 ff.) aside - never returning."

LUDWIG VON GO s GNzDE1'1 KöNiG **DER** BnYBRN

Although Louis II the German (43- 7) is repeatedly referred to in contemporary (West Frankish) sources as "rex Germanorum- und "iex Germaniae", his territory - referred to by his own chancellery as "-orienta1is Francis" - was often called "Germania" by authors even at the time, but his epithet "the German" only became common from the iq. century.

Born around 8o5 as the third son of Louis I the Pious, the second Louis had spent his youth at court and in 8-7 > -< Ordinatio imperii under the sovereignty of the emperor as part-kingdom of Bavaria; in addition, as his father determined at the time,

the Carantans, Bohemians, Avars and Slavs living in the east of Bavaria ... - As the twelve-year-old was too young to rule himself, he did not actually do so until almost ten years later. But from 83o at the latest, he is proclaimed "King of Bavaria by the grace of God". The main aims of his policies were to expand eastwards and extend the Carolingian Empire.

During the winter he preferred Regensburg as his re8idence, where he liked to hold court and imperial assemblies, and during the summer Frankfurt, where he also established the 5alvator monastery. In addition to the heartland, the actual power base and secured for him by his military commander, Count Ernst, he was the first king of the kingdom among his friends until dC5Gen

Stun 8öI (Annales

Fuldenses) -, the monarch also ruled Swabia, Rhine and Main Franconia, Thuringia and Saxony, i.e. most of the Germanic peoples of the empire.

Ludwig II the German was not one of the "important" rains, but he was the most important of his brothers.

Even during his long reign, he had a kind of stabilizing effect on the Frankish Empire by almost constantly waging war against the Slavs in Bohemia and Moravia as well as in the north-east, following in the bloody footsteps of his "great" ancestor Charles 1. In doing so, he cooperated closely with the episcopate, as did, of course, the other Carolingian princes, who all involved the high clergy in the fulfilment of their interests and the realization of their goals, making them increasingly dependent, but also becoming dependent themselves, becoming more and more ecclesiastical, more so than the Merovingians, for example.

Louis the German was regarded as the leader and defender of the church. He took care of the mission in Moravia, Bohemia, in the north, from Bremen and Hamburg to Sweden, where, however, the Christian idol was only invoked when the older gods failed, recognized, so to speak, merely as a temporary god, as a possible emergency helper. Louis convened synods, took part in them and only his confirmation made their decisions legally binding; incidentally, this was the only legislation in the East Franconian Empire from which only one state law is reported at the time.

Until the very end, the Bavarian exercised a decisive influence on the appointment of bishops, which he naturally preferred to give to his favorites. Thus he makes 8 the abbot Gozbald of Nie-deraltaich (richly blessed with Roman martyr bones) bishop of Würzburgi as Gozbald's successor the Bavarian Arn, who serves all yier princes and (with relics on his heroic breast) fights as army commander in at least four campaigns (until he falls 8qz - all for Christ - against the Slavs). 8¢J Louis appoints the expelled Ebo of Rheims (p. QI) as chief shepherd of Hildesheim¸ 47 the learned Fulda abbot Hrabanus Maurus as archbishop of Mainz.

The prelates also dominated his "consilium": for example, Abbot Ratleik of Seligenstadt, the Abbot of Herrieden, Liutbert, Archbishop of Mainz since 863 at the instigation of the king, Bishop Solomon I of Constance, Bishop Altfrid of Hildesheim, who as a regent's advisor was far more concerned with politics than with his diocese, but who figures in some sources as a saint and who performed many miraculous healings at his tomb or in the Hildesheim chro- nicle.

The king was therefore constantly surrounded by high-ranking clerics. And quite apart from the fact that the Carolingians exclusively employed clergymen as notaries, and that, in contrast to the Merovingian era, they placed the entire written administration at court in the hands of priests: Louis' chancellors or arch-chaplains - the combination of both offices took place under him - i.e. people who occupied the top positions in his council, were of course prelates: Abbot Gozbald of Niederaltaich, Abbot Grimald of Weißenburg and St. Callen, a relative of the Trier archbishops Hetti and Thietgaud, King Ludwig's most important advisor. Finally, as the new head of the chancery and chapel, Archcaplain and Archbishop Lititbert of Mainz, who was one of two sons of Louis to administer the office that the archbishops of Mainz had held since the Io. Century, since Emperor Otto I's son Wilhelm (from q6y).

However, the court chapel, for centuries a ruling construc
In the Carolingian period, the monarchy of European princes, a typical product of divine grace (Fleckenstein), formed "the closest point of contact between Carolingian politics and the Bavarian episcopate" (Glaser). Even under Ludwig's sons, the decisive influence of the Church on politics was maintained. The bishops continued to act in the chancellery and participated in the government."

Louis the German was also personally pious. He read spiritual writings. He followed the cross barefoot during public supplications. In 85s he had a chapel built in his palace of Frankfurt, where twelve clergymen served. He founded the convent of St. Felix and Regula in Zurich. And all his daughters became non

They were: lrmingard Abbess of the Swabian monastery of Buchau, Hil- degard Abbess of the Schwarzach women's monastery near Würzburg, Bertha Abbess of St. Felix and Regula in Zurich.

In October '7, bishops, abbots and other ecclesiastics of eastern Franconia met at the Albank Monastery in Mainz. For the good of the king, his family and the security of the realm, the synod
in all dioceses, sic informed the ruler, is - read masses and -7 folders - and then asked him, according to the custom of his ancestors, to protect the servants of the Church and their property and not to lend his ear to those who advise him to care less for the Church's property than for his own.

Not incidentally, two canons dealt with the poor, three with the faith and six with the church tithe and tithes.

And it was the same Mainzei Synod that was held against a woman named Thio- ta from the Constance region - such a suspicious preacher (pseudoprophetissa), according to the Fulda Annals,

> -men of the holy estate ... as if they were following a master appointed by heaven - imposed the public scourging, whereupon he is said to have lapsed into mental derangement. And the same Mainz Synod also - according to a series of manuscripts - cold-bloodedly *extended* the episcopate's jurisdictional powers compared to the Mainz Synod of 8i3. Whereas in 8z3 the bishops were still called the healers of the counts and judges in the administration of justice, the Synod of Mainz -°- *47 from this, that -the counts rind judges should assist their bishops in the administration of justice, as divine law has decreed …-!"

The clergy thus participated intensively in the politics of King Ludwig the German. There was complete unity between throne and altar - the bishops always stood behind their king and the king behind his episcopate". The high clergy conducted political negotiations and concluded treaties much more frequently than the graves. Prelates acted as royal messengers, as envoys to foreign powers. And even during wars, they marched to the king

or even on his behalf - even on their own behalf

at the head of an army alone or together with the counts of Pelde" (Schur). In 4i, the Synod of Meaux was aborted (and continued the following year in Paris) because

In the meantime, the bishops were needed in the battle against the Breton prince Nominoë, who then severely defeated Charles the Bald in Ballon, near Le Mans, in November.

Nothing is clearer than that the constantly growing power of the clergy and its ever-increasing self-confidence have been combined with corresponding demands since the days of Louis the Pious. -Subordination and obedience of the princes to the bishops is also demanded with great emphasis, and the encroachment of the laity on the spiritual domain is rejected (Voigt).

Louis II, married since g=7 u't to the younger sister of the Empress Yudith, his father's second wife, the Welf Hemma, apparently had no sensational women-

affairs. In any case, his sexual relations are never criticized. However, he devoted himself all the more intensively to a subject that was usually beyond reproach in the Christian West, for war - usually described seriously by researchers, for example: -his active and determined policy in the East- (Reindel). The extensive northern and even longer eastern borders of his empire, which stretched over one and a half thousand kilometers from the western Baltic Sea to the Adriatic Sea, as far as the Marches of Istria and Friuli, are almost a part of this. This was all the more the case because, compared to western Francia or Italy, the economic development of his country was not so good on the one hand, while its political and military stability and the authority of its king among the nobility and the church were much better on the other. Louis' marriage policy, who married his sons, the eldest Charlemagne, Louis the Younger and the youngest, Charles **III,** to women of the Frankish high nobility, Charlemagne to a daughter of Count Ernest, played a significant r o l e in this.

The eastern borders of the empire, writes Johannes Fried, were

-Although it was never completely pacified, it was largely safe because there were no powerful political centers of the Slavs. Only with the formation of the Moravian Empire did this gradually change, not least because "the mission was driven from Bavaria". According to Wilhelm Störmer, Louis also took "very decisive action" in the eastern border zones, whereby "the churches (dioceses and abbeys)" were an "important element in the development" for him, "which were given dominions above all in the Danube zone, the deployment area of the armies. Ludwig also seems to h a v e delegated the missionary work to the Slavs through Bavarian churches very skillfully."

The Slavs, however, naturally defended their faith. They defended against attacks," writes Gerd Tellenbach, "which they themselves had been afflicted by. And the Christians supposedly knew no loftier goal than to spread their Good News with fire and sword. "The Franks could let off steam without restraint when they came to blows with pagans" (Ri- ché). However, the first East Frankish king was only at the
"Practice of the predecessors", as it is called in the euphemistic style of German historiography, in order to "respect the status quo through repeated intimidating advances" (Schieffer). - For centuries, German research has been fond of terms such as "Eastern Movement" in this regard,
-Land expansion", -possessive 'consolidation'. And even when it speaks freely of "annexation" or "incorporation", it sounds like an almost harmless, natural sliding into the imperial body, it is simply "fusion".

Louis the German operated mainly in the Bohemian-Moravian region, but also waged war against the Obodrites and Sorbs further north: against the Obodrites 8ąą, whose people, as the Fulda annals formulate so nobly as Christianly, -had been subjected to him by God, whereby King Gostemysl fell; while the "Annales Bertiniani" laconically report: "King Louis devastated almost the entire territory of the Slavs and subjected it to his rule." 8 z he marched against the Sorbs,

He subjugated the Daleminzians between the Elbe and the Mulde more by destroying their fields and harvests and by starvation than by military means. 8}6. And even in his late
After 8 7, he sends his son Louis with the Saxons and Thuringians against the Obodrites again.

According to Engelbert Mühlbacher, it was "a difficult task, but also one of great significance for the future, to reassert and extend supremacy over the Slavs beyond the Elbe, the Saale and the Bohemian Forest, which gradually, The more the German influence consolidated and expanded, the more the advance of the German element and culture was given free rein, and in the south-eastern Alpine countries the continuation of colonization, tasks which at the same time opened up new paths for the desire for action and banished it from the circle of internal unrest".

It was clear what it was all about: consolidation, expansion, extension, the "advance of the German element and culture". To put it plainly: further murderous robbery. Szientifiseh (with Rudolf Schieffer): -More political (and missionary) movement". Sounds noble, neutral. Doesn't hurt anyone - on paper. And last but not least, the "desire for action" in the domestic sphere was dampened, paralyzed in this way - basically the criminal strategy of the great powers, but often still today. (Anachronistic
again?)

And in addition to all the attacks on the East, which we will examine in more detail later (pp. iyq ff.), Louis attacked the West Frankish Empire, the inheritance of his stepbrother Charles, which was weakened not only by constant invasions by external enemies, but also by considerable internal turmoil, especially battles in Brittany and Aquitaine."

XL THE OLE AND THE STEN

The West Franconian Empire is now particularly shaken by wars, civil war-like conditions and opposition from the nobility. The Saracens i n v a d e from the south, from Spain and Africa, and the Normans from Scandinavia. Their raids across the sea and up the rivers cost more and more human sacrifices, money, tribute payments and church treasures. But the robbery and banditry against which Charles issued the Capitulary of Servais also flourished in the country itself, with petty dignitaries and wealthy aristocrats often making common cause with the bandits out of greed or recruiting them for murder in return for payment - after all, it is always difficult to imagine the underworld to be worse than the floors above. The king is not such a bad example either for this. Charles the Bald, born on June i 3, 8-3 in Frankfurt am Main from Louis the Pious's second marriage, married as a nine-year-old.
ten-year-old 8 z Irmintrud, the daughter of Count Odo of Orléans, who had fallen against Lothar a few years earlier; evidently a purely political match because, writes Nithard, he "hoped to win over the majority of the people". "In the same year", the "Annales Xantenses" conclude their meagre notes,
-In the city of Tours, the Empress Judith, Charles' mother, died after her son had robbed her of all her wealth."

After a daughter, Judith, Irmintrud bore Charles four sons: Ludwig, Karl, Karlmann and Lothar. The two youngest were forced into the clergy by their father, who was vowed to do so by Archbishop Hinkmar. Lothar, who was paralyzed, died as abbot of S. Germain d'Auxerre while still a boy. He was thus spared the fate of Prince Karlmann.

Charles II resolved family difficulties in the manner of many potentates (not only of his time). A f t e r two marriages at English royal courts, his daughter Judith eloped in 86i with the Friar Count Balduin I and (after a papal intervention) became his wife in 863, Charles could only

resign. However, when his sons, Lo- thar, who was lame from birth, and Charles the Child, who was mentally disturbed due to an injury, died in quick succession, the king initially indulged himself in a very Christian manner with his wife Irmintrud and had her half-queened. But her brother William, who immediately conspired against him, had Charles beheaded - Irmintrud went into a convent.

Charles, occasionally gifted with the work of the military writer Vegetius on the art of war by Bishop Frechulf of Lisieux (with which the Christian wanted to counteract the decline of the Roman military system as early as 4°°), Charles was personally anything but courageous, certainly did not like to fight himself, but tended towards cruelty.

This is also illustrated by his actions against Karlmann. He had put the prince, who enjoyed many sympathies, into the clergy for political reasons, or rather, like the paralyzed Lothar, had him made a monk at a very young age, whereupon h e successively became abbot of Saint-Médard, Saint-Germain-d'Auxerre, Saint-Amand, Saint-Riquier, Saint-Pierre de Lobbes and Saint-Aroul.

On behalf of the king, Abbot Karlmann marched at the head of a army against the Normans in 868, but rebelled against his father in 8yo/8yz, was imprisoned in Senlis and deprived of all spiritual "dignity" by a synod held there in 873 on the basis of a letter of complaint from the regent. It is said to have been only a matter of convenience for him, especially as it opened up prospects of the throne again - but at the same time gave the father the opportunity to punish the son even more severely. When his partisans therefore prepared his liberation and elevation to king, father Charles put him on trial again and had his eyes gouged out,

-so that the mad hope of the disturbers of the peace might be vainly pinned on him and the Church of God and Christendom in the kingdom might not also be brought into confusion by a wicked rebellion, in addition to the affliction of the heathen". In the same year, the blind man managed to flee from Corbie to his East Frankish uncle Louis the German, who offered him

to the monastery of Echternach, where he died a few years later as lay abbot.*

Charles II the Bald had a hard time holding his own for a long time.

It was not only his mother's agitation for his equipment that caused him considerable crises. He also had to contend with the very different geographical, ethnic and historical conditions in his own empire¡Tensions in the south, with the Spanish-Septimanic Goths and the Basques, and difficulties with the Frankish north. He also failed to win over many magnates at first, as they preferred to join Lothar. Only after his defeat at Fontenoy was he able to slowly improve his position*.

However, Charles was plunged into the most dangerous conflicts by the self-confident Bretons and the claims of his nephew Pippin II to Aquitaine.

MURDER U1'4D **THOUSK IN THE BRETAG1'tE**

Brittany was invaded by the Franks at the latest since Pippin III the Younger (probably already use) and his son "Charlemagne". ' and DII; thus
again by Charles's son Louis the Roman 8z8, -4 and 3 His son Louis the German was also involved in the Breton-
feldzug -4 in the process. Ab bove majori discit arare minor- exceptionally more polite in German: Wie die Alten sungen ...

Occasional subjugations of the Bretons were always followed by new uprisings and defections. However, when Louis 3- flUf the Court Diet of Ingelheim conquered the Breton prince Nominoë (831-8j i)
as -missus imperatoris" in Brittany, he maintained his loyalty. It was only after various Carolingian magnates attempted to expand there under Charles the Bald that military confrontations arose with them and then also with the king, whereby Nominoë made his country completely independent and became dependent on the metropolitan in Dol, whom he himself had appointed.

apparently anointed king in 85o - the first king of Brittany who was never actually subjugated by the Franks. Although he recognized the supremacy of the distant emperor, Lothair I, Charles the Bald's claims did not.

But Nominoë died suddenly the very next year during one of his military campaigns. His only son and successor Erispoë (5--*57) believed that Charles could be eliminated quickly. But Eris- poë, who had already defeated the Franks at Messac in 8d3, now destroyed their army - even -numerous horses p e r i s h e d " - even before crossing the border river in the three-day battle of Jengland-Beslê (in Anjou) from August za. to z . 8yi. Charles himself lost his troops, fleeing head over heels on the second day of the battle, so that they too could think of nothing but "escape" afterwards - and the Bretons

-They either cut down anyone they encountered with their swords or took him prisoner alive … (Regino of Pruin). However, Erispoë was reconciled with Charles through the Peace of Angers, joined him as fidelis regis, but was also recognized by him as king himself and was able to double the territorial extent of his country by ceding the entire Breton march around Nantes and Rennes, and in 856 also betrothed his daughter to Charles's eldest, then ten-year-old son Ludwig (II. denn Stammler). Brittany was thus for the time being lost for the Franks.

Erispoü also sought to resolve the ecclesiastical crisis that had been smouldering for a long time, ever since his father. He had deposed the French-free bishops of Dol, Vannes, Quimper and Léon with the help of St. Conwoion (who traveled as far as Rome for this purpose) and made Brittany ecclesiastically independent by appointing bishops in his charge. However, in 857 Erispoë was murdered by his cousin Solomon, who now seized the land, expelled the young Louis and, as king "by the grace of God", as he called himself, achieved the supreme independence of Brittany. The Franks were forced to recognize him, but 8yq killed him. His successors, who both ruled and fought each other, also died in a short time."

And the Aquitaine battlefield p r o v e d t o be no less turbulent.

ML THE HLE LIquiDIERz sEixs NEFFRH

In Aquitaine, Charles II was initially unsuccessful against his nephew Pippin 11. Although Charles had owned the land since the Partition of Verdun (p. tax ff.), the country, at least with its majority population, did not want to belong to him. Thus he raided it "through numerous invasions", but suffered "great losses" (Annales Fuldenses), such as in June 8ąąą at Angoulême against Pippin and William, the only grown-up son of Margrave Bernhard. Among those who fell for Charles at the time were his uncle and first archchancellor Hugh, a "natural" son of Charles "the Great", Abbot of St. Quentin and St. Bertin; and a grandson of St. Charles, Abbot Richbodo of St. Riquier. Among the prisoners: Charles's arch-capetian, Bishop Ebroin of Poitiers, Bishop Ragenar of Amiens, Abbot Lupus of Ferrières and many counts. Charles had lost sovereignty over almost all of Aquitaine."

The king succeeded in a heroic deed at the time. He had Count Bernhard, "who was guileless and suspected no evil of him" (Annales Fuldenses), although, according to another annalist, he had always been a "public robber" and the lover of Charles' mother, treacherously lured him into his camp and killed him immediately. Only after a modest success against the Normans invading Aquitaine did the Ade1, who accused Pippin of a lack of defense, pass to Charles for the most part. And now he was able to be elected Aquitanian king in Orlcans by the clerical and secular aristocracy and - not by the pope - anointed and crowned by Archbishop Wenilo of Sens¡ a tradition-building concept inherited from Archbishop Hinkmar, as Hinkmar transferred the sacral authority of ruler to Charles and made Reims Cathedral the Coronation site of the kings of the Franks*.

Charlemagne thus consolidated his authority in association with the Church through the idea of the rex christianus, and generally through the constant sacralization of this authority by means of ceremonial acts of consecration such as coronation and anointing. Thus, to look briefly ahead: with the appointment of Charles the Child, his eldest son, as Aquitanian sub-king in 855; with the elevation of his daughter Judith to English queen on the occasion of her marriage in 8$6; with his own wife Irmintrud in 86ö. Did he allow himself

himself after his coronation as King of Aquitaine in 4 'n OFléans, was crowned King of Lorraine in Metz in 86q and Emperor in Rome in 8y5. And in 8yq he demonstrated at a

In his attempt to overthrow the throne, he emphasized his dependence on the clergy by declaring that he could not be deposed by anyone but the "verdict and judgment of the bishops, through whose cooperation I was consecrated king; for they are the throne of God on which He sits and from which He speaks the primal judgment. I submit to their paternal reproaches and punishments at all times ..." More proof of the ever-increasing influence of priests o n politics.

Naturally, Charles also benefited from this. For, like the other Carolingians, he not only promoted the "throne of God", but also cooperated closely with it, even though he occasionally claimed the title of abbot, as in Saint-Denis. None other than Pippin I's former chancellor, Bishop Ebroin of Poitiers, led Charles' court clergy as arch-chaplain. And Hugh, the illegitimate son of Charles (by the concubine Regina), the abbot of St-Quentin and St-Bertin and last chancellor of Louis the Fromman, became Charles' first b e f o r e the abbot fell for him at Angoiiléme.

Above all, Charles elevated the noble monk Hinkmar from the monastery of Saint-Denis 8¢5 as successor to Ebo of Reims. Of course, Archbishop Hinkmar, probably the most influential Frankish prelate of the time (who also wrote the Annales Bertiniani from 86i to 88z, very subjectively, entirely with his episcopal aims in mind, whereby the accomplished forger naturally did not hesitate to forge his predecessor's text as well), supported the succession of Ebo.

although Charles's militant annexation attempt against the Middle Kingdom, sharply resisted his imperial policy and his lta)ienzügen.

Just one year after the king's coronation in Orléans (8#8), Pippin's younger brother Charles fell into his hands. The monarch was not only his uncle, but also his godfather (patrem ex fonte sacro), and was thus particularly close to the then twelve-year-old in terms of family and church. Nevertheless, at the imperial assembly in Chartres, he forced the young prince, the eventual pretender, to say from the pulpit that, according to the annals of St. Bertin, he wanted to become a cleric out of love for the service of Cotte without any coercion, whereupon the prelates immediately scolded him and sent him to the monastery of Corbie. And when he took control of Charles' brother Pippin II, the king, in the fall of 8ya, he also had him "s h o r n with the consent of the bishops and great ones" (Regino of Prüm) - incidentally in the same church of Soissons where i ian also forced Louis the Pious to be crucified (p. 8o ff.) - and imprisoned in the monastery of St. Medardus.°

Pippin's first attempt to escape with the help of two priests, monks of the house, failed; he had to swear allegiance to Charles at a synod in Soissons in 853, had to take a vow as a monk, crawl into a cowl once more and return to monastic custody. It was the year in which almost all the Aquitanians fell away from Charles, and in the next year, summoned by them, Louis the German sent his son Louis III the Younger, who advanced as far as the Limoges region. Charles also marched to Aquitaine, even "during Lent" and over "Easter", as the Annales Beniniani report; "but his army did nothing but plunder, burn and carry off captives, and even the churches and altars of God were not spared by their greed and righteousness".

Now Prince Louis, elevated by his father to King of the Aquitanians for a short time, would probably have been able to hold his own against the unpopular Charles with his Thuringians, Alemanni and Bavarians. However, the East Frankish invasion failed at the moment when

ex-king Pippin, whom Charles had presumably allowed to escape, appeared on the scene. For the people, at least the majority of them, stood by Pippin and made him king once again. He regained some areas of Aquitaine, but was attacked again by Charles the next year (8J y) after Louis's departure, who had his son Charles the Child, still a minor, elevated to Aquitaine sub-king in Limoges in mid-October and anointed by the bishops. However, the Aquitanians returned to Pippin the following year, who now sought help from the Bretons and Normans, but fell under Charles' control once again in 86d. And now he had the "traitor to the fatherland and to Christianity" thrown into "strictest imprisonment" in the monastery of Senlis, the imperial prison of the West, where h e probably soon perished.

Meanwhile, Louis the German had received an offer from the West German

Frankish nobility to rule Charlemagne's realm was not only accepted ¡4, but also 8y8/8yq. And at least on the second occasion, the king, who had already fled to Burgundy, could only thanks to the resolute stance of the West Franconian bishops around Hinkmar of Reims.

LUDWIG THE SLIDE ATTACKS
THE WEST FRANCONIAN EMPIRE

Ever since Aquitaine had been taken away from its rightful heirs, the king's sons Pip pin and Charles, things had been particularly bad there, with trouble brewing at every turn. The country was shaken by unrest, and Charles the Bald, once desired by the Aquitanians, became increasingly unpopular and was seen as a tyrant, cowardly and cruel at the same time. When he had Count Gozbert of Maine beheaded in 8J3, a man who had previously been loyal to him, he made himself hated by his influential clan and by the nobility, at least some of whom sympathized with Louis the German. Thus, like the East

Frankish

According to the imperial annals of the time, envoys of the Aquitaine kings frequently approached King Louis with requests either to take over their rule themselves or to send his son to free them from King Charles' tyranny (a Karli regis tyrannide), so that they would not have to seek help from foreigners and enemies of the empire at the risk of Christianity, which they could not find from orthodox and legitimate rulers."

In February 8y4, Charles the Bald agreed a special alliance with Lothar in Liège, which was once again solemnly invoked and directed against Louis, whose son of the same name, Louis the Younger, had meanwhile invaded Aquitaine but had fled the country when Pipius appeared. However, Louis the German now also concluded a special alliance with
Lothar, who nevertheless renewed the special alliance with Charles at his insistence. And when Lothar, who as a widower still had two of his servants in his care, fell fatally ill, the brothers Louis and Charles formed a coalition, tempted by the great spoils and lurking like vultures.

Emperor Lothar I had entered Prüm Monastery as a monk a week before his death. And before he "departed mortal man" on as. Before he "departed mortal man" on September 83 and began "eternal life", he divided the Middle Kingdom between his sons (p. iq8): the eldest, Louis II, who received Italy and the imperial crown; Lothar II, who ruled over the territories then called - Lotharingia- from the Rhone to the North Sea coast; and the youngest, Charles of the Provetice - altogether a vast possession, which Charles the Bald eventually seized, train by t r a i n . [13]

As is the rule after partitions, rivalries soon broke out; indeed, at times it seemed as if Charles of Provence, still a boy, was to be shorn of his clergy and his land divided up. The determined resistance of the Burgundian magnates, who were striving for an autonomous country, prevented this.

However, hostile constellations soon formed again among the older brothers.

Lothar II concluded a formal treaty on i. Ma" g s i" St. Quentin a formal

Alliance with his uncle Charles the Bald, who was confronted with growing difficulties: plundering Normans, victorious Bretons, rebellious Aquitanians, with w h o m even his own greats were at loggerheads, almost all the counts of his country, who, moreover, plundered and robbed scarcely less than his uncle. the Norman raiders, who repeatedly set fire to Paris in 8 ¡7 and devastated entire regions along the Loire with fire and sword. And after Charles the Bald's pact with
Louis the German sought and found an ally in his nephew Lothar II, Emperor Louis of Italy.

Thus the Carolingians once again stood firmly united against each other. And in the summer of 8y8, when Charles finally had the Normans locked up for weeks on the island of Oissel in Seine, when Louis the German had just deployed three armies in the east to fight the Slavs, the Moravians, the Aborigines, the Lions and the Sorbs, he was asked by West Frankish grandees, Count Otto and Abbot Adalhard of St. Bertin, for an armed intervention in his brother's kingdom, whose crown they offered him. They demanded the removal of Charlemagne's "tyranny", as he was "destroying by his malicious rage what the pagans attacking from above had left to them; there was no one among the people who still b e l i e v e d his promises or oaths" (Annales Fuldenses).

In fact, a large part of the West Frankish nobility belonged to this powerful front; including Robert the Brave, the ancestor of the Capetians, lay abbot of the monastery of Marmoutier near Tours as well as of Saint Martin in Tours. Charles had a p p o i n t e d him count of Anjou and Touraine in gJ, and now he switched to Louis the German. And the latter promised, "based on the purity of his conscience" (which, for better or worse, always has its equal), "to help with God's assistance". On the other hand, Hinkmar of Reims warned the king that the fratricidal war was leading to his condemnation and prevented the bishops from apostatizing. However, in order to liberate the people, Louis penetrated deep into western Franconia via Alsace in the summer.

The nobility, faithless as usual, ran to him, including the then richly rewarded Archbishop Wenilo of Sens¡ a decade earlier he had anointed and crowned his West Frankish master in Orlé- ans after his election as king!

Charles broke off the siege of the Normans, and on ia. November, the armies of the two brothers faced each other at Brienne on the Aube. At first, Charles wanted to remedy what had happened with Louis' advice and support and with God's help. Then he demanded, also in vain, that his bishops banish Louis from the church. In the end, he secretly abandoned his troops (cum paucis latenter), which had already been deployed for battle, and fled to Burgundy, leaving his army to Louis. And Lothar, breaking his duty of alliance, also abandoned Charles and joined the victor without a fight.

Louis, to whom a large part of the West Frankish kingdom fell so effortlessly, generously distributed honors and land to those who called him, ginze counties, monasteries, royal estates and allodies (a legal term for - Vol1gut-, the thoroughly own property), and went via Reims to St. Quentin, where he, always pious, c e l e b r a t e d the feast of the Nativity of the Lord in the monastery of St. Quintinus the Martyr."

However, the Western Frankish episcopate opposed the intruder. The prelates of the ecclesiastical provinces of Reims and Rotien - led by Archbishop Hinkmar himself - spoke to King Ludwig's conscience and accused him of having caused greater misery than the pagans. They lamented the misery caused by the war of Christians against Christians, whereas it had been the king's first duty to wield the sword against the damned pagans! And furthermore to protect the rights and privileges of the church!

And since Louis, too confident of victory, had rashly dismissed his army home, had also received news of a Sorbian uprising, and since the "liberation" was soon disliked in the west, the sons of the Telfengrafen Konrad went over to Charles, inciting him against his now almost defenceless brother, the latter fled,

"after the whole empire had been ruined and nothing had improved" (Annales Xantenses), he fled head over heels to Worms, while Charlemagne's victory in a seemingly difficult situation virtually justified his rise. Lothar then changed sides again and, soon after Louis' escape, defected back to the recently betrayed Charles by swearing an oath to the old alliance at Warq near Mezieres. Until finally, in June 86o, in the castle of Koblenz, where Lothar was also p r e s e n t , Louis and C h a r l e s guaranteed each other peace with a solemn oath, even, as 8y, in both languages - "according to the will of God and for the preservation, honor and defense of the Holy Church ...", but of course atich "for the good and peace of the Christian people entrusted to us", and not least "for the preservation of law, justice and order . . .-"

People lived in religious, deeply Christian times - where for instance just -in very many places blood-red snow had fallen"; where just Liutbert of Münster, the blessed bishop, filled the monastery of Freckenhorst with -many limbs" of all holy martyrs and confessors, yes, with his part of the Lord's crib and of his grave …" Not enough of the miraculous: one had -at the same time also of the dust of his feet, when he a s c e n d e d to heaven …- Immediately afterwards w e read that the (Christian) kings at Coblenz -destroyed everything in the surrounding area. And immediately after that, King Lothar (11th) had left -his lawful wife- in order to have -public intercourse- with the Kebs-wife-. And King Louis had made "the godless Hughard earl". Those were religious, deeply Christian times. The chronicler concludes his annual report:

"It would be but a pity to recount the discord of our kings and the calamities which the heathen have brought upon our kingdoms."

Well, let's tell you some of it.

THE SLAw sicxnRN EU ...

The Slavs, whom some Roman scholars of the early imperial period (Pliny the Elder, Tacitus, Prolemaios) called Venedi, the Germans then Wends, never referred to themselves as such, but, as has been documented since the thirteenth century, as Slovenes (Slovénin, Mz.S1ovéne). They referred to themselves as Slovenes (Slovénin, Mz.S1ovéne). The Slavic name Sklabënöî, first attested in the early 6th century, still awaits etymological explanation despite much effort. On the other hand, the derived, centuries later equation of 5clavini, Sclavi (Arabic şaqăliba) with Slavic prisoners of war, with slaves, in connection with the slave trade prevalent in the (Catholic and Islamic) Mediterranean countries, especially in Spain. And here there is (in contrast, as one might think, to the "inner-European early Middle Ages") a continuity of that ancient slavery, which extends from antiquity to the colonial slavery of the Neolithic period - a n d perhaps this continuity exists b e y o n d the limits indicated.

Although the Slavic ethnogenesis has only been clarified in outline so far, the latest research claims that the original homeland of the Slavs was "somewhere north of the Carpathians" (Váńa): in the area of the middle Dnieper, in the area of the Oder and Vistula, between the Oder, Vistula and the middle Dnieper, perhaps in western Ukraine, near the large Pripyet swamps. Later, these Slavs split into three main streams. The Eastern Slavs (Russians, Ukrainians, White Ruthenians) settled around the Dnieper; the Western Slavs (Czechs, Slovaks, Poles, Elbe and Baltic Slavs) around the Vistula and Oder; the Southern Slavs (Serbs, Croats, Slovenes, Bulgarians) in the Balkans¡ a huge area stretching between the Black Sea, the Baltic, the Adriatic and the Aegean."

In the J. and 6th centuries, Slavs were ruled by the Kut(r)igurs, then by the Avars. They had conquered the western Siberian lowlands on the Irtysh, iS7 reached the Eastern Roman borders, J6I also the Elbe. After the migration of the Lombards under King Alboin from Pannonia and their entry into the

fall 68 in Italten (IV io7 ff.), the Avars occupied the middle Danube region, now the center of their extensive empire, as Bulgarians and numerous Slavic tribes served as auxiliary peoples. From the middle of the *6th* century, the western Slavs had slowly seeped across the Vistula into the north-eastern and central German regions, which had been emptied by the Germanic tribes as a result of migration, albeit not everywhere, but to a large extent, and since the end of the 6th century had spread as far as the Elbe, Saale, Naab and Upper Main rivers. advanced. Most of today's Upper Franconia was Slavic territory. country. "They stole in like thieves," writes the theologian Albert Hauck, "because you don't know how and when they came ..." Finally, they settled in eastern Holstein, in the Hanoverian Wendland or in Thuringia as well as in the Bohemian Basin, in Carinthia, eastern Tyrol, Styria, Carniola, where the peoples of the Poles, Wends, Czechs, Slovaks and Moravians gradually emerged."

As new excavation finds prove, the Slavic invasion from Sñdpo)en via Bohemia and Moravia to the Balkans took place peacefully. Some of these areas were settled by Germanic peasants, while others, such as between the middle Elbe and middle Oder in the middle of the öth century, were deserted. A Byzantine source reports nm öoo that the Slavs usually left it up to their captives to buy their freedom or to remain with them as "friends". The Slavs were not unfit for war, as is sometimes assumed. On the contrary, they gradually improved their equipment, fighting style and fortifications; especially the border Slavs were not inferior to the Western European peoples in this respect.

In the 8th and g. In the 8th and 14th centuries, the entire eastern Elbe region was inhabited by Slavs. However, they are also found in densely populated areas from Ostholstein and Hamburg to north-eastern Bavaria. Agriculture flourished, as did livestock and forest beekeeping, crafts and trade, so that they "played an incalculable part in the formation of European civilization" (Fried). Even the process of "development" began with them, as with the Germanic tribes, earlier than with the Romans, the

Italians or the French.

The Elbe Slavic tribes settled in the north, the Obodrites from the Baltic Sea to the lower Elbe, further east the Liutizi (Wilzes), between the Elbe and the Saale the Sorbs and the Daleminians. The Czechs, only called that in later centuries, lived in the Bohemian mountains, the Moravians partly in the valley of the Morava, the Slovenes (Carantans) and South Slavs along the Danube and its tributaries.

In the Eastern Alps, the settlement area of the Alpensla-
In the 8th century, the Bavarian peasants lived in what is now Carinthia, Carniola, Styria and Lower Austria with the Danube as their northern border; their westernmost residential area was what is now East Tyrol, where they came as far as the Puster Valley and almost as far as the sources of the Drau. Of course, there were also Bavarian farmers here and there, so there were mixed settlement zones and, after battles towards the end of the 19th century, peaceful coexistence.

The Slavs had advanced furthest into the west by the 7th century, roughly as far as the Elbe-Saale-Böhnierwald line. And until the 8th century, there was a relatively peaceful relationship between the Elbe Slavs and the Franks. At least the Elbe Slavs who settled between the Elbe-Saale and Oder rivers, i.e. on what later became German territory (now also known as "Germania Slavica"), are not to be confused with the Franks.

-Sorben, Liutizen (or Wilzen, Slav. Weletabi) and Obodrites-
politically and economically independent for centuries."

... **AND FROM THE - RscxT OF CULTURAL PEOPLE AGAINST THE BARBARI"**

But as early as the 8th century, what Droysen, more than a millennium later, called the struggle with that "rage and cruelty", that "hatred against the Germans that is Slavic to this day" began; what for the Saxon general's son Treitschke, for the German master's point of view, the

"The right of civilized peoples against barbarism"; for Franz Lüdke iq36 "the tremendous achievement in the past of our

people-. In short, the detite colonization began. Eastern colonization", which lasted until the w century. This was a constant gain of space, which took place in three powerful stages: in the Carolingian period, when the Slavs were already trying to protect themselves with numerous castles on the other side of the Frankish border, especially under Charlemagne.

-The Great, who opens the first campaign against the Wilzen and Havel-Spree tribes in 7 q and subdues the Saxons and Thuringians west of the Elbe. But there are also

In the following century, especially under Louis the German, there were major wars on the Elbe-Saale line with Abodrites, Wends, Sorbs, among others 8ąąą, 8ą6, 8y8, 86z. 74-

In the central part of the Slavic frontier, the first Slavs came under Charles I,

Frankish armies 8o5/8od to Bohemia (IV 493 1. -*' already tributary to the Frankish Empire at that time, to the

-tributary states. And here, too, it is Louis the German who predominates in the south-east.

"Vorfeld" of Bavaria pursued a continued military and ecclesiastical expansion, whereby he was able to have the Bohemian dukes and their followers (cum hominibus suis) killed at Regensburg on I3. January 4s 'n Regensburg th Bohemian dukes together with their followers (cum hominibus suis) because they "demanded the Christian religion".

ten-, but hardly after Frankish suzerainty. Bohemia, since then part of the Bìstum of Regensburg, had temporarily joined Great Moravia, but w a s once again subject to the "German Empire"."

It hardly ever happens in this Christian world that a slaughter is not carried out somewhere at some time, which is why it is specifically noted in the "Annales Fuldenses": "This year was free of wars." Even if the Christians did not

the chroniclers are amazed. So it says in the

"Xantener Jahrbüchern" 85o: - In the same year there was such peace between the two brothers, Emperor Lothar and King Louis, that they settled in "Eisling", a part of the Ardennes.

- Together they hunted for many days with little company, so that many were astonished (ut multi hoc facto mirarentur); and they

parted in peace.[3] '

Yes, peace, it amazes, it is rare, highly unusual; not only

between Christians and pagans, especially among Christians. And today? There has been war among Christians for two thousand years. Nowhere have there been more wars in the world! And nowhere greater!

In the later 1940s, the Bohemians repeatedly rebelled, breaking allegiance "in the usual manner". 8#8 and 8@q Louis the German sent armies against the Czechs, with 8§q atlCh several abbots taking part and being badly beaten. The Franks had to take hostages in order to be able to return home at all.

Historians like to refer to Louis's wars in the east and north as attempts at pacification, border security, consolidation, stabilization, integration and Christianization. They speak of a not purely defensive border belt, an extremely flexible border security system, a very mobile external border of the Christian world from the Baltic to the Adriatic, of the assertion and expansion of what had been achieved through Charles I's strategic foresight, etc. But it was not as beautiful as it sounds. The incessant military campaigns a c r o s s the borders speak just as clearly as not a few Frankish border forts, which, especially at key strategic points, were always also gateways; in the north against the Danes, for example, the fortress of Esesfeld near Itzchoe, in the east on t h e Elbe, Höhbeck Castle on the high bank opposite Lenzen, or Magdeburg, or also Halle an der Saale."

S WIPING TOOL AND FRANCONIAN GOD'S PEOPLE

The Slavs were pagans and even in Christian lands such as Thuringia, Hesse and the East Franconian districts, they remained unbelievers for longer than the other inhabitants. Their culture was demonstrably higher than at times and occasionally still

assumed today. We have to bear in mind - and not only here - that the Frankish-German reports about the Slavs
for a long time, from the 7th to the 2nd century. century, almost exclusively from Christian priests, who were not eyewitnesses themselves, but often second- or third-hand witnesses.
third hand. And if they were at war with the Slavs, as was usually the case, they were insulted. But if they were allied with them, they were suddenly praised, sometimes emphasizing that they deserved it in an admirable way.

If Carolingian and Ottonian historiography differ in their assessment, a certain hatred of the people has long prevailed, if not hereditary enmity, not least for religious reasons, due to the opposition between pagans and Christians, and this has been the case since the Merovingian period. Later, the Slavs were often condemned across the board. The more Christian the world becomes, the %er the others become. After all, all "sinners", i.e. people who have turned away from God, all "unbelievers", according to the medieval view influenced by Augustine (I yo3 and 3ii ff.) and Pope Gregory "the Great" (IV 171 ff.).
View, gentiles, infideles, pagani, in short "Tcufelsgenossen, die must be destroyed by all means if they do not profess to be a matter of God- (Lubenow).

Slavs seemed to Christians to be suitable only as slaves - a word derived from "slavus" - or as pure objects of murder, people who were mocked by pious Catholics as "warmongers" and mowed like **grass** in the meadow, sub-humans, animals. "What do you want with these toads?" says the monk Notker of St. Gall to a Christian backbone. -Seven or eight and even nine of them I used to impale on my lance and carry around with me humming something or other." The Slavs were also fundamentally wrong, insidious. -The "Wends", as not only the
-In their habitual disloyalty to Louis, they were breaking their word, as St. Boniface, the "Apostle of the Germans", had already done.

He scolded them for being the "foulest and worst race of men" (foedissimum et deterrimum genus hominum), and he despised them so much that he never mentions preaching to the Slavs in all his missionary letters."

In contrast, the Franks - who, as Christians, should have been "humble of heart", as Mt. i i,zq and similar passages in the Bible say - felt themselves to be an "exalted people", something very special. The prologue of the "Lex Salica" (the oldest West Germanic law of the people), which dates back to Clovis I, shows this drastically: -The famous tribe of the Franks, created by God himself, brave in war and persevering in peace, [...] of noble stature and immaculate splendor and extraordinary beauty, daring, swift and swashbuckling, taught the Catholic faith and immune to all heresy [...J. Long live Christ, who loves the Franks."

And after Otfrid von Weißenbtirg (died after 7°), the first German-language poet known by name, a puer
oblatus and theologians, perhaps occasionally active at Louis the German's court chapel, the Franks are a God-fearing people, God is everywhere with them¡ everything they think and do, they think and do with God, they undertake nothing without his advice, and they not only want to learn and sing his word, but also to fulfill it. Otfrid's aim, however, as he confessed to a metropolitan of Mainz, was to suppress the oral pagan poetry of his time.[2]

According to ecclesiastical opinion, every Christian prince had to fight the pagans, both within the country and on its borders. Indeed, according to the prevailing Augustinian doctrine of the spread of God's kingdom on earth, the Slavic East had to be won over, "converted". It was no coincidence that Augustine's magnum opus -Vom Gottesstaat- was a favorite reading of Charlemagne (cf. I yo3 ff.). And Charlemagne, the Carolingians, the Frankish aristocracy and the rest of the landowning class were all the more interested in -exploitation-, plunder and tribute in the East when agricultural productivity was meagre.

and the prospect of gaining land within the country was insignificant. The territories of the Slavs also always formed a reservoir for auxiliary troops and slaves.

The Christian nobility did not always view the Slavic mission with mixed joy, and of course for a highly selfish reason. After all, the acceptance of Christianity by the pagans removed an excuse for the neighboring Saxon noble class to attack, tyrannize and rob them. "Even if the Christianization of the Slavs did not bring the warlike Saxon feudal nobles the complete drying up of an important source of income …, it at least made it more difficult for the Saxons to plunder their neighbors" (Donnert). And, of course, their fleecing was always more important to the Christians than the Gospel; the Catholic princes were first and foremost concerned with power, greed, increasing their landed property and their feudal rents - " as, says Abbot Regino, the hearts of kings are greedy and always insatiable". Archbishop Wilhelm of Mainz called *Otto* "the Great", his father's claim that it was about the spread of Christianity, a whitewash. And Helmhold's Chronicle of the Slavs then states bluntly with regard to Henry the Lion: "There was never any talk of Christianity, only of money …"

But it is not just a question of -that Christianity first took root on the other side of the Elbe and Saale in connection with military conflicts- (Fleckenstcin). No, the Christian church, and of course the German church, was also a "driving force" for this whole highly aggressive eastward expansion, a force for which faith was also above all a means to an end, a force, writes Kosminski, that preyed on the tithe, on estates and serfs and in the

-The conversion of the pagans was seen as a highly lucrative source of damage. The papacy, which was one of the main organizers of the campaigns to the east of Europe, helped her in the most energetic way, as it hoped t o expand its sphere of influence and increase its income."

But it was precisely this that could be achieved excellently with the help of Christian missionary propaganda, with constant pallaver about

-The lords, the bishops, the abbots, were no less involved in these raids and conquests, which already appeared to be crusades, from the Carolingians, if not already the Merovingians, through the military campaigns of the Saxon and Salian emperors to the time of the actual crusades."

There were two ways of winning over the Slavs.

One is the independent church mission, such as that of Bishop Ansgar, who bought boys in Denmark and Sweden to make Christian clergymen out of them¡ the mission of Bishop Adalbert of Prague to the Prussians in the late io. century or that of Günther of Magdeburg to the Liutici in the early ii. century.

As these individual attempts at conversion were virtually unsuccessful, the church preferred to spread the Good News by means of the state armies, with fire and sword or even through bribery. In any case, for the Slavs, accepting Christianity was "tantamount to slavery" (Herrmann) and the more effective the weapons proved the power of the Christian God and the impotence of the old gods, the easier it was to assume."

IN TOO YEARS*7 CRIsIS AGAINST THE SLnwEN

Pippin II (g---- 7^') had already undertaken his conquests of West Friesland and Thuringia in close alliance with the Roman Catholic Church, transferring their land in the annexed territories and thus, as Pope Wojtyla would say today, making -evangelization- possible (IV zq5 ff.).

It was no different in Charlemagne's atrocious Saxon Wars. Robbing and Christianizing were simply part of his policy. He always went into Saxony with Christian flags, in the

The priest and his "blessing" always followed the military and its lines of attack, the baptismal bath always grew o u t o f the blood, out of the baptism.

the mission of mass murder (IV 4i7 If.). And the creation of the Avar empire on the eastern flank of the Frankish empire, this likewise purely annexationist large-scale alliance, was a further example.

The war of Charlemagne was waged as a holy war and with the help of field bishops. Here, too, warriors and clerics worked together everywhere, and the vast spaces in the south-east, which had been won by the sword, were then particularly "guarded" by the Patriarchate of Aquileia and the Archbishopric of Salzburg (IV 4 y ff.).

The destruction of the Avar empire was followed by unprecedented

counted further moves against the Slavic peoples living there, some still in the first half, but more and more since the middle of the q. century. century. The fields were devastated, the herds destroyed, many people killed. Almost the entire life of Louis the German's elder son, Karlmann, the lord of Bavaria, Carinthia, Pannonia, Bohemia and Moravia, who died in 88o, was filled with wars. And all of them were associated with mission. The cross always came with the sword. While Bavaria, preferably Regensburg and the Central Palatinate, was taking over piece after piece in the south-east, the Bavarian prelates were engaged in Christianization among the subjugated Slavs. However, the high clergy also accompanied the troops, sometimes even leading them; for example, Bishop Otgnr of Eichstätt, who was at the head of a detachment in Bohemia ¡7 making conquests.

te; so 8yI/82z BİsChof Am of Würzburg, who also 8qi there invaded and was slain by the greater part of his party; GO 7* Bishop Liutbcrt of Mainz and Abbot Sigehard of Fulda.*

At the beginning of the year S 874, the Sorbs and Suslians on the Thuringian border refused to pay the customary interest imposed on them. Archbishop Liutbert of Maine and Ratolf, the Margrave of Sorbenmark, then crossed the Saale with an army in

January and put down the uprising of the small border peoples there by fire and plunder. It

was the last Slavic campaign during the reign of Louis the German. But already 8yy under his son of the same name a very similar attack against the Suslians and their neighbors was repeated; the king allowed himself to be given some hostages and not a few gifts and brought them back to their old servitude."

Of course, the church constantly supported all of Louis the German's sons, as it did Louis himself. The maltreated masses, abused as mere labor slaves, were fed with accusations of sin, with clumsy fraudulent relics, so-called supplication processions, the worse things got, the more so; especially in the years 73 and 74, when particularly great misery broke out, as, of course, *oh.* snowmelt, floods, famine, droughts, swarms o f locusts, so that one could "hardly see the sky as through a sieve" and at many places "the shepherds of the church and the whole clergy withdrew from them with the reliquaries and crosses, invoking God's mercy". Yes, -with various plagues the Lord continually struck his people and visited their iniquities with the rod and their misdeeds with blows- (Annales Xantenses).

The Lord above the clouds struck - not the Lord on the horse! The dear Heavenly Father struck constantly. And struck constantly. The "Fuldaer Jahrbücher" (Fulda Yearbooks) also saw -the Germanic people hit not a little as a result of their sins. -sins" and
-deeds were always to blame - not the natural economy of the aristocracy, its bloodsucking, permanent exploitation. It seemed to be fateful, like the forces of nature that once again befell those of whom the folk artist Jeggle writes:
"One's own body knew no pleasure, only poverty, the woman and the children were also mere means of labor. Socialization was nothing but familiarization with this work process ... Work defined the daily routine, the phases of the year, the stages of life ... Work and life coincided". Almost a third of the population of the East and West Franconian empire perished at that time. In the following summer, a rainstorm rifi

water killed 88 people in Eschborn (west of Frankfurt) alone. Even "the village church was destroyed along with its altar, leaving no trace of its edification for those who had just seen it - and all of course "as a consequence of our sins" (Annales Fuldenscs).

As was the case under the Carolingians, the 5raai and the church cooperated in the advances of the Ottonians, the Salians against the Elbe Slavs, the Polish dukes against the Pomeranians, and in the missionary interventions of the archbishopric of Bremen-Hamburg.

-Ideal and religious ... very intertwined ... with secular motives" (Bünding-Naujoks); is the expansion of the Christian empire beyond Germany's eastern and northern borders

-always been a joint work of the church and the state, of preaching and coercion¡ the work of the teaching and baptizing priest followed the warlike conquest or happened after approval- (Bauer).

It has been calculated that the Catholic Franks and Saxons fought 7 wars against the Slavs in a period of not quite oo years, from Charlemagne's campaign against the Liutices in 78q to Frederick Barba- rossa's and Henry the Lion's invasion of Poland in ¡ -i7! zo of these ended with a victory for the imperial troops, barely a third is said to have been in their favor.

have been successful.

In the first centuries of the early Middle Ages, the Slavs hardly had a Slavic community consciousness that united all the many tribes, small tribes and "civitates". However, their political and social structure changed considerably, the power of the tribal princes and the tribal aristocracy grew and tribal states were gradually consolidated."

Slavic principalities also existed in the 7th and 8th centuries. One such federation was headed by the "duke" (dux) Dervanus of the Slavs, who after 63s joined the Frankish merchant Samo, the founder of the first Slavic empire (6zo-ö58), after he was defeated in the three-day

Battle of Wogastis6urg (on the Eger) the Merovingian king

Dagobert I had been disastrously defeated (IV a 6). And around 7 o a herd formed in the eastern Alps among the Carantanian Slavs. The Christian-friendly dux Boruth called on the Bavarian duke Odilo to help him against the Avars, shortly before Pippin III, his brother-in-law, killed him by an insidious night attack.

lish attack on the sleeping Bavarian army (I* 3>-)- ln the p. century, however, the Great Moravian Empire arose on the Slavic side, and in the ro. two further larger Slavic states: first Bohemia, under the Czech princely house of the Prussians, then Poland under the Piasts.

LARGE MILLS

The East Franconians attached particular importance to the -Moravians". In the early q. Century from various small tribes, they are first mentioned by a Frankish source in 8zz. The imperial annalist notes at the time that the emperor had received legations with gifts (cum muneribus) from all eastern Slavs - he mentions Abodrites, Sorbs, Wiltzes, Bohemians, Avars, Predene- center (an eastern Abodhite group in the Branichevo district) and also the Moravians (Marvanorum) - at the day in Frankfurt. And these "gifts" were of course not gifts of love, but burdens imposed on all the peoples, which they perceived as oppressive and shameful."

At that time, two rival principalities had formed from a number of small Slavic tribes, one in the valley of the Morava, led by Mojmir I (83 4), the other in Nitra, south-western Slovakia, with Prince Pribina at the head.

the head. Although still a pagan, *-7 z8 he had the first church consecrated on his territory at Neutra by the Salzburg archbishop Adalram, but was replaced in 833 by Mojmir, the first rulers of the Great Moravian Empire mentioned in the sources. The ancestor of the Mojmirid dynasty annek-

Pribina's territory and commanded Forian over both princes, initially without open conflict with the East Franks, while Pribina fled to the Bavarian East in 83d and became a Christian on the orders of Louis the German. He later functioned as a Frankish vassal in Unrerpannonia, in the area around Lake Balaton, where numerous churches soon rose up with Salzburg's help, Salzburg missionaries appeared, Bavarian peasants and, above all, Bavarian collegiate churches and monasteries came to own land: Altaich, St. Emmeram, Freising, kiirc, the Salzburg mission became particularly successful in Pribina's principality (Prinz) - Pribina was, however, slain by the Moors around 86o.

The name -hIähren- (Moravia) comes from the river March (Mo- rava), a left bank already described by Tacitus as "Marus" (mar, nior,
"swamp) mentioned tributary of the Donati. The name Great Moravia goes back to Constantin Porphyrogcnitus, De administrando imperio, and has become quite common in more recent research; however, some prefer the term "Old Moravia". In any case, this state, which formed the core of the Samos empire and also had contacts with the Avars, was a state that was divided in the q. It was the oldest star- nary state of the Western Slavs and at the time one of the largest and most powerful states in Europe, as well as a central point of Central European trade, encompassing Bohemia, Moravia, Slovakia, Lusatia and the territories of the Eastern Thirds."

THE L DWIG-SiPPE: Me E **BEIT** UNDER THE KNEE **AND "THE BLOODY CREATION OF THE BLACK***

Only loosely dependent on the Frankish Empire, Great Moravia was initially neither pro-Franconian nor Christian, but was repeatedly under the military control of the East Frankish Empire.

and the missionary one of the East Frankish Church (Passau to Moravia, Rcgensburg to Bohemia). Occasionally, however, it also expanded at the expense of its opponents, whereby in addition to the fierce military conflicts, there was also the ecclesiastical-political clash between the Roman bishop and the Patriarch of Constantinople, and in the short term even between the Pope and the East Frankish episcopate."

Christianity had penetrated Moravia by the turn of the q. century at the latest. century at the latest, where there were also stone churches a few decades later. Excavations in Mikuléice, the metropolis of the Great Moravian Empire, have uncovered five churches inside a huge 6-hectare fortress dating from this period. And on the site of the rtind zoo Hek- tar outer castle, there were at least five churches within the fortified areas of noble courtyards.

Naturally, the Slavs used violence to defend themselves against the threat of religion and feudal oppression, whereby their resistance grew and the wars became increasingly harsh and cruel. The actual goal was: expansion of power and exploitation, the "colonization work". They wanted to make the Slavs dependent and make them pay interest. Christianization" served more or less as a pretext, as a disguise.

"The mild work under the banner of the cross was to ennoble the bloody work of the sword. The Bavarian church was particularly capable of achieving this high goal ..." (Aufhauser).

The decisive ecclesiastical escalation came from Re- gensburg, from its royal palace and bishop's see (where Bohemian princes and lords were held as covens) and from the Re- gensburg cathedral monastery.

Even before 835, the Frankish border commander (prefect) Radbod was already operating as far as Lake Balaton. In 8ya, the Synod of Mainz still states "a raw Christianity among the Moravian people" - but where has Christianity been, politically speaking, since Constantine?

"the coarse - not coarse! In the second half of the q. century, the new religion already became a -ideo1ogical cornerstone- (Nova) of the Great Moravian state¡ which was an anony-

The hagiographer discreetly describes it thus: -The Moravian empire also began to expand its territories more and more and to defeat its enemies …- In the beginning of the io. century
The whole of Bohemia became part of the diocese of Regensburg: in 973, Prague became a bishop's see and was placed under the archbishopric of Mainz. Until the High Middle Ages, however, many Slavs wanted nothing to do with Christian priests.
know. And as late as the Id. century, Prague synods turned against the most diverse pagan customs.

Under Mojmir, the Great Moravian Empire encompassed Moravia and Slovakia; however, it apparently recognized the sovereignty of its powerful neighbor, even though in the 1940s the pagan party constantly raised its head against Christianity, especially against the close union with Bavaria, which Moravia was forced to do at times. In general
Louis had been much more active again in the east since 4i. when the Treaty of Verdun (p. zaz ff.) strengthened his rule.

On the death of Mojmir, the Moravians rebelled, whom Louis - who had already attacked the Wends in 8W 4, had subjugated all the kings of those lands by force or in kindness (Annales Bertiniani) and had killed a prince - fought again and again. He may have been encouraged by the fact that dukes from **Bohemia**, which was under pressure from Moravia, appeared in Regensburg at that time and
were baptized. In any case, he invaded in August 4, deposed Mojmir and, in order to consolidate his supremacy, transferred Mäh-
rens led by Rastislav (84 - 7), Mojmir's nephew. And he, presumably having become a Christian, now had to take in German and I t a l i a n missionaries.

Thus Louis created order, report the Annales Fuldenscs, and "regulated the circumstances as he pleased ... From there he returned home through Bohemia with great difficulty and significant loss of his army." This reads briefly, clichéd, almost formulaic - who sees people crep- ing along the road in the flesh . . .?

Further moves by Louis to Bohemia follow, with his second

son, Louis the Younger, making his first appearance. Ab bove majori discit ... And the incursions continue until 8yo: 8d8

for example, when, as the king was ill, "quite a few counts and abbots, together with their numerous troops, were sent off and war was started with the enemies who were trying to make peace", while

-was shamefully defeated, as its own chroniclers admit. Many Franks fell - the "Fulda Yearbooks" speak of a "constant bloodbath". And the rest -returned home to their fatherland very humiliated. But paganism from t h e north damaged Christendom according to custom, and it grew more and m o r e in strength, but to tell this in more detail would cause weariness (Annales Xantenses)."

However, as is so often the case, Christianity was suffering from a severe famine. The former abbot of Fulda, the Metropolitan of Mainz Hrabanus Maurus, is said to have fed more than three poor people at the time, according to the Fulda annals and

tell among other things: -An almost starved woman with a small child came to him and wanted to be revived by him, but before she crossed the threshold, she collapsed from weakness and breathed her last. And when the boy pulled the dead mother's breast out of her dress, as if she were still alive, and tried to suckle, he caused many who were watching to sigh and weep.

This is reported by the annalist for the year of the Lord 8yo. In the next section he writes that King Louis once again

"severely oppressed and, after destroying the crops and taking away all hope of a harvest, tamed hunger more than by the sword."

A n n - when a new famine had already begun, a large synod called by the king to Mainz and held under Hraban insisted, among other things, on church property and tithes (but allowed the concubinage of unmarried people as it did not contradict the monogamy law). After the council, however, the Moravians were converted to Christianity on a makeshift basis.

Prince Rastislav, however, did not want to be a submissive vassal in the long term, did not want to be the constant recipient of orders from the King of France. Rather, he sought to shake off his sovereignty. Indeed, he, whom Louis the Teutonic had un-

dertaken as duke.

turned out to be the main opponent of the Bavarian Empire. And so the "Annales Bertiniani" write somewhat laconically at the end of their annual report 8yy: "Louis, the king of the Germans, was troubled by the frequent apostasy of the Slavs.""

And the other side?

In the spring of that year, the church was invaded again. Erwa at the time when Mainz was shaken by twenty earthquakes and many houses were burned, when even the church of St. Kilian the Martyr was struck by lightning or, according to the Fulda yearbooks, by the "heavenly f-egg". According to the Fulda yearbooks, the church of St. Kilian was struck by lightning or, according to the Fulda yearbooks, by the "heavenly f-egg" and went up in flames (of all things - while the clergy were singing vespers") and soon afterwards a terrible storm even destroyed the church walls "from the ground up", In the spring of 8yy, a strong force of Louis advanced against Rastislav, with several bishops fighting at the head of a Bavarian contingent, albeit in vain. And in the summer, Louis himself arrives in Moravia, although he too -with little edolg", "without victory-. "But his army raided a large part of the province with plunder and fire and completely routed a not insignificant number of enemies when they tried to enter the king's camp." Rastislav had retreated into a strong entrenchment, which Louis did not dare to attack, allegedly to spare his troops (the well-known field commander sensitivity!). And when he marched off victoriously, Rastislav in turn plundered the Bavarian border territories.

In 8yä, however, the king was already fighting in the east again, losing a large part of his army in the process. In August, the Daleminzians had first been bloodily defeated with the combined might of the army, and from there they roamed "the land of Bohemia", capturing several Bavarian counts and numerous troops in the process. But the very next year, they were once again operating in Bohemian territory. It is the year in which a bolt of lightning "like a fiery dragon" now tears apart St. Peter's Church in Cologne, killing two clerics and one layman (each precisely next to an altar: St. Peter, St. Dionysius, St. Ma- ria) and six other worshippers, who were, however, killed.

"barely torn" (Annales Fuldenses) - as early as 8i7, Bi-

Otgar, Duke of Eichstätt, with other greats, again conquered Bohemia. At the same time, a second army attacked the Sorbs and a third under Louis' younger son of the same name attacked the Obodrites, against whom he also marched in 86s, without achieving anything, except that he once again lost some of his greats" (Annales Bertiniani).

In August 8 4, "the Germans once again crossed the Danube - with a strong crew -, besieged Rastislav in Dowina and forced earth and hostages from him and his nobles in the manner and number ordered by the king" (Annales Fuldenses). Anno domini 8öq, however, after the Slavs had risen up against their oppressors from the Danube to the middle Elbe and devastated Bavarian and Thuringian territory, the Franks immediately advanced eastwards again with three armies under the sons of Louis, who had suddenly fallen ill: the man of the same name with Thuringians and Saxons against the Sorbs, Karlmann with the Bavarians against Svatopluk (Zwentibald), the nephew of Rastislav, and the youngest son Karl with Franks and Alemanni against Rastislav himself.

The sick king commended the outcome of the matter to the Lord, and so nothing could be lacking. With the troops entrusted to him, Charles attacked the entrenched Moravian prince, and there, the Fulda Yearbooks report, "trusting in God's help, he burned down all the houses in that region; whatever was hidden in the woods or buried in the fields, he found with his own and plundered it, and chased away or killed all those who clashed with him. In the same way, Karlmann ravaged the kingdom of Zwentibald, Rastiz¡'s nephew, with fire and sword, and after the whole country had been devastated, the brothers Karl and Karlmann came together with mutual congratulations on the victory that had been granted by heaven."

In the meantime, the youngest, Louis, had also defeated the Sorbs in two battles, partly defeated and partly chased away their purchased Bohemian auxiliary peoples, and so everything returned with rich booty. A happy year for the East Franks,

This was true, especially as Gundacar, an apparently particularly disloyal vassal of (indeed also disloyal) Karlmann, had reportedly fallen at the time. Thus, after King Ludwig's uplifting message, the old people praised the Lord together for the downfall of the destroyed enemy, under the ringing of all the church bells in Regensburg ...""

After all, Rastislav was able to successfully fend off East Frankish attacks for a long time, as he already had powerful castle centers that have been proven by sources and archaeology. However, this stabilization not only deprived Great Moravia of the Frankish Empire, but also of the Frankish imperial church, whose bishops and abbots were often themselves at the head of their soldiery.

teska in the east: 57 Bishop Otgar of Eichstäti. 7* Bishop Arn of Würzburg. 7> Bishop Arn of Würzburg, Bishop Liutbert of Mainz and Abbot Sigehard of Fulda, 8qz again Arn of Würzburg.

Of course, it was clear to the Moravian that military luck alone could not save him from his strong neighbor in the long run, as his country was also in the clutches of the Frankish-Bavarian church. He realized that he could not shake off Western sovereignty without ecclesiastical liberation. He therefore skillfully exploited the geopolitical power play in the Danube region and the Balkans, where the equally aggressive Bulgarian Khanate was also active alongside the East Franks and the very hegemony-conscious Byzantium.

However, while Louis the German even joined forces with Bulgarians in his attacks on Rastislav, whose khan also requested Frankish missionaries (p. 2.2.I), Rastislav alternately fought in alliance with Czechs, Sorbs, Frankish counts and even with Louis's son Karlmann.

Power obviously usually strives for more power, political, economic, religious, perhaps any power. Thus, the East Frankish border counts were repeatedly tempted to rebel, among them the most powerful of the Ostmark, Prefect Count Radbod, who was the actual ruler there for two decades. He stood right next to Count Ernst, who

but also raised his voice, as did many a frontier gmf on his side. And probably in connection with his indignation

54 King Louis 8y6 gave the Ostmark, the 'marca orientalis', now called this for the first time, to his son Karlmann."

... AND AGAIN CATHOLIC RESIDENCE AGAINST DE1'4 CATHOLIC VxTBR ...

Although these sons of a good Catholic father were of course all brought up as Catholics and were all surrounded by high-ranking Catholic clergymen, they presumably all knew the Fourth Commandment: Thou shalt honor thy father and mother, all stood up against the father, and not just once. Of course, dynastic battles in the Frankish Empire had a long tradition. And Louis the German in particular must have b e e n reminded time and again of his own rebellious youth ...

The first to rise in 86z was the eldest, the thirty-year-old Karlmann (u 3 88o), ruler of Bavaria and Carinthia - like Regjno of Prüm, the somewhat younger contemporary,

He is not only "very excellent" and "devoted to the Christian religion", but also "peace-loving"; whatever Abbot Regino may have understood by this. For only two lines later he also praises him with all the innocence of his religion and his spiritual status: - he waged many wars together with his father and even more without him in the realms of the Slavs and always carried off the triumph of victory¡ he increased and extended the borders of his realm with the sword …- But, as is usually the case in such cases, it will simply be like this: precisely because Karlmann was peace-loving, he had to wage so many wars, he had to increase and extend the borders of the realm with the sword and, however - mild" to his own, -be "terrible" (terribilis) to his enemies.

However, Karlmann, -in the order of the Reichsan- opportunities" (Regino), had, greedily apparently

The king, who had sought power from the outset, not only repeatedly fought the Frankish counts in the East, but also prepared his rebellion well, and, peace-loving as he was, had made peace with Rastislav of Moravia, the enemy of his country, in order to wage war against his own father. And with the help of the Moravian, he seized a large part of his father's realm as far as the Inn" (Annales Bertiniani).

He was supported by his father-in-law, the powerful Count Ernst, "the first among the nobles" e@qt first among the king's friends", along with his entire entourage, several other counts and Abbot Waldo. Count Ernst had also fought in Bohemia in the past and had brought an East Franconian kish-Bavarian army, and 8Js '- he again as -ductor- of the warriors marching against the Bohemians. Now but Count Ernst probably lost his fiefs because of his disloyalty. Louis also deposed the count's brothers Uto and Berengar and their brother Abbot Waldo, who went to Charles the Bald. And Karlmann's alliance with Rastislav cost the Slav prince Pribina his life. The prince sacrificed him to the Moravian; his son Kozel became the successor to Pribina's principality on Lake Balaton.

However, Karlmann himself, who had taken a large part of his realm from his father with Rastislav's support, was given this part of the realm back after his submission, but had to swear an oath of security to the senior 86s in Regensburg. He swore to him -not to undertake anything with malicious intent against his rightful authority-, but -the official report remains somewhat unclear- cared little about this, so that Louis marched against him with an army in 863 -to bcforce his son- (Annales F-ulderises). He was betrayed by his best troops under Count Gunakar. By giving up the Schwarzafurt on the Semmering, he opened up access to Carantania (Carinthia) for the king, and so the traitor of the defrauder gained this margraviate.

Karlmann again swore oath of submission, remained in Regensburg for more than a year; in -freedom," from which, however, he left in 86d

again escaped, whereupon he again became a renegade until he was finally reconciled with his father. He even handed over the "King of Moravia" to him at the beginning of the 8th century, and Louis the German later had him blinded in a very Christian manner and made to disappear in a monastery (p. zz8)"

In these high-born Catholic circles, betrayal was as power- and career-enhancing as it was natural. You can see this again in Karlmann's highest political dignitary, his arch-chaplain and arch-chancellor, the Archbishop of St. Peter.

schof Thietmar of Salzburg (8y@ 7) -Carlemagne based his political plans on Thietmar" (Schur). However, in the conspiracy of the Bavarian greats, including the bishops, especially against Karlmann's son Arniilf, Archbishop Thietmar 8yq,

during the lifetime of the seriously ill Karlmann, to Louis **III.** about.

This second son of Louis the German, Prince Louis (III the Younger, c. 83y-88s), was ruled by East Franconia, Saxony and Thuringia. After an early apostasy, he had already committed himself in 86a "with the heaviest oaths-- (districtissimis sacramen- tis) to remain faithful to his father in the future" (Annales Bertiniani), for which he was rewarded with a county and the abbey of St. Crispin. However, the younger Louis then instigated three rebellions against his father: 866. 7* Ufid

73-

But after all, Ludwig III's advisor, the head of his

Court Chapel and Court Chancellery, none other than Liutbert, "Noble Archbishop of the City of Mainz" (863-88q). The "Fulda Yearbooks" call this nobleman a "peace lover", perhaps because

-* 74 the Sorbs and Siuslers on the other side of the Saale in the middle of winter already -by plundering and burning, without fighting ... back into the old bondage. But the Mainz Metro

politically also wield the sword quite well, about 883 -not less Normans, 88y -very many- strike down - admittedly also carrying -Holc of the Holy Cross" again.

None of this is mutually exclusive. On the contrary. And so the city of Mainz's noble head shepherd, also known in the annals of Fulda as

-patient, humble and benevolent, on the one hand the court chapel and court chancellery of Louis, who had revolted against his father three times. On the other hand, in 866 he himself took cruel revenge for an uprising in Mainz in which a number of his people perished. -Some were hanged on the gallows, others had the tips of their hands and feet cut off and their sight taken away, and some who abandoned all their possessions to escape death were banished (Annales Fuldenses).

The prince and his bishop were crude natures, but certainly not beyond the bounds of Christian custom. And of course the Church under Louis the Younger (III)}, "this ambitious and violent ruler, ... was involved in the affairs of government and remained a faithful helper in the king's politics in war and peace" (Schur).

In 865, Louis the German had just reconciled with his eldest, Karlmann. And in the very next year, Louis the Younger - by simultaneously inciting the Wends Restiz to plunder as far as Bavaria, so that he himself, while his father or his loyal followers were damaged in those regions, could carry out his plans unhindered (Annales Bertiniani). Prince Louis also included the counts deposed by his father, some of whom had gone over to Charles the Bald, in his plans and urged Rastislav in particular to "promote this conspiracy without refusal" (Annales Fuldenses)."

And the second and third rebellions of Louis III took place in association with Louis the German's third son, Prince Charles **(III).**

PaiNz a r (KnISER URL . THE DICicc)

IM FIGHTING EVIL SPIRITS

7- the two brothers occupied the Speyer Gau together with a -not small number- of people' the next year they broke with their father and in the following 7i

on the occasion of an imperial assembly in FranMurt. Yet they had only just sworn at the Imperial Diet in Forchheim, in the middle of Lent, "in the face of the whole army", to remain "faithful to the king for the rest of their lives". And now they went to Frankfurt - full of unhappy gratitude, the (g)eichnamige (Ludwig) and Karl, in order to establish a reign of force, to violate their oaths, to rob the father of the kingdom and to send him to prison (Annales Xantenses).

Prince Karl, the youngest, was apparently not up to the nervous strain. He suffered an epileptic seizure - or in the language of the time: it happened publicly - a great miracle: the evil spirit entered Charles before everyone's eyes and tormented him terribly, with miscalled sounds - (eumque horribiliter discrepantibus vocibus agitavit). (In parenthesis: Christianity - thank God - was well acquainted with evil spirits and their defense from the very beginning and throughout antiquity.

traut: 3 Q ff.! And even more recently, such an "evil spirit" had been found from Mainz in an orr near Bingen, the **farm** Caputmontium, "Berghaupten", with priests, relics, crosses, and a "holy" orr.

The latter had been fighting against the king with prayers and holy water for three years and was only checkmated when he had destroyed almost all the buildings with fire: Annales Fuldenses).

As for Prince Karl, who after all was Emperor Karl III.

the Fat Man was once again to rule the entire empire of Charlemagne for a short time, six of the strongest men were able to tame him at the Diet of Frankfurt, and he threatened to "bite those who held him with an open (!) mouth (aperro ore)".

Whereupon a second miracle soon occurred (for a miracle seldom comes alone): on the very same day, gifted men of God drove out the "malignus spiritus" again - with particular success the pious Archbishop Rimbert of Hamburg-Bremen (not coincidentally the favorite disciple of his predecessor, St. Ansgar, the papal legale among Danes, Swedes and Slavs). But then the king, bishops and other noble people brought

The same Charles confessed with a loud voice in front of many listeners - a third miracle - that he had been handed over to enemy violence as often as he had conspired against the king (Annales Fuldenses). And finally another miracle: the elder brother threw himself at his father's feet instead of throwing him into prison.

Catholic family life at the highest level. As always, lesson well learned: if there is no other choice, you crawl to the cross.

Above all the family quarrels of the ruling house, however, the murders against the Moravians had continued until Zwentibald called for a halt at the Imperial Diet in Forchheim (741 <m. He would remain loyal to the king all the days of his life and year after year.
year to pay the fixed interest, "grant him only a quiet and peaceful life" (qtiiete agere et pacifice vivere), '[6]

A quiet !nld peaceful life . , . Perhaps, who knows, sometimes even the Holy Fathers in faraway Rome would have wished for it. But they couldn't do it for themselves, each other or anyone else.

CHAPTER 3

the papacy in the middle of the q. century CENTURY

-fight manfully against these enemies of the holy faith, against these opponents of all religions! - Pope Leo IV (8qy)
before a battle against the Arabs'

-For the Almighty knows, if one of you should perish, that he has fallen for the truth of the faith, for the salvation of his soul and for the defense of the Christian land. For this reason, he will receive the aforementioned fiefdom - eternal bliss - Pope Leo IV in a letter to
the Franconian Hetr-'

The forgery of the Pseudoisidorien {um 8Jo) has -the position and the reputation of the Holy See in an unprecedented way gehnb<n- {Manfred Hellmann), it was - the most welcome mcosr- gift that the pspsrtum has ever crhslten- (Walter Ulfmann), the -most -reliable forgery in the history of the church- go8c)sichce- (the Catholic papal historian Hsns Kühncr),
-the biggest falsification of history" $eSuit GroLz)'

-He commanded kings and tyrants and ruled them by his prestige, as if he were the lord of the earth's crust - Abbot Regino of Prüm on Pope Nicholas I.

According to the official annals of the empire, the Roman state had "fallen into great confusion" due to the misconduct of several popes. After the death of Charles 1, St. Pope Leo III had 8iy, a year before he himself died, mercilessly condemned hundreds of people to death (p. yy f.). His successor Stephen IV appeared in Reims the next year with a forged "crown of Constantine" (pp. yq f.). On the death of his successor Paschalis I, a restrained, harsh pope, there were such tuniulae that the planned burial in St. Peter's had to be canceled and the body had to remain unburied for the time being (this pope, too, was nevertheless canonized, but his feast z9d3 was abolished). The election of his successor Eugene II (8z¢-8ay) was followed by months of unrest, as the nobility and clergy had put forward two competing candidates. After that, at least the elections of the next two
s Holy Fathers: Valentine (August-September -7) and Gregory IV (8a 8¢¢)'.

SRRGiosII
OR'...SO €UTTMR CAN"

Pope Gregory's death was again followed by violent acts. Before the nobility could even raise their hands, the people had seized the papal palace and placed the diocese of John in the coveted chair; a good fortune that he only enjoyed for a short time, apparently just one day. Then

The nobility drove him out of Lateran, crushed the opposition and made an old, gout-ridden archpriest pontifex ma- ximus. Sergitis II (8¢ -89y), who had his rival imprisoned in a monastery (nothing more is known about his fate), was a representative of the upper class and supposedly the fifth pope from the House of Colonna, which the Holy Spirit seemed to favor. The imperial authorization, required according to the Constitutio Romana of 8zq (p. 6¢ ff.), was hastily dispensed with.

Thus the exasperated Lothar I sent his son Louis, shortly before enthroned as viceroy of Italy in Pavia, and Archbishop Drogo of Metz, the "natural" son of Charlemagne and half-brother of Louis the Pious, with a Frankish army against Rome. It raged through the Papal States as mercilessly as if it were waging war, and it was supposed to be a punitive expedition. But the old pope knew how to tame the young king, almost to humiliate him, perhaps helped by a coincidence: the horror of a knight in the royal retinue who fell into convulsions on the steps in front of St. Peter's. After a week-long synodal investigation, Sergius* election was at least confirmed. However, he had to recognize that the pope-designate could only be consecrated after the emperor's order and in the presence of his emissaries¡ he had to swear an oath of allegiance to Lothar and crown and anoint the young Louis as "King of the Lombards".

But Sergius didn't want to put up with everything: when it came to

the unity of the empire, the unity of the West, if one of the three ruling brothers broke the "unity united in faith in the Trinity" or if one of them

-If you follow the "author of discord", then, the Pope threatened, - we will endeavor to chastise him a s best we can, with God's help and according to the principles of canon law.

Sergius II reigned for only three years. The simony was as obvious as the nepotism. Pope's brother Benedict became Bishop of Albano: an unscrupulous, power- and money-hungry man, who, although ill, was extremely strong-willed, energetic, and a great deal of energy.

gically, probably took the reins out of his hands, who, through bribery, gained the position of an imperial envoy in Rome, was awarded bishop's chairs for top prices, as well as other church offices; probably everything atich - -as well as we can ..."

Such news from Roman Clementine circles was probably intended to exonerate the Pope himself. In any case, when in August

4 about seventy-five Saracen ships appeared at the mouth of the Tiber, when allegedly i i ooo men with Joo horses attacked Rome on the right bank of the Tiber, completely destroyed St. Peter's Church outside the Aurelian Wall and the Basilica of St. Paul.
and dragged everything that had not fled into captivity, "even the monastery inmates, men and women" (An- nales Xantenses), contemporaries saw this as providential retribution for the rampant corruption in Rome. Of course, the divine punishment was by no means accepted idly. On the contrary, they resisted it, throwing Franconian troops against the invaders, militias from Spoleto, the Campagna, fleets from Naples and Amalfi. And when some of the raiders perished on their stormy journey home along with their booty, it was easy to recognize the punishing hand of the Lord.

THE " V" IKAN BECOMES THE STELL - A HL. POPE Ars FzswNGSBAUMEISTER

After the attack, the believers were upset by the defeat, the misfortune at the hands of the Saracens and the pagans. Why wasn't St. Peter better defended? A capitular assigns the blame to the sins of Christendom and mentions as a remedy: writing against one's own evils, against carnal offenses and theft of church property! In addition, Lothar I had donations collected throughout the empire along with a special tax for the restoration of St. Peter's Church and its protection, to which the emperor and his brothers also contributed "not a few pounds of silver".

In the meantime, Sergius 11 had died. On the day of his death, his successor was elected, a Roman who had been educated at an early age in the Benedictine monastery of St. Martin's and was a "knightly religious" (Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche). ES was Leo
IV (847* ¡), who was consecrated pope after an 'interpontificium' of six weeks, again without the papal papacy that had existed since 8z
necessary imperial approval. Allegedly, the crisis triggered by the Arab pirates did not allow for a delay¡, but the oath of allegiance was taken later.

This Holy Father achieved fame, which continues to this day, so to speak, as a master fortress builder. He transformed Rome's suburb on the right bank of the Tibculus, the entire Vatican quarter, into a fort - a plan that had already been in place under Leo III, but was only carried out by the fourth Leo. In years of work, as it is said, always supervised by himself on foot or on horseback, he reinforced the old city walls, created new fortifications and thus became the creator of the civitas Leo- nina, to which he modestly gave his name: Leostadt; between the years 8¢8 and 8yz with a wall almost forty feet high and correspondingly thick and reinforced with ¢ towers. The pope also had other places fortified; the Centumcellae of the Romans, today's Civitavecchia, was strongly fortified and also named Leo- polis after himself. (In keeping with this self-effacement, in his bulls h e regularly prefixed his name to those of the recipients and no longer gave the princes the usual title dominus).

Leo's armament consumed material and numerous labor slaves, which cities and monasteries of the Papal States, domains and militias had to detach. But the papal bulwark cost enormous sums of money, money which, as the papal biographer completely omits, was extorted from the Frankish Empire on the orders of the very accommodating Lothar - with the effect that all this benefited the pope's reputation and his position vis-à-vis the emperor! At the inauguration of the city of Leo

- *7- June 8yz, during a procssion (by seven carinal bishops), much holy water was poured onto the fortress belt of the Holy

and much more blood in the centuries that followed. This is closely connected anyway.

The plundered St. Peter's itself, however, was lavishly refurbished. The main altar was fitted with gold plates set with precious stones; each one weighed 6 pounds; a golden cross studded with pearls and emeralds weighed 1,606 pounds, and a silver ciborium above the altar weighed 1,606 pounds. Since St. Paul's and many places of worship, even in the provinces, were also sumptuously adorned, one can consider how immensely rich the church was, for which people were already collecting everywhere at that time - because of its poverty, as is still the case today ...'

FOR THE FIRST TIME A POPE GUARANTEES FOR nes CRcIPE IN THE WAR OF THE HiuMEL REICH

It is understandable that the "Sons of Satan" appeared again at the mouth of the Tiber from Sardinia in 49, long before St. Leo's fortress was built. After all, they had seen what was in these temples of Christ, what was in St. Peter's alone. "The idea does not suffice to grasp the wealth of the treasures accumulated there" (Gregorovius).

The Holy Father hurriedly mobilized the armies of Naples, Amalfi and Gaeta - the first league of southern maritime cities in the Middle Ages - joined by the warships of His Holiness, the Vicar of Christ. And even he himself came. He did not come to fight: he said Mass, blessed the battle fleet, gave the warriors Holy Communion on the day of battle and then prayed. He then prayed on his knees: "God, who raised Peter, who was walking on the waves, from his sinking, who pulled Paul out of the deep sea when he was shipwrecked for the third time, hear us graciously and, for the sake of the merits of both, give strength to the poor of these believers who are fighting against the enemies of your Church, so that the victory won may bring glory to your holy name among all peoples.

The high priest eagerly urged his fighters on: -"Fight manfully against these enemies of the holy faith, against these opponents of all religions!" For Good Messengers, the preachers of love for the enemy, this has been an indispensable business for centuries. In response to the Bulgarians' question about war during Lent, Leo said that war is always the result of diabolical cunning and should be avoided without necessity. -But if it cannot be avoided and if it is in defense of the fatherland and the paternal laws, one can undoubtedly prepare for war during Lent."

Before the naval battle at Ostia, however, Leo IV had already promised his butchers a heavenly reward in the event of their death - the earliest anticipation of the indulgence of the Crusades, a promise with which many Holy Fathers lied their way through the ages. Here it happened for the first time that a pope generously guaranteed heaven to all those w h o died for "the true faith, the salvation of the fatherland and the defense of Christendom".

So the affair was a complete success. It was not so much the Catholic naval cities of Naples, Amalfi and Gaeta, including the papal galleys, as a storm, which the larger ships of the Christians survived, but drove the lighter ships of the enemy to the bottom. The pious believers, however, cut down the shipwrecked men wandering unarmed on the coast, hanged them on gallows in Ostia so that their numbers would not appear too great, or dragged them in chains to Rome, where they served as war slaves to build the Vatican fortress and the whole thing was celebrated as a miracle of the Prince of the Apostles.

In general, they now had a patent remedy for their own dependents. And so, in 8yz, during Louis 11's campaign against the Saracens in southern Italy, Pope Leo issued an appeal to the Frankish army, again unceremoniously guaranteeing entry into the kingdom of heaven to a n y o n e who would succeed.

-For the Almighty knows, if one of you should perish, that he is standing for the truth of the faith, the salvation of his

soul and for the defense of the Christian country. That is why he will receive the aforementioned reward."

The Holy Father also received his reward: he became a saint - and its feast day ¡-7 July) has since been abolished. Well, the Moor has done his duty. And ingratitude is the world's reward. At the very beginning of his pontificate, Leo had a
He worked a grandiose miracle, namely he freed Rome from a monster, a basilisk (a gruesome mixture of dragon and rooster, a mythical creature with a deadly gaze, the proverbial basilisk gaze!) On another occasion, he extinguished a devastating conflagration simply by praying and making the sign of the cross ...

The Leo IV of history (which also includes this gigantic flooding of the globe with legends and lies, which perhaps made history more than anything else, this delusion, according to Friedrich Schiller of Christianity as a whole, -which captivated the whole world-), Leo IV, was a Pope who was resolute and confident, who wanted to rule over all the churches of the world, to have the supreme decision over all of them. But he not only acted imperiously against his confreres, influential prelates, the Patriarch Ignatius of Constantinople, the Etzbishops Hinkmar of Rheims, John of Ravenna, the Cardinal Priest Anastasius, who soon became antipope. No, he was at odds with the princes, especially with the young emperor, Lothar I's eldest, the protector of the Roman churches.

KnISBR Lunwic II. (8yo-8711
A1'i THE FOLLOW-UP QUESTION

Louis II, born around 8z, had reigned as his father's sub-king in Italy since 8qo, where Pope Sergius II had crowned him king of the Lombards on z June 8Jd and Leo IV had anointed him co-emperor in Rome in 8o. He ruled there independently and

was able to stabilize the country, in which bands of robbers attacked pilgrims and merchants on the open road and even plundered entire villages, all the more so as he renounced the northern Alpine lands of the Middle Kingdom in favour of his brothers, Lothar II and Charles of Provence, after the death of his father.

Louis II was thus able to consolidate his rule over Rome and the Papal States, and it is understandable that relations with Leo IV were often strained, as evidenced by his very sparse correspondence. On one occasion, Leo did not want to see the emperor's envoys for security reasons, on another occasion a papal legate was murdered and on another occasion he himself had three imperial plenipotentiaries sentenced to death - after all, under his predecessor Paschal I, two high-ranking Frankish-oriented officials were executed in the Lateran almost "like lèse majesté criminals".

There were of course anti-Frankish sentiments and ambitions in Rome, perhaps even highly treacherous contacts with Byzantium. In any case, there was no trust between the pope and the emperor. From 8 , the year of Leo IV's death, Louis II was sole ruler. sole ruler. And from 86o - to summarize his life in brief - the emperor was also able to assert his rule, at least temporarily, in the long-independent Lombard principalities of Benevento and Sa- lerno; finally, after
siege of several years, 7- even take Bari, the seat of the Arab emir (p. k*7)

Of course, Louis II, the fourth Carolingian emperor, was only a partial ruler of Italy who was not even able to conquer all of Lower Italy. Adelchis, the Prince of Benevento (d.
7), who fought for his independence first w i t h the Franks, then with the Byzantines, and then with the Saracens, before he was forced to succumb to a conspiracy by his own clansmen.
Louis' temporary imprisonment heralded the decline of imperial power in Italy. Ultimately, however, this emperor in southern Italy was less the victim of unstable political conditions than of certain dynastic ones (p. z*7 f.).

Leo IV's time in office also saw a scandal of its kind

of almost unprecedented proportions and consequences. After all, it was a spiritual forgery which, in the Christian Middle Ages and beyond, which were full of frauds and deceit and unscrupulousness, outshone almost everything except the "Donation of Constantine" (IV 3qi ff.).

THE **PSEUDOISIDORIC DECORTALS - ^DIB FOLGENREICHSTEx FxLSCHUNGBN** T HAT **HAVE EVER BEEN DONE ...***

Admittedly, the pseudoisidoric forgeries were rightly called 'the most important forgery of the Carolingian period', but by no means an exception **(Dawson);** for the Catholic clergy had long been forging to the devil's content (111 i. ch. IV 3q3 ff.). For the Protestant jurist Emil Seckel (d. z9z¢), perhaps the best connoisseur of the pseudoisidoric decretals, these are "the boldest and most magnificent forgery of ecclesiastical legal sources that has ever been undertaken"; for Johannes Haller "the most audacious, the most momentous forgeries that have ever been ventured"; indeed, the outstanding papal historiker (d. aITi*4 II.•947) branded it as "the greatest fraud in world history".

As late as the q. Hinkmar of Rheims suspected the forgery, perhaps recognized it, but, apart from individual pieces, did not uncover it. After all, the venerable archbishop of Rheims - who, as one of the most important advisors to the West Frankish kings, especially Charles the Bald, not only played a significant role politically, but to whom we also owe a lively literary output, including - above all - legal opinions rich in material (Schieffer) - forged the church prince himself with great virtuosity almost non-stop. And this even with apparent justification, as he did not want to be the victim of other ecclesiastical forgeries, not least the pseudo-Isidoria.

And there was forgery all around. Hinkmar's predecessor, Ern- bishop Ebo (d. 8J i), also forged. Hinkmar's nephew, Hinkmar the Younger, bishop of Laon, who was educated at his court and initially supported by his uncle, also forged. He was even the first to advocate pseudoisidoric forgeries on a large scale and was probably in contact with the forgery workshop. He thus provoked a sharp dispute with his uncle and
Charles the Bald and was deposed in 7-, but was partially rehabilitated seven years later.

Despite early doubts about the authenticity of the colossal Catholic amount (as early as the q. century; in the id. by the state theorist Maisilius of Padua, who was condemned as *a* "heretic"), the hoax was considered genuine throughout the Middle Ages, but the earliest fundamental proof of the forgery was provided by the Ma8deburg centuriators in their first Protestant church history (i§$ 1574), which was financed by the Protestant princes.
Theologian (and later professor of history in Amsterdam)
David Blondel i6z8. Like no other before the iq. He distinguished the genuine from the false with admirable acumen, although there were still pious defenders of forgery at the time.

In general, even after they were uncovered in the eighteenth century. For a long time, Catholics often did everything they could to minimize, gloss over and almost celebrate them. They spoke of "legend",
-poetry" or, like Cardinal Bona (d. - 7'), used to "keep an eye on the higher purpose of science" (Mast), of "pious bedding". It was also a fraus pia- for
the famous Catholic theologian Johann Adam Möhler (d. x838). He praised Pseudoisidor as a very pious, devout, virtuous man who was genuinely concerned about the welfare of the Church. And for Möhler's colleague Rofihirt, too, Fseudoisidor in I8qq was not at all a falsifier in the true sense of the word, but "a lover of canon law", whose unholy deceptions had no other purpose at all "than a scholarly, scientifically historical, namely the greatest

the greatest possible completeness of a collection of canon law sources".

Catholic Ltiden knows that this collection is "full of lies and deception", but this only applies with regard to earlier times. For the 9th century, in which it was written, it contains "mostly a truth", even in its falsifications. It did not establish a new canon law, but only pronounced it,
-which was already founded in the souls of men- gave them "a direction ... and shortened the way to the goal. But it is the perfect papal rule, wherever it wants to go ..." And perfect papal rule is, of course, always a good thing, regardless of how it comes about. And
For what. Wilhelm Neuss also says of the learned crooks that their intentions were obviously good.
Still other Catholics distinguish, in the way that characterizes them, between the "noble" and the "common" forger¡ whereby noble is always the one who forges for the Church, common the one who forges outside of it or even against it. Recently, however, even the Jesuit Grotz has described the pseudoisidoric decretals as the greatest falsification of the law in history. Because in the meantime, word really got around …"

The pseudo-Isidoria originated around 85o (not before47 *nd not after 8yz) in the West Frankish Empire, perhaps in Sens or Tours, probably in the archbishopric of Reims. They wanted to strengthen the power of the bishops and the pope vis-à-vis the state, and as they had no or insufficient legal basis, they simply created them, falsified them. However, the clerical scoundrels (probably a Plco- nasm) passed off their huge hoax as the work of the church teacher Isidore of Seville, who died in Seville in 636. He was one of the most famous early medieval authors, indeed the most respected saint of the West since Augustine. He was also known to have left behind an extensive book of law, and so these legal forgeries were regarded throughout the Middle Ages as a genuine product of Isidore and had a corresponding effect by virtue of his authority.

a) Umfang und Art

The scope of this criminal act is so extraordinary that the manuscripts and fragments that have survived to this day would comprise several thousand pages of text if transferred to normal book octavo. It is probably not the work of a single individual, but of an entire theological forgery scene, a group of well-informed West Frankish clerics,

-The first of these were obviously reformers for whom the previous state church law in the Frankish Empire did not suit, but who h a v e remained unknown to this day, despite all research. Undoubtedly well-read and legally and archivally trained, they more or less skillfully patched together an enormous amount of material, combining the genuine and the forged.

The pseudoisidoric complex consists of four large groups:

i) The Hispana Gallica Augustodunensis, the falsified edition of a collection of Spanish canons of the y. century. century.

z) The Capitula Angilramni, a collection of genuine and spurious conciliar, papal and imperial laws, allegedly given by Pope Hadrian I (77*W9J) on ip September 7 6 to Bishop Angilram of Metz, a shepherd of souls who died in 7 i on a campaign of Charles I against the Avars. The purpose of these chapters of Angilram corresponded to the endeavors of the Frankish prelates to make charges against them as difficult as possible and to subject them only to an ecclesiastical court, as it is well known that one crow does not peck out the eyes of another. The ca- pitula Angilramni, which thus simply amount to the fact that popes and bishops are not indictable, that they, as Catholic Hans Kühner writes, "can allow themselves ahe deeds", thus extend the great Symmaehian forgeries from the 6th century (II j@I ff.).

3) The Benediktus Levita, an enormous accumulation of royal and imperial decrees from Pippin to Louis the Fromman, a compilation of capitularies in three books by

A total of Z7>- chapters, of which a good three-quarters are forged or falsifiedl Ecclesiastical regulations were here, in order to cover them by state authority, rewritten as Franconian imperial laws of the recent past, and by an alleged Mainz deacon BenediCtUS É€VltR47 'm alleged
commissioned by his archbishop Otgar as a continuation of the official
recognized collection of capitularies of the abbot who died in 833 Ansegis issued by Fontenelle (St. Wandrille).

4) The Pseiidoisidoric Decretals (Decretalcs Pseudo-Isidorianae), the most extensive and important collection among all four groups, because they have become the most influential and edolg
an anthology of papal letters and council acts from the end of the 1st to the 8th century, from about qo to 73*. Under the cunningly created appearance of ancient authenticity, it is intended to be a complete canonical law book of the Catholic Church. The decretals of the popes of the first centuries from the alleged Klernens to St. Miltiades (i***3*4) were falsified in an unbroken sequence, the decretals from St. Silvester I (3i -33J) to St. Gregory I (7 5W3*) partly forged. Disguised by inserts, one has a
long series of council resolutions, from the highly famous Nicæum (3zJ) t o the thirteenth Synod of Toledo (683). It is particularly remarkable that the clerics included an even larger forgery in their enormous forgery: the -'Donation of Constantine-, in all probability the product (of the chancery) of Pope Stephen II, committed a century earlier (in detail: IV boy If.).

The whole piece of world history consists of around ten thousand quotations, excerpts, not always skillfully mixing the true and the false in a mosaic, but even the false is not completely fictitious, but rather pieced together from real texts by popes, synods, church writers, with many omissions, additions and changes. After all, t h e r e are more than a hundred forged and falsified papal letters, mostly from the first three centuries, when Roman Decretals were not even known. Imperial decrees from the y. year

hundred, for example of Theodosius II, appear as papal ordinances of the i th century, passages from the Synod of Paris (8zq) appear verbatim in a text by the Spanish Doctor of the Church who died almost two centuries earlier.

"There is hardly another example in all of history of such a completely successful and yet so clumsily constructed fiction." 5o once wrote the church historian Ignaz von Döllin$er (who, after his excommunication
tiOfl 7* supported the Old Catholic Church without formally joining). Pope historian Seppelt, on the other hand, speaks of a "great forgery" prepared with "great prudence" and "in its way a great forgery". Pope historian Kühner calls it
the "most successful forgery in the entire history of the church."

b} 2back

As the purpose of their volume, which contained all kinds of liturgical, dogmatic, moral, edifying effusions, the deceivers themselves called the systematic collection of the widely scattered sources of ecclesiastical law¡ a bald-faced lie, of course. Rather, since the old law was useless for the clergy, their intention was to create and enforce new law and, above all, to enormously strengthen the power of the bishops both vis-à-vis the state and vis-à-vis the great influence of the metropolitans.

In this way, the possibility of accusing bishops is to be severely restricted, their condemnation and deposition made extremely difficult, practically impossible. They, who are pan- gyrically referred to as "eyes of the Lord", "supreme priests", "saints",
-Gods, etc., no layman, not even a lower clergyman, not even a subordinate, who is threatened with dishonor and excommunication for this, may accuse, especially not in the case of
secular courts. If it did happen, 7* incriminating evidence was required, which in fact virtually ruled out the conviction of a bishop. Also, only a judgment approved by the pope was to be passed on him.

the church synod. The competence of secular judges is completely eliminated. For not only the people, but also the princes are subordinate to the bishop. They have to obey him, as is emphatically demanded, since he is above all princes and is only to be judged by God and the Pope or his authorized representative, which is often repeated.
will.

What the bishops benefit from is, of course, especially your bishop of Rome. And indeed, he benefits the most from the monstrous clerical sham. For the fullness of power belongs to him alone. He is not only a priest, but also a king. And if the episcopal dignity is already above the royal, the papal dignity is even more so. In the words of Pelix 11, the pope is "as it were the head of the whole world". That is why the forgers even give him the right to abolish state laws.

But if they still subordinated the power of kings to the pope, t h e y recognized him all the more as the "dictator" in the church. They insisted that the pope was the sole legislator and judge of the Church, that without his permission neither a metropolitan nor a synod could make any valid decisions, that no synod could convene without his authorization, etc. Indeed, according to the spiritual crooks, the popes of the earliest times already possessed legal powers that not even their much later successors had.

St. Leo IV already used the forgery that gave him Reini
clerics in whole or in part. St. Nicholas I also u s e d it much more frequently as a legal code. He used it from the year 86d because he quickly grasped its enormous advantages for the Roman See. He therefore declared the authenticity of a work that Archbishop Hinkmar of Reims recognized as a forgery as soon as it appeared, but this in no way prevented Hinkmar from repeatedly using it himself as soon as it came to his attention."

In the long run, the pseudo-isidoric decretals were most useful to the papacy. Of all the pseudo-isidoria

They had the strongest historical impact and were probably the most widely distributed opus in all medieval collections of canon law. It was used time and again to support and increase Rome's power. The popes themselves naturally insisted on it. Nicholas I, Hadrian I, Gregory V, Leo IX, Gregory VII and others exploited it for political purposes. Gregory's infamous "Dictatus papae" is largely based on this unholy hoax. It was fully received in the investiture controversy; it played an extraordinary role in the battles between emperors and popes of the ii. and ia. centuries. Century an extraordinary role. The forgery, writes Manfred Hellmann, raised the status and reputation of the Holy See in an unexpected way. It was "the most welcome gift," says Walter Mlmann, "that the papacy has ever received. Especially as it knew how to profit most from it and to deprive the bishops, who were perhaps even more favored by the deceivers, of this advantage.

The influence of the Pseudoisidoric Decretals on the Church and canon law, enormous since the early High Middle Ages at the latest, was great until the iqth century. The infallibility dogma of Pius IX, for example, benefited enormously from this dazzling work, which is why even after x8yo, centuries after the definitive exposure of the grandiose fraud, the Pope expressly praised authors who continued to adhere to it! (Pius IX was deservedly canonized. The first step towards Pius IX's canonization iq8J was t h e official recognition of his "heroic virtue" - Catholic bishops, Catholic church historians and diplomats once declared him stupid and crazy: see my Politics of the Popes in the zo. Century I *3)

However, the legendary pseudo-isidorial prank continues almost to this day, right up to the Codex Iuris Canonici of iqiy, which, for example, reserves the sole right to convene an ecumenical council to the pope. A)s iq6z John XXIII convened such a council, he was able to rely on no fewer than six references in the CIC - three from the Pseiidoisidoric Decrees, three of them derived from them."

But since there is nothing more important to the preachers of the hereafter than money and property in this world, the great forgeries are not least also about tithes, services on Sundays and holidays, the protection of church property, and the inalienability and non- alienability of spiritual property. Whatever the clergy once had, fields, books, houses, clothes, rivers, etc., all movable and immovable property, became church property and any encroachment on it was punished with excommunication, loss of all dignities and the most severe penalties before the secular court."

AxASTASUS IBLIOTHRCARIUS OR A COUNTERPOPE DRBÖMERT

Leo IV, during whose term of office the Pseudoisidoric forgeries, had used them. When he died on -7 J- ' *is, they wanted to replace him with the cardinal priest Hadrian. However, as this was a rare case in papal history

Perhaps because he thought he would have better chances later (which, if he had been right, he would have been), the majority now voted for Benedict III (8J5-8y8), a native of Rome.

Cardinal Benedict had already been led in solemn procession to the Lateran and the electoral decree, signed by the clergy and nobility, had been sent to the emperor with a request for confirmation. However, a group loyal to the emperor had chosen the highly noble, highly capable and even highly educated Cardinal Anastasius (Bibliothecarius) as pope: not only, according to Wattenbach, -a learned man and clever leader-, but also the son of the rich Bishop Arsenius of Orte, whom Anastasius himself (in a letter to Archbishop Ado) incorrectly calls uncle (as Catholics of the zo. century, Seppelt for example; others ignore the fact).

Cardinal Anastasius, however, was in contrast to the last pope

and apparently stayed away from his Roman church for five years for fear of revenge. As a highly intelligent rival who was as influential as he was knowledgeable, he was bitterly opposed by Leo IV almost throughout his entire pontificate and was excommunicated, banned and deprived of his life at several synods at the end of 85o and in May, June and December 8$3 - a condemnation immortalized in St. Peter's with a picture and commentary.

Anastasius had found protection in the domain of Emperor Louis II, who had repeatedly refused to hand over the fugitive, which the pope was constantly trying to do. And when Roman envoys now sought to dutifully deliver Benedict's electoral decree to the emperor, they were intercepted en route in Gubbio (Umbria) by one of the leading figures of the imperial party, Bishop Arsenius of Orte, Anastasius' father, and swayed in his favor, so that they interceded for him at court.

After Benedict's election was declared invalid, but Anastasius, who had been officially expelled from the church, was made pope in Orte, probably somewhat outside of legality, he returned to Rome accompanied by imperial envoys, where many initially went over to his side and he received new envoys from Benedict. III in chains. He then began his regiment in St. Peter's with the removal of his Schinach immortalized on the wall and the smashing and burning of images of saints, even smashing the figures of Christ and Mary with an axe (after all, he was an excellent student of church history). He then had the doors of the Lateran broken down, sat in the papal chair and ordered his opponent, who was enthroned in another chair in the basilica, to be replaced.

This task was accomplished by Bishop Romanus of Bagnorea. He forced his way into the church with a crowd staring at him with weapons, pushed Benedict from his chair and tore off his papal vestments, maltreating him in the process. However, thanks to the people's favor and a reorientation of the emperors, the maltreated man was able to put them back on after three days of general fasting.

Pope Anastasius was deprived of his insignia, driven from the palace with abuse, but merely transferred to house arrest by the imperial missi. Yes, Benedict did restore the document of curses in St. Peter's, but he readmitted the pope to the church, albeit only as a layman, and gradually he rose to astonishing heights once again.

Benedict's successor, Nicholas I, made Anastasius abbot, giving him the management and income of the Monastery of the Blessed Virgin in Trastevere as a small compensation for all the misfortune he had suffered at the hands of Mother Church, but he also appointed him as "a kind of secret secretary", as a consultant, especially in Byzantine matters, whereby Anastasius took the opportunity to destroy incriminating material in the papal archives."

NIKOmus I. - **A POPULAR PFAUENRAD,** *... AS IF HE **WERE** THE MASTER OF THE **EARTH'S ICE"**

Nicholas I (8j3- 7) was the son of a cleric and grew up in the Latcran, so to speak. He won under three popes, Ser- gius II, Leo IV and Benedict III, whose first advisor he was already
was becoming increasingly influential. And when Benedict died and the carinal priest Hadrian refused to stand for election, Nicholas took the place of the deceased pope, and, as the Annales Bertiniani, the most important continuation of the imperial annals from 8zq, report, "more as a result of the presence and favor of King Louis and his crowns than through the choice of the clergy."

Emperor Louis 11 had l e f t R o m e shortly before Benedict's death, but then returned immediately and helped the deacon Nicholas to satisfy his ambition. And Nicholas immediately returned the favor in his own way by paying a farewell visit to Louis, who had once again left Rome. Surrounded by clergy and

nobility, he had his

They lead the Emperor's horse by the reins for a short distance, are then entertained in his tent, given rich gifts and, on departure, perform the humiliating stratagem once again.

This is how proudly this pontificate began.

Allegedly, Pippin III had already celebrated the humiliating ritual in his palace of Ponthion in January 7J' towards Stephen 11 after his winter crossing of the Alps. But the
Frankish source (the Annales Mettenses Priores) knows nothing of this. Rather, it shows the pope and his followers in sackcloth and ashes pleading on the ground before Pippin..., which is also suggested by other reports (IV 38o).

In the meantime, however, the balance of power had changed. The Roman prelates had risen to the top, not without their help. A great deal of violence, feuds, wars, enslavement and fraud had contributed to this. So-called rights were won, privileges, immunities, the glorious regions of the ecclesiastical state were crooked, from Ravenna to Terracina, land and sea *forces* were recruited, the greatest forgeries in history were perpetrated, the notorious Donation of Constantine, the hardly less notorious pseudo-Isidoria, which Pope Nicholas in particular was already making use of, and which involved those supposedly huge land donations even more explicitly.

Nicholas I (g --g°7), whom Catholics like to call "the Great", which always promises a lot, Leopold von Ranke does not accidentally include him among the men who are -as
a system that has come to life. And this speaks almost more.

After all, Nicholas followed on from other greats, from the papal ambitions of Leo I, Gelasius I and Gregory 1.

Leo, who, with the obligatory modesty of his peers, brings the Pope closer to Christ and God, the
-eternal high priest-, like him and like the Father" (II zą3 ff.)! To Gelasius I, who, although "the least of all men", publicly presented himself again and again as the -apostle Peter-,

who places the auctoritas of the pope above the potestas of the emperor and demands that the emperor must also carry out the orders of the papal see, the "angelic see", and bow his neck to it "**piously**" (II 3xą ff.) ł To Gregory I., who again humbly refers to the fact that Holy Scripture -calls the priests sometimes gods, sometimes angels-, but to which even his successor, Pope Sabinianus, -addiction to his own glory- **VO£Wifft (IV** i6Şt UJ).

Now the claims, the pretensions of his "great predecessors" were nothing but fanciful dreams, not in the least covered by history, especially as shown in volume 11. Nicholas, however, was by no means merely picking up on the greedily longed-for imperial power - already, without naming it, making use of pseudo-Isidoria, but rather he weightily summarized what had previously been dispersed and even increased it insistently dictatorially, though hardly with his own head, but with that of his brilliant closest colleague Anastasius (Bibliothecarius), who had been gaining influence since srI/gr İ e d e r and who apparently formulated many of the very highest letters.

Pope Nicholas now fully developed the papal primacy of jurisdiction that had only begun to emerge with Leo IV. He demanded comprehensive power. If everything had been given to the pope by the Lord, then nothing was missing that he had not given him". (If is not only, as Hebbel thinks, the clearest of all words.) And no one could, since given by God, diminish the "apostolic throne's prerogatives. Nicholas now recognized the popes as -princes of divine power-, humbly called them again "the princes over the whole earth" and the whole earth simply -the Church-, yes, for the first time he called his peers "God's representatives". The pope cannot be judged by anyone, not even by the emperor, but he can judge everyone, including of course the councils, the states and the rulers. For even if they have a certain independence, they have to allow themselves to be governed by ecclesiastical principles, both in foreign and domestic policy, they have to keep any harm away from the Church and obey its orders.

The authorities are required to enforce the measures taken by the church on pain of earthly and eternal punishment, excommunication and hell.

Not enough. If the secular power is not obedient to the Church, it is the believers' damned duty and obligation to disobey the secular power themselves. For now never - until today! - the Pauline commandment: Be subject to the authorities! No, now their old trick applies: you should obey God more than men - and God, always to inculcate, are
- in praxi - them! Everything must dance to their tune. You can only deal with the secular authorities as long as they are with the Church, at least not against them, because then it becomes a grave injustice that can never be on the papal side, because God is there! So when they invoke justice, they basically mean the same thing as when they invoke God - themselves! -Behold cu-, writes Pope Nicholas to the kingdom of the Franks, -whether they rule according to law, otherwise they are to be regarded more as tyrants than as kings, whom we must resist and oppose more than be subject to them."

Wai Nicholas I, whom some - after around a hundred predecessors
- the first pope, a theocrat, a forerunner of papal world domination? This is controversial among interpreters. But it forms a kind of bridge to Gregory VII, to Innocent III, even if many of the relevant quotations are by no means original and the letters were mostly shaped by Anastasius, not only formally, but also intellectually; however, this is not uncontroversial."

The imperious demeanor of this pope, his emphatically monarchical and authoritarian style, is certain. -He commanded kings and tyrants, writes Abbot Regino, "and he ruled them by his appearance as if he were the lord of the earth (dominus orbis terrarum)." In fact, the pretentious pontiff profited from the continual erosion of imperial power, the weakness of the Carolingians, which more than anything else allowed him to further strengthen and consolidate the papacy, enabling him, as the Catholic side enthuses, to raise it to the proud height of a world power that left all other powers far behind.

For the Magdeburg Centuriators, this marked the beginning of the Antichrist's reign over the Church.

Nicholas, glorified and feared, claimed supreme authority and the irrevocability of his judgments by virtue of the authority of the apostolic princes Peter and Paul (cf. esp. II chap. z). Nothing exceeds his dignity, nothing exceeds his rights, indeed, nothing even reaches them. Everywhere he tries to assert the supremacy of his office. To this end, he collects everything that was even vaguely impressive from his ambitious predecessors in frequent repetition; what used to sound only sporadically, he gathers into a chorus, unoriginal but impressive. Even the Handbuch der Kirchengeschichte (Handbook of Church History), which was published with lmprimatur, has to admit that "traditional canon law did not recognize a central church government such as that sought by Nicolaus - it was only developed as a system by Päeudo-lsidor. A fantastic forgery thus prefabricates the future.

However, Nicholas not only asserts and propagates, he also acts accordingly, pushing for implementation. And his basic principles, demands, refusals, his protests against any interference by emperors and kings in the church, his rejection of all national and state ecclesiasticism meant, according to Katholik Seppelt, "tireless, bitter struggle."

At first, Nicholas took action against the metropolitans. For, he claimed: -The pope has the right to regulate the affairs of all churches, all synods may only be convened by his order, the metropolitans are subject to his authority; where canon law is silent, he can set new law."

The metropolitans, of course, wanted little to know about this. Especially not Archbishop John of Ravenna (8 o-8öI), a city that had been a rival of Rome for centuries as the residence of emperors, Gothic kings and exarchs and was Italy's most powerful metropolis next to Rome. Its ecclesiastical princes had been granted an autocephaly privilege by Emperor Constans II in 666, but lost it again; they had then, with the help of the Carthaginians, vainly established their own ecclesiastical state,

In short, the dispute over influence, territorial possessions and independence from Rome continued unabated. On the contrary, it intensified when the belligerent Archbishop John ascended the see of Ravenna, especially as his brother, the dux George, the secular head of the area, cooperated with him vigorously. Chief Shepherd John sought independence and sovereignty, claimed papal goods, withdrew them, extorted taxes, dismissed clerics who tended towards Rome, sought to prevent his diocesan bishops from having dealings with the pope as well as the business of the pope's officials, whom he shamed. Finally, he was accused of all manner of oppressions and abuses, including of course "heresy", so that Nicholas, who despised the bishop's resistance "like a spider's web", summoned the emperor three times, then imposed a suspension and an ecclesiastical ban on him. But it was only when the emperor also shunned the now excommunicated bishop that Nicholas was able to prevail, forcing John to submit, imposing many conditions and, not least, restitution of the properties seized from St. Peter - a sham peace that did not last long."

And it goes without saying that his brothers elsewhere also opposed St. Nicholas, especially Hinkmar of Rheims (845-88z), the most powerful metropolitan not only in France. He had dreamed in vain of becoming vicar of the pope, even of detaching the West Frankish Church from Rome with royal help, naturally under the primacy of Reims.

Archbishop Hinkmar was in open conflict with his impotent suffragan, Bishop Rothad of Soissons. Based on the pseudoisidoric forgeries, the latter wanted to retain certain rights or supposed rights that Hinkmar denied him. Old and new law, or more correctly old and new injustice, stood against each other. However, since Rothad, who - again in full conformity with the pseudo-Isidories - rejected all encroachments of secular power on the ecclesiastical sphere, on church property, benefices and the like, also had the king against him, Hinkmar set the opposing bishop "according to the canon laws".

zen- in the fall of 86a and threw him into monastic custody. It happened
"at the martyrs' grave of St. Crispin and Crispinian near Soissons", reports the annalist of St. Bertin - for this period it is Archbishop Hinkmar himself (p. H7), and so we are not surprised that his brother in Christ, Bishop Rothad, figures with him "as a new Pharaoh" and "as a man transformed into an animal" (cf. 1 u§ ff, iyq ff.). However, after an exchange of brisk letters between Rome and Reims, Pope Nicholas obtained Hinkmar's submission and Rothad's reinstatement 8ö5. The most interesting thing about this, to use the imprimatur of the imprimatur of the handbook of church history: -The proceedings ran entirely according to the rules of the false decretals ..."

In fact, the Pope himself had not only alluded to them to Hinkmar, but had also described them as having been valid for a long time and used them to justify the conduct of the trial and his judgment. It is even assumed that Bishop Rothad was the person who brought the forgery to Rome, perhaps even one of the forgers - although it remains to be seen whether t h e pope recognized the decretals as forgeries.

However, like all preachers of Catholic humility, Nicholas liked it when riian crawled to the cross before him; when a guilty prelate in the submissive Arr of this species craved the grace of His Holiness: -To Almighty God and St. Peter, and to the incomparable clemency of Your Highness, I commend my humble self, who is God's representative, and sits atif the venerable chair of the Supreme Prince as a true apostle ... I will obey your command in all things as God, in whose stead and in whose name you do all things.""

Disgusting.

However, if it was not to the taste of every prelate to ani- diate in Rome in this way, many a prince resisted unwilling high priests all the more. This is illustrated by the controversy that largely took place during the pontificate of Nicholas I, a controversy whose superficial moxal theological implications were once again b a s e d on nothing but naked power politics.

LOTHARS II. EHESTRIT: ISER LOTHAR L **SHARES** HIS REICH

Louis the Pious's eldest son, Emperor Lothar I, died on zq. September 8yy in the Carolingian house monastery of Prüm (near Trier) with tonsure and under monastic exercises (p. im) - after he had united himself in wild marriage with two lei maidens in the last years of his life, but had only spent six days in the ascetic cloister.The spirits of light and darkness are said to have wrestled fiercely over his soul, but the good angels p r e v a i l e d through the intercession of the Prüm monks, richly endowed by Lothar with treasures and land (for which heaven shows its appreciation).

Shortly before his death, the emperor had divided his empire between his three sons, which further weakened the already weakened imperial power. The eldest, Louis II (8yy-8yy), who had already been sub-king in Italy on behalf of Lothar since 8¢o, was given this land and the imperial crown. However, the imperial power remained practically limited to Italy and, contrary to the previous view, was derived from the coronation by the pope!

Lothar's 1st second son, Lothar 11th, the middle (8yy-86q}, received the Carolingian homeland, the Frankish heartlands around Aachen and Metz with northern Burgundy, the regnum Hlotharii, which, later named after him, still bears his name today, as well as the adjacent Rhenish territory north to Friesland. Lotharingia, hotly disputed for the rest of the century, first by Lothar's brothers Louis the German and Charles the Bald, then by the other potentates from East and West Franconia, was finally won by King Henry 1 as an integral part of the East Frankish-German Empire - not without an initial campaign, of course.

The youngest son of the emperor, Charles of Provence, an epileptic who was expected to have neither descendants nor a long life, was given Provence, southern Burgundy and the **ducat of** Lyon. Bztider Lothar wanted to put Charles in a monastery as soon as possible, but the Provencal greats prevented this. But Charles died

He died at the age of about a3 in January 863 near Lyon, and the two older brothers shared his inheritance; their relations deteriorated steadily and there were mutual, unsuccessful incursions.

Lothar II's scandalous marriage deal, which shaped Frankish history for a decade, is of particular importance in terms of both ecclesiastical and secular politics. On the one hand, it led to the papacy's ultimate authority in matrimonial matters, and on the other, it helped the East Frankish Empire/Germany to win L o r r a i n e ."

PBT HUCBERT - "WHORES AND HUNTING FALCONS

uxo 66oo mARtYrER

According to the testimony of Bishop Adventius of Metz, the underage Lothar had already been formally betrothed to Waldrada by his father. He was bound to her in a Germanic marriage of peace (Old High German: friedila, "beloved", "wife"), which was particularly common in the event of a difference in status, the marriage of the husband or the abduction of the wife. Immediately after his father's death, however, Lothar II had married Theutberga, the daughter of the Burgundian Count Boso, whose brother, Count Hucbert, ruled the Alpine passage from Italy to the Rhone valley as Abbot of St. Maurice, for purely political reasons, and the control of important Alpine passes gave Lothar a position for possible advances into Burgundy. The marriage remained childless, however, and in order to secure the duration of his empire, he disowned Theutberga after a year in order to marry his former lover Waldrada. Like Thetitberga, she was descended from Frankish high nobility, and according to several sources she is said to have been a sister of Archbishop Gunthar of Cologne. Even before Lothar's accession to the throne (85 y), she had given him a son, Hugh, and two daughters, Bertha and Gisla, who were later also considered his equals."

Since Louis the Pious, and apparently under the influence of his spiritual advisors, certain Christian moral concepts had penetrated for the first time. Lothar, of course, was animated by a witty lifelong passion that the pious Christians of the time could only imagine to be the product of dark witchcraft. Regino von Prüm believed the king to be "inflamed by the devil", and even the highly learned Archbishop Hinkmar used all his knowledge to discuss the question of whether it could be true, as many say, that there are women who can be extinguished by magic, who, through the art of magic, can arouse unquenchable hatred between husband and wife and likewise kindle unspeakable love between husband and wife, so that the man is no longer able to have marital intercourse with his wife and only longs for other women". It goes without saying that the archbishop answered this question in the affirmative, even backing it up with a gruesome story including a whole list of sorcerers and magicians, especially as he knew that, as there are special devils for every vice, there are also special devils of fornication.

Until his death, through twelve years, Lothar struggled for his divorce, with the support of the two archbishops of Cologne and Trier as well as most of Lotharingia's chief priests. Of course, he occasionally made pious donations, such as to St. Peter's Monastery in Lyon, donations for all sorts of things, for the salvation of his youngest brother, who is buried there, for the salvation of his son Hugh, his beloved wife Waldrada, to atone for his misdeeds - there are many reasons to make monasteries and churches rich.

In order to obtain a divorce, Lothar now accused Theutberga of incest with her own brother Hucbert, the abbot, and also of an artificially induced miscarriage. The abbot committed robbery and murder with a "gang of criminals" all around him, was also known to have had his way with women and spent the income of an abbey that was famous for the bones of the Thebaic legion on "whores, dogs and hunting falcons": 6600 men were martyred there under Diocletian - for the first time.

but claimed almost a century and a half later. (And a figure that alone exceeds the presumed number of *all* Christian martyrs in the first three *centuries* many times over!) But the specific accusation of the prelate Schürzenjäger was probably a lie. Lothar also undertook two campaigns against the abbot, who was safely ensconced in his Alpine castles, to no avail.

ERZBISCHOF Guri+ne vox Köm
VRRRAT EI1'I LIED CONFESSION **SECRET**

When even a "judgment of God", a "water test", in which Theutbergn's representative pulled her hand and arm "unscalded" from the boiling water, turned out in her favor, the "judgment of God" was still not considered sufficient (which some even then considered to be a running spell, which even then was considered by some to be a magic spell that could be used to trick others - although the Church, despite the opposition of many theologians, tolerated the practice of this iudicium Dei, still practiced it in the witch trials and probably even developed new forms, especially the "cross-examination"). Thus, the royal archchaplain, Archbishop Gunthar of Cologne (i 7) - who squandered the rich church property there, including the sacred vessels of gold and silver and *many appendages* (Annales Xantenses) in favor of his numerous feudal relatives, his brothers, nephews, sisters, nieces -, the prelate swept up the lie that Theutberga had confessed her sin to him in confession.

She was then condemned by a pained and shuddering provincial synod in Aachen in February 86o, led by Gunthar and the archbishops Teutgaud of Trier and Wenilo of Rouen, before which she made a forced confession, recorded in writing, confirmed orally but soon revoked: -I, Theutberga, led to my doom by female prejudice and weakness, tortured by the bites of my conscience, lay down for the salvation of my soul and out of loyalty to

I make a true confession to my Lord before God and his holy angels. Angels, these venerable bishops and noble laymen, and confess that my brother, the cleric Hucbert, seduced me in early youth and committed unnatural fornication with my body. I testify to this to the best of my knowledge, neither induced to it by a %willing whisper, nor driven to it by violent compulsion, but according to the simple truth, so help me the Lord, who came to save sinners and promised true forgiveness to those who sincerely and truthfully confess their sins. I do not write anything, I confess the truth with my mouth, I confess it through this handwritten document, because it is a lesser misfortune for me, an unwise and deceived woman, to openly confess my guilt before men than to have to blush before the judgment seat of God and fall prey to eternal damnation."

According to Regino von Prüm, the king had tried to gain the consent of the Cologne prince of the church, then his arch-chaplain, "in every possible way" and had even promised the great benefactor of relatives that he would marry his niece. According to the abbot, 4 she was brought to the court and married,
-as the story goes, once genotziichtigt by *him* {constupratur),
then sent back to her uncle to the laughter and jeers of everyone. But pastoral care has never been easy ...

More and more, a comedy of smears developed. The honorable council fathers were shocked by Theutberga's confession to tieist. They wanted to know from the king whether -this woman- had been blackmailed by him, which he denied with a sigh and a groan. Theutberga also assured them that she had confessed everything of her own free will and would never complain. She was then forbidden to marry Lothar, but the marriage itself was not annulled. However, the queen immediately disappeared into monastic custody in order to mourn her offense for the rest of her life in accordance with the wishes of the synod. In the same year, however, she fled to the Western Kingdom, where her brother Hucbert, the married priest and then abbot who fell in battle, also fled.

The king was already beginning to hope that he could win at least part of his nephew's inheritance, Lothar's land - of course only if his marriage to his childless wife continued, which Charles naturally supported. And so did his most influential prelate, Hinkmar of Reims, at the end of 8öo in his extensive and subtle essay -On the Divorce of King Lothar-.

Lothar, filled with the deepest grief, would have preferred to keep Theutberga's disgrace secret, but **everything** was already too widespread. Indeed, he would have kept Theutberga "of her own free will" had she been "suitable for marriage and not sullied by the pernicious stain of blood disgrace" (Reginonis chro- nica). A further provincial synod in Aachen at the end of April 86z (with the bishops of Metz, Verdun, Toul, Tongern, Unrecht and Strasbourg as well as the spokesmen, the metropolitans of Cologne and Trier) once again proved useful to the king. She declared the marriage to Theutberga null and void and p e r m i t t e d another lawful marriage. At Christmas, Lothar, bewitched by magic (Annales Bertiniani), officially and solemnly married the concubine of his youth, and a bishop from Louis II's realm, Hagen of Bergamo, c r o w n e d Waldrada queen.[2 ']

NixornUs I. in WMPF WITH THE **OSTFRÄNEISCHEN LPISKOPAT AND** THE SER

Despite the obvious injustice done to Theutberga, the pope had remained silent for years, even ignoring her repeated cries for help - he was de facto dependent on Lothar's brother, Emperor Louis II (p. ryq ff.), the ruler of most of Italy, including Rome and the Papal States.

Only when Lothar 8äi' 4 fRit Louis came into conflict over the inheritance of their brother Charles of Provence did Nicholas (more sharply)

against Lothar. He now commanded the entire East and West Frankish episcopate to a reiehsynod in Metz, which also gathered in June &Ö3 ZUSmeIitrat, but only Lothar's bishops. Two Roman legates, whom the pope called his trusted advisors, presided over the synod: Bishops John of Ficocle (today Cervia near Ravenna) and Radoald of Porto, the latter of whom had already been bribed by the Byzantines, as was rumored. Lothar seized the opportunity and bribed both. The legals then presented their lord's cries, sometimes not at all, sometimes falsified, and did nothing of what they were ordered to do according to the holy command" (Annales Bertiniani). The bishops thus unanimously declared Lothar's marriage null and void in his presence and Theutberga, who was not present herself, was condemned once again, which freely violated canon law, as absent persons could not be judged.

However, it was decided to obtain the Pope's confirmation - something he had not requested. With the legates traveled the two metropolitans, Gunthar of Cologne, who as a special connoisseur of the Bible and canons had provided the scriptures for the royal divorce, as well as the richly simple-minded, but also very noble-born Teutgaud, to -that 5chair of the blessed Pctriis-, as Abbot Regino boldly claims, -who neither ever deceived nor w a s ever deceived by any heresy ...""

In the meantime, the episcopate from the Western Empire had intervened in Rome, making new accusations against Lothar and even rebuking the lukewarmness of the Pope, who had only now learned of Waldrada's coronation. And as he believed that Charles the Bald was strengthening his own power, he now a d o p t e d his policies. For the first time, he took a harsh stance against Lothar, calling his marriage criminal and initiating "disciplinary proceedings" against his own legates, sacrificing a former confidant, Bishop Ra-doald, to the new policy,

He then kept the two church leaders of Cologne and Trier, who had received Nicholas in the fall of 863, waiting for three weeks and explained them through a Roman 5ynod,

without the involvement of a synod of bishops of the same province, which was contrary to all custom, deposed and excommunicated: completely unheard, without formal trial, without accusation, defense, interrogation and witnesses
- a blatant breach of the law, but accompanied by roaring applause. The legals of Metz suffered the same punishment.

Nicholas did not yet condemn the king. However, he characterized the Metz Synod as a "synod of robbers" and a "whore economy", the minutes of which, the "profaniim libellum", were torn up and burned. Of course, the pope failed to provide any legal justification for his judgment. However, his resistance made Lothar's empire an object of contention between the bordering powers in the East and West during his lifetime."

When the Pope excommunicated Gunthar in the summer of 86d, Lothar, who owed him a great deal, also took away his archbishopric and the associated dignity of Lotharingian archcaplain and gave the chair of Cologne to a worldly man, Abbot Hugo, according to his own judgment. However, he now "broke into the flock of God like a predatory wolf". He was quickly driven out again, but only "after many of him h a d been killed in this diocese" (Annales Xantenses).

Hinkmar, Archbishop of Reims since 45 thanks to the favor of the West Frankish king, was the only ecclesiastical prince to oppose this. As usual, he came from feudal circles and was educated in the monastery of
St. Dénis. He was considered one of the great scholars of his time, and while he *zealously* defended his archiepiscopal rights against the pope, he was no less eager to increase his own privileges over his bishops, including legal titles "which his predecessors had not even thought of" (Grotz p. }.).

As metropolitan of the Lotharingian bishoprics, Hinkuiar belonged to Lothar's bishops, but his own jurisdiction lay in the neighboring realm of Charles the Bald, whose leading statesman and most influential advisor he was. However, in order to be able to wield more power as metropolitan, Hinkmar sought the annexation of Lotharingia to the Holy Roman Empire.

sten. He therefore had an eminently political interest in Lothar's marital dispute and turned it into the -cause cclebre-. And it goes without saying that King Charles II, quickly sensing his advantage, was full of sympathy for Theutberga's misfortune and strictly opposed to Lothar's divorce because his childless marriage guaranteed him a large inheritance.

Not only did he take in Theutberga, who had escaped from her monastic imprisonment, and gave her exiled brother Hucbert, the philanderer, the most famous abbey in the country, St. Martin's in Tours, but he also finally denied Lothar ecclesiastical communion and even cast doubt on his kingship. And Archbishop Hinkmar naturally made himself his master's mouthpiece, sought his advantage more and more in the advantage of his king, denounced Lothar's actions, sometimes indignantly, sometimes with scorn, and wanted the decision to be made by an imperial synod.°

The two reprimanded archbishops, however, hurried angrily to Benevento, where Emperor Louis II was currently stationed with an army. His initially good relationship with the Pope had long since cooled. So he set off for Rome "stunned with anger" and clashed with a procession of supplication, prophylactically ordered by Nicholas, along with other processions and the decree of general fasting, to convert the imperial mind. The pope did not go to meet the prince as usual. And his henchmen beat the supplicants, maltreated the clergy, tore church flags into the dung, smashed crosses, including the cross of St. Helena with alleged pieces of the cross of Jesus. They looted, broke into churches, demolished houses, committed atrocities against men and women; there were injuries and deaths. And when the noble Carolingian departed from Rome after a few days, his troops left behind not only robbed and destroyed homes, but also desecrated churches, raped nuns and other women ... And the Catholic majesty went to Ravenna and celebrated Easter there ..." (Annales Bcrtiniani).

The Pope, to whom all this is probably very welcome

had secretly fled to St. Peter's and fasted there strictly for two or three days. He waited calmly, playing the martyr a little. Then the heifisporn emperor gave in, disturbed by a death, his own illness and bites of knowledge.

"**LISTEN** MR. POPE NICOLAS - - .* - **CROWNED VULTURES AND PAPAL CHANGE OF FRONT**

The two archbishops of Cologne and Trier, however, now cursed Nicholas I, -who calls himself pope, counts himself among the apostles as an apostle and wants to make himself emperor of the whole world'-. They accused him of "pomposity", "slyness", "tyrannical raging", "truthfulness", even "a kind of robber synod with closed doors", which had produced a "cursed judgment", "a cursed, important work of power". And since Nicholas refused to accept their own, they now deposited, through Gunthar's brother, Bishop Hilduin of Cambray, who had been deposed by the pope, and a swarm of armed men on St. Peter's tomb, this astonishingly brazen indictment, "diabolical and hitherto unheard-of chapters" (Hinkmar), beginning with: -Hear, Mr. Pope Nicholas ...", slaying one of the tomb guards and making their retreat with drawn swords."

Later, of course, the two rebels became much less vociferous and died as exiles in Italy, Thietgaud in 868, Gunthass in 7-, striving again and again in vain for their restitution.

Pope Nicholas, however, for whom the two bishops were not at all so

wrongly accused of acting as emperor of the whole world, incited the Frankish prelates - unimpressed by Romans -3 - to disobey their king. He proclaimed,

which the Catholic Middle Ages still liked to return to, the

Right of resistance against uncomfortable rulers, against vices and tyrants: He excommunicated 8ö6 Waldrada "in divine zeal", according to the Fulda Yearbooks, "**together with** all her accomplices, participants and patrons", threatened Lothar with a ban as well and rejected the divorce request of the extremely intimidated Theutberga as well as her longed-for entry into a monastery - unless the king also committed himself to celibacy! "Because you gave in to your bodily urges and gave in to lust," the pope once wrote to him, "you have fallen into a lake of wretchedness and are lying in a pool of excrement." This is a fairly accurate reflection of the sexual morality preached by the Church throughout the centuries, which Roberto Zapperi summed up in the cuneiform formula:

-Everything to do with sexuality is dirty. As things went from bad to worse for Lothar, his uncles now grabbed the spoils they had long been waiting for. Lothar's only legitimate heir was his brother, Emperor Louis, who Lnthar visited in Benevento shortly before his death. However, in May 86d, Charles the Bald and Louis the German concluded an unusually shameless "division treaty" over Lothar's land at the burial place of Louis the Pious, the monastery of St. Arnulf of Metz. In the presence of several archbishops and bishops from both the western and eastern kingdoms, they agreed to share the expected increase - in true brotherhood - in equal parts, incidentally on the territory of the victim; and of course they also promised the Roman Church protection and protection. However, Lothar, whose kingdom was threatening to fall to his two uncles, immediately concluded an older special alliance with Louis the German in Frankfurt, which seemed to pay off for Louis, as he immediately sought to mediate with the Pope and also found support from his own bishops, who even praised him as a war hero. because he had just driven out the Normans.

But Pope Nicholas persevered. From his sickbed, two weeks before his death, he sent relentless letters to the north and died on November 13, 7 -after many labors for Christ ...-^

His attitude, which was in line with church doctrine, earned Nicholas great fame ever since. Leaving aside, of course, the fact that no pope or bishop protested when Charlemagne dissolved his marriage and entered into a new one, Nicholas' actions were obviously motivated by explosive political reasons. Since he hoped to gain more power from Charles the Bald, he changed fronts, moving from Emperor Louis II to Charles and, to use the language of later times, turning an imperial pope into a French pope. He gave the West Franconian the prospect of becoming emperor, he deliberately favored his plans for the inheritance of his nephew, indeed "he showed Charles the possibility of laying his hands on his empire during Lothar's lifetime" (Haller). Although Charles the Bald, bribed by Lothar by ceding the rich abbey of St. Vaast, had temporarily switched sides, he quickly r e t u r n e d to the pope's side."

The following should also be considered.

At the time, marriage was still far from having the future status it would have in the church. Although the Catholic moral theologian Bernhard Hä- ring, in Volume III of his moral theology "The Law of Christ", sees marriage as having been "founded in paradise" on just one page, he fails to provide us with any biblical source evidence when referring to "the elevation of marriage to a sacrament" by Christ. In fact, monogamy had been adopted from paganism - like everything that was not stolen from the Jews! - and did not bother with marriage for hundreds of years. Even Nicholas I did not demand a corresponding church ceremony. It was not until the High Middle Ages that the spouses declared their consent before the priest. And it was not until the i6. century did marriage become a regular sacrament.

It will therefore hardly come as a surprise that the bishops in the Frankish Empire had nothing to do with marriage problems in legal terms and did not particularly want anything to do with them for a long time. When Ludwig the Pious assigned the settlement of a dispute between two spouses to the Synod of Bishops of

Attigny (8za), the bishops were not particularly interested in dealing with it.

the bishops entrusted this to the laity, who were to decide according to secular law! According to Wilfried Hartmann, it was apparently still taken for granted in the Frankish Empire around 86o "that marital disputes belonged before a secular court". It was only in the later p. century that the prelates had sole jurisdiction in matters of divorce, having also won this right.[2] ' While Nicholas I was still on his last legs, the church treasury was plundered by one of his relatives, the magister militum Sergius. And Duke Lambert of Spoleto and Prince of Capua took advantage of the mourning to make a coup in Rome at the end of 8 7. palaces, churches and monasteries, and to abduct the daughters of the nobility.
lead. The attacks and acts of violence were such that many fled the city.

Vox F ILIENIDYLL UHTER PxPST ADRIAN UP TO THE UNUSED FOD EISER L DWIGS IÏ. "FOR THE CHRISTIAN CHRISTMAS

After the pope's resignation, an unusually fierce election campaign had begun, contested in particular by the imperial party and the rival Nicolaitans, the followers of the last pontiff, with arrests and excesses of all kinds; apparently also again with the ambitions of the former antipope Anastasius. In a general flurry of activity, he not only removed and destroyed files incriminating him from the papal archives, but also blinded a personal enemy who had sought refuge in a church.

Finally, a hardened 7-year-old priest ascended to the coveted throne. Hadrian II (867- 7*), already named as a candidate for the papacy in 5J uftd 8y8, was a scion of Bishop Talarus of Minturno-Gaeta, from whose reputation he probably benefited.
seemed. Moreover, the one-eyed Holy Father, who also walked with a limp, was said to have miraculous answers to prayer. Before his consecration, he had married Miss Stefania and had a

daughter with her.

The family had children with unknown names, perhaps sons, and then led a happy family life in the papal palace.

This came to an abrupt end on io. March 868, when one of Bishop Arsenius' sons, Eleutherius, who had demanded to marry the Pope's daughter, who was already engaged elsewhere, abducted and raped her and her mother Stefariia, the Holy Father's wife, in the middle of Lent. As if that were not enough, when Emperor Louis intervened at Hadrian's call for help, the disappointed son of the bishop murdered both women in his st and was himself stabbed to death. Bishop Arsenius, apparently not uninvolved, fled Rome and died soon afterwards. In a letter to Hinkmar of Reims on March 8, 868, two days before the murders reported above, Hadrian had called the alleged instigator of the crime, antipope Anastasiiis, the brother of the murderer, his most beloved Anastasius, reinstated him as a priest and made him librarian of the church. Now he deposed him again as a cleric without interrogation, witnesses or defense and excommunicated him.

- AND THE RESURRECTION OF AJ'4ASTASIUS:
Clay Wage S ß. - A -COURT OF GOD'

The condemnation of Cardinal Priest Anastasius took place at the Roman Synod of ia. October 8ö8 on the basis of the most severe inspections: Attempted disestablishment of the emperor and the Roman Church, robbing the papal palace after the death of Nicholas I, sending synodal decrees against him under Leo lV and Benedict III, involvement in the abduction and murder of Hadrian II's wife and daughter. The pope hurled other accusations in Anastasius' face at the synod and declared: -In the end, however - as many of you have heard with me from a certain priest Ado himself, who is **even** related to him, and as has also been revealed to me in other ways - he acted in flagrant ingratitude against

the favors we have done him, sent a man to Eleu- therius and asked him to carry out the murders (exhortans homicidia perpetrari). Alas, they are done, you know it." Indec, by the end of the year 86q, Anastasius was once again the Pope's advisor, or at least he was once again the librarian of the Roman Church, which sheds a strange light on the Holy Father."

To support his papal power over bishops, the deeply pious, but not particularly strong Hadri- an had invoked numerous church falsifications right at the beginning of his pontificate, precisely zi Sätac, all of which originated from the pseudoisidoric forgeries (p. z8i ff.).

Admittedly, he was not of the same caliber as the man who voted for him. He wavered, maneuvered, released Waldrada from the ban, albeit with reservations, but on the basis of mere assurances, and easily gave Lothar, who therefore gave many gifts, gold and silver, on i. July 86q in Monte Cassino. After all, the king had affirmed (and his entourage confirmed) that he no longer had any contact with Waldrada. Even "his accomplices (fauto- res) took communion with him from the hands of the pope"; among them even the deposed Archbishop of Cologne Gunther, -the author and operator of this public adultery"; he, however, after making a special declaration -before God and his saints ..." (Annales Bertiniani).

On the journey home, during which his entourage was killed by a plague, the

Lothar was also struck down by a fever in Lucca and died on August 8, 86d in Piacenza - a "judgment of God", as it was generally believed, because of the perjury committed in Monte Cassino. The king was buried in the small monastery of St. Antonin outside the city. But Theutberga, who is said to have soon visited his grave, at least generously endowed the monks there so that they prayed for her husband's peace of mind (because everything has its price here!), ended her life as abbess of the monastery of St. Glodesinde in Metz, which was richly endowed by Lothar. And her rival Waldrada became a nun in Remiremont on the Moselle."

HEIL AND ÑIEG FOR URL DBN LRN - uxD " VICTORY" OF THE BISHOP

Charles the Bald, throughout his life one of the most greedy, unfaithful, cowardly and noble princes of his time, had barely heard of the unexpected death of his nephew Lothar Il when he set off for Lotharingia, contrary to earlier agreements.

The situation was favorable: Lothar was dead, his son Hugh was illegitimate and still a child; Louis the German was seriously ill in Regensburg. And his sons, as befitted good Christians, were able to fight against the Slavs: Prince Louis (III) fought the Sorbs with the Saxons and Thuringians, Prince Charles with the Bavarians against the Moravians, Prince Charles (111th) represented the sick king with Frankish and Alemannic troops, who was in the hands of the Saxons.

"God recommended the outcome of the matter. Emperor Louis, however, Lothar's brother and next heir apparent, was not only far away, but also hardly available. For over three years he had been fighting the Saracens in Lower Italy, where *he* had finally surrounded Bari, their stronghold in Apulia, on the land side and, with the help of a Byzantine fleet of on ships that had just appeared, had also sealed it off f r o m t h e sea side.

Charles the Bald, on the other hand, who had been closely following all of Lotharingia's affairs for years, especially Lothar II's marriage process, was right on the doorstep and could rely on the complicity of several episcopi, Hatto of Verdun, Adventius of Metz, Franco of Liège, Arnulf of Tou1 and others, for the raid that was about to begin. He was also accompanied by Archbishop Hinkmar and two of his suffragans, which allows the conclusion that he "supported" the usurpation plan "from the beginning" and "largely" directed the raid (Reinhardt).

In Atiigny, some Lotharingian bishops and grandees urged Charles not to cross the border. However, another legation invited him to conquer Metn as quickly as possible, where Adventius was bishop, who now acted just as diligently for Charles as he had previously done for Lothar. Without hesitation, the Ag-

gressor. In Verdun, the local bishop and the bishop of Toul paid homage to him, in Metz other prelates. And on q. September 86q, Adventius celebrated Charles in St. Stephen's Church as God's chosen successor and rightful heir. Adventius never tired of repeating the magic word God, the savior in need, to make it clear to everyone that this was about nothing but God's will to make the present Lord Charles, the rightful heir whom God himself had chosen for their salvation, their king and prince. And like the head of Metz, so did many other shepherds.

Engelbert Mühlbach calls it a "comedy of justification". -The bishops, who had so solemnly proclaimed their patriotism against the West Franconian lust for appropriation a year ago, now did not hesitate for a moment to lend their ecclesiastical consecration to the breach of law against the nephew, the breach of contract against the brother. Untruth and hypocrisy, which did not shy away from dragging even the name of God into their gears, shrouded the selfish purpose. Where did they, still a minority, get the right to dispose of a kingdom whose possession was bound to succession, to appoint a foreign king in a kingdom that could only claim hereditary kingship? Did they act differently from the West Franconian greats when they summoned the German king to their land? Was Charles not just as much a usurper as the German king in his attack on the Western Empire, whom Hinkmar of Rheims and some of the same bishops believed they could not punish sharply enough and humiliate deeply enough?"

Charles, for his part, insisted on his divine election, emphasized the general consensus of the clergy and the great, promised to uphold the honour and dignity of the church, and to value and appreciate everything else that was possible - something that should always be denied on such occasions. It goes without saying that Archbishop Hinkmar also regretted that King Charles had come to Metz under God's guidance. Whereupon "Great God, we praise you" was intoned and the royal robber said a little prayer and anointed each bishop for his salvation (and victory),

immediately afterwards in the Ardennes to relax and get fit for new deeds.

For example - since his prau Irmintrud, the mother of eight children, had just died on October 6 in St. Denis - for the encounter with his young concubine Richildis, a relative of Lothar 11. Her brother, Count Boso, had to deliver her as quickly as possible and received the Abiei St. Maurice and other fiefs for this service of love. However, the Catholic prince, who had been a widower for less than a week, celebrated his wedding on October II, barely three days after being informed of his wife's death.

• The Norman troops, who had already settled on the Loire, ravaged Le Mans and Tours according to every trick in the book."

The bishops had attributed Charlemagne's usurpation to the work of God countless times and had declared the land grab to be God's work. Pope Hadrian II, on the other hand, endeavored to procure the succession of Louis Il, his "beloved spiritual son", not only called "pious" by Abbot Regino, but also "a protector of the Church" and "full of humble submission to the servants of God", which is always more attractive than anything else. Ziidem this emperor, to his detriment of course, fought and defeated the ever-increasing Saracens and was not to stop doing so in order to secure his inheritance in the north. Consequently, the Holy Father threatened all those who opposed his protégé and encroached on his inheritance rights, especially the bishops, with an ecclesiastical ban¡ as if they were infidels and tyrants. But no one cared about the Roman's nagging, and the emperor himself was wise and, as I said, preoccupied.

Of course, Charles the Bald was all the more unconcerned by the papal wishes. Instead, he joined forces with your Norian leader Rorich, who, although now a Christian, nevertheless remained "the scourge of Christendom" - just as other Christians had been such scourges for centuries and would continue to be. When, of course, the rapidly recovering Lud-

wig the German threatened the usurper with war and moved towards him, Charles relented.

After lengthy preliminary negotiations, the two kings came together at Meersen (on the banks of the Meuse in the Netherlands, where the Frankish princes had already met several times around the middle of the century) and on August 8, 82o, exactly one year after the death of Lothar II, they divided his realm north of the Alps equally between them. On 8 August 82o, exactly one year after the death of Lothar II, they unceremoniously divided his realm north of the Alps equally among themselves, with the Meuse, Moselle and Saone roughly forming the border - until ten years later, however, the treaties of Verduu (8yq) and Ribemont (88o) returned the entire western part of Lotharingia t o East Francia."

Further protests by the pope only lagged behind the full-scale execution. But neither Charles the Bald, who was admonished for the third time, nor Archbishop Hinkmar, who was probably the most excoriated archbishop and whom the Roman, presumably rightly, called the initiator of evil and robbery, nor the other prelates cared much about this. In fact, the Holy Father soon heard from Charles that it was the Frankish kings who ruled their lands and not the bishops, which is why he calmly annexed what the Treaty of Meersen had earned him.

However, just as Hadrian had to give way to Lothair and Waldrada, so too in other conflicts, in civil and ecclesiastical disputes in the Carolingian Empire, especially in a dispute between Bishop Hinkmar of Laon and his powerful uncle Hinkmar of Rheims and Charles the Bald. They were against interference, which he was not authorized to do. Charles strongly forbade Roman orders that interfered with his rights. The Pope even had to deny personal letters written b y his secretary. He explained that they had been torn from him during his illness, indeed, they had been fabricated. A synod of 3o Frankish bishops also took sides with the king.

ISER L owIG I . **DIES EXHAUSTED FOR CHRIST, AND THE CHURCH INHERITS HIM**

Now, at least in the south of Italy, there seemed to be a glimmer of hope. After all, Louis II was finally able to return after more year siege of Bari, the Saracen center on the peninsula, the seat of an Arab emir, with Byzantine help. Of course, the emperor was also able to conquer
was captured in a coup d'état by Duke Adelchis of Benevento, after which he lost his dominant position, albeit less because of this than as a result of unfortunate dynastic circumstances. His wife Angilberga, descended from the once Frankish clan of the Suponids, was unusually active in his reign, but was herself (especially
Since he fell ill and died 41 *in military campaigns, she had only borne him two daughters. Her attempt to pass Italy and the imperial crown to the East Franconian Carolingians after the succession failed due to the resistance of the Upper Italian nobility, the majority of whom were in favor of Charles the Bald.
decided to do so. And in a sudden political turn of events, the Pope now even held out the prospect of the imperial crown to Charles.^

Emperor Louis 11 (5J- 75), Lothar's 1st eldest son, had spent almost his entire life in Italy. In the south of the country, Byzantine and Lombard power interests rivaled each other, as well as
there were numerous local disputes - all of course grist to the mill of the Saracens, against whom Louis summoned all the free men of Italy in 866. *OR* praised and immediately cheered on by the popes, he frequently waged war, subdued the dukes of Salerno, Benevento and Capua, fought for a long time in Apulia and was of course only able to assert his emperorship in Imperial Italy, but not north of the Alps, where his brothers Lothar II and Charles of Provence ruled in the "Middle Kingdom", so that Archbishop Hinkmar von Reimsgeringschätzig called him "Imperator Italiae". And finally he had to leave the south to his own devices, above all because of the hostility of his Christian princes, especially the

Eastern Roman emperor.

Louis II, who "exhausted himself unselfishly for the cause of Christ" (Riché), perished in a foreign land, and when he died at Brescia on tz. August *7s near Brescia, he inherited his entire Ownership in Italy - the church. No wonder that Bishop Antony of Breseia and Enbishop Ansbert of Milan immediately scuffled over his body. Bishop Antony had already laid her to rest in the church of the Virgin of his city when the Milanese metropolitan, accompanied by the canons of Bergamo and Cremona and the entire clergy, brought her to Milan accompanied by hymns.

As the emperor left no male descendants, the East Frankish Carolingians were to be favored and one of his cousins was to become king of Italy; the ruler is said to have named Charles, the monarch's eldest son, as his successor¡ his widow Angilberga and her followers also acted in this spirit. But Louis the German was old, his empire was about to be divided among three sons, the Italian greats were divided, and Pope John VIII had intended to give the imperial crown to Charles the Bald, to whom Joan's predecessor Hadrian II had secretly promised it. The latter - his last recorded official act - crowned Louis II emperor for a second time in St. Peter's in mid-May 8yz. In the same year, however, the year of his death, the Pope wrote to Charles:

-We assure you sincerely and faithfully - but let this be a secret speech and a letter to be communicated only to those most intimate

- that … if your highness should outlive the emperor in our lifetime, and if anyone should offer us even many bushels of gold: We will not wish and demand and voluntarily accept anyone else as Roman king and emperor than you ... If you outlive our emperor ... we all desire you not only as our leader and king, Patricius and emperor, but as patron of the present church …" Of course, John VIII, who became pope in 8yz and now offered the imperial throne to the West Frankish king, was only thinking of the advantage of the Roman Church, which he later explained as follows: -Karl is characterized by hisTtigend, his struggles for the faith.

and the right to honor and instruct the clergy. God has therefore chosen him for the honor and exaltation of the Roman Church."

This was not to Italy's advantage, nor was it intended to be. Instead, a series of rapidly changing, unstable governments followed: Charles the Bald, Charlemagne, Charles III, Berengar I, Wido. And hardly anyone in the Regnum Italiae was as single-mindedly selfish as the popes in preventing the development of any independent state from century to century'

Under Hadrian II, Rome had to accept a number of embarrassing compromises and losses. However, it probably suffered its greatest loss in connection with a missionary dispute, which developed from a conflict of authority into a battle between East and West on the Balkan Peninsula and beyond.

ROME LOSES BULGARIA

In the spread of Christianity, the churches of the East and West did not work towards each other, but against each other; they competed fiercely. Each side wanted to seize as much as possible. The Franks of Bohemia and Moravia, the Croats and Serbs, the Greeks in the land of the Varangians (old Russian varjag = Vikings) of Kiev - Scandinavian lords who established themselves there with their entourage in the late 8th or early q. century. century (p. 96#). However, Greek preachers also made a front against the Franks in the Moravian Empire. And when Khan Boris of Bulgaria supported the East Frankish king against his rebellious offspring Karlmann in 86z, whereupon the Franks set their sights on the Christianization of Bulgaria, Michael III of Byzantium fought the Bulgarians and forced them to be baptized by his priests. The Bulgarians, whose nation emerged in the course of the early Middle Ages from the fusion of Thracians, Slavs and Proto-Bulgarians, were Asiatics from the middle and upper reaches of the Volga,

where they had founded a khaganate (which then became Muslim); it held its ground with its capital Bulgar until the late Middle Ages, when it was overrun by the Mon$ol storm.

In the wake of the Huns, Bulgarian ethnic groups came to the Danube and the Balkans, where they gradually settled and became a dangerous neighbor of Byzantium. As a wall against them, Emperor Anastasios I (49*-s*8), a resolute monophyte (I 3*q ff., 34 >-1, 6 kilometers from Constantinople, erected a
Wall from the Sea of Marmara to the Black Sea. At present
Justinian (II 7th ch.), they and other Slavic tribes came in ever new waves. s57 they invaded Thrace, around 58q they reached the Peloponnese. Jqz Emperor Maurikios
a war against them that continued even after his assassination. dragged on for a long time. And in the late 7th century, they had already forced the Byzantine rulers to pay an annual tribute. 7- to recognize their independence. Their first king
Kingdom, founded in 68i with Pliska as its capital, existed until ioz8.

However, the Bulgarians overreached themselves when they advanced into Byzantine territory in the south and southwest shortly after the middle of the 8th century. Emperor Constantine V Copronymos then led ten campaigns on land and sea against their Khan Tervel over a period of twenty years, but w a s unable to destroy him. Although greatly weakened and despite frequent falls from the throne with the partial killing or banishment of their rulers, the Bulgars recovered and made new conquests under Khan Krum (8o3-8Id), one of their most important rulers, including Serdika (Sofia) in 8o9. Although Emperor Nikephoros I responded to Krum's anti-Byzantine foreign policy in 8ii with an invasion, even taking and destroying the Bulgarian capital Pliska with his large army, he was in turn defeated by Krum on a6. He was ambushed by Krum on July 6th on his way back, probably at the Verigava Pass (today Vurbitki prochod), and lost both battle and life.

From this year onwards, the Bulgarian tsars, who called themselves -princes of God-, drank from the skull of the Byzantine king.

nian emperor, the golden braincase of the Nikephorus. Krum himself ruined almost all of Thrace, reached the walls of Constantinople, but died suddenly in the middle of the preparations for the siege in April 8*4

One of his successors, Khan Boris I (8Jz-88q, d. 9o;r), was driven by the rapprochement between the Byzantine and Great Moravian Empires under Raticlav to form an alliance with Louis the German and to open up to the East Frankish-Bavarian Church. Initially, however, Byzantium prevented this by forcing Khan Boris I to renounce his alliance with the Franks in 86d with a major campaign, a surprise army and naval demonstration, and to conquer the Bulgars to be baptized by Byzantine priests in the early autumn of s. And when Bulgarian grandees resisted, Boris put down the rebellion of his pagan nobles, baptizing their £he executed women and children and cruelly exterminated entire families - reason enough to venerate him as a saint after his death. Nevertheless, Christian Bulgaria and Christian Byzantium fought each other for six hundred years."

Szx, **OCCUPATION, CLEIRE &ESTECHUHGRN AND**ABS **AT THE COURT OF** Bvzz

When Khan Boris 5 crawled to the cross when he officially converted to the Byzantine faith, he was given the name of his imperial godfather: Michael.

Michael III of Byzantium (w- 7), not quite as licentious as long portrayed by historiography, always held horses and women in high esteem, including the handsome married groom Basileios, whom he made imperial master of ceremonies and chief carthorse, as well as his husband of his own mistress, with whom he nevertheless carried on himself, whereas Basileios, who later killed him, was able to get his hands on the emperor's

sister and, in reality, Uncle Bardas, until Basileios murdered him as well. A Christian imperial court for centuries.

Bardas, who had risen to Caesar since 86z, was versatile, educated and even founded a private university in Constantinople, was of course also involved in the not unbloody coup d'état of 8y6 and in the ousting of the emperor's widow Theodora. He had also repudiated his first wife and was evidently living in "blood disgrace" with his son's widow, which displeased the patriarch Ignatios so much that Bardas in 8y8 was just as energetic in his abdication and banishment as he was in the appointment of Photios in the same year. Thus sex and pastoral care often merge beautifully - as is still the case today, mutatis mutandis.

Patriarch Photios (8J- 7 and 77* 6}, a relative of the imperial house, had it after the forced abdication of his predecessor Ignatios (son of the overthrown Emperor Michael I),
contrary to canon law, from non-cleric to patriarch in five days - a lay theologian, but the most important scholar of his time. Naturally, he protested a g a i n s t Western missionaries in the Bulgarian Empire, against the celibacy of Western priests, against Western "heresy", the insertion of the "filioque" (the emanation of the Holy Spirit from the Father and the Son - the main cause of the schism of io§d for the Greek Church) into the symbol of faith, and so on.

Naturally, the Pope was unable to stay out of the battle raging in the Orient between the Photians and Ignatians, who challenged the legitimacy of both the old and the new patriarch. Nicholas I refused to recognize the dangerous rival Photios, and Photios declared Ignatius' patriarchate illegitimate in a synod. Two papal legates, bribed in the East, approved the deposition of Ignatius and the installation of Photius. The pope banished them, recognized Ignatius as legitimate and solemnly pronounced the deposition and excommunication of Photios at the Lateran Synod of 8ö3, which led to a testy correspondence between the two,

Nicholas and the Eastern emperor. 8äy Photios condemned the pope and declared him deposed, which he never regretted in the least, and excluded all those who would continue to stand by him. He was finally undecommunicated in the East at the Council of Constantinople in 869/8yo, he was also reinstated, and even Rome recognized him. The Pope only insisted that Photios apologize for all his deeds and then dropped this demand - probably because Byzantine help against the Arabs was hoped for (p. z6z). However, the whole dispute ultimately led to schism and the final separation of Rome from the Greek Empire."

And he intensified the dispute over the Christianization of the Slavs.

PaSTAL STF8R Bu cGARIA: **NOT WITH** DBM **ÜFBRDESCI-1WANZ, SO** IDERN WITH THE **KRBUZ IN DIECHLACirr !**

Together with Patriarch Photios, Caesar Bardas promoted the Byzantine missionization of the Slavs in order to better withstand the political and ecclesiastical pressure from the West, especially on Bulgaria. On the other hand, the Bulgarian prince Boris 1 sought to escape the overpowering influence of Byzantine politics and the Church. He took advantage of the political uncertainty in the East after the assassination of Bardas in 866 by the later Emperor Basileios I (p. a6i) eu to make contact with Rome in the expectation of a less dependent church organization. Nicholas I, whose relations with Byzantium had in any case constantly deteriorated, sent the two bishops Paulus of Populonia and Formosus of Portus, the later pope, in the fall of 8ö6, who continuously deployed Bulgarian troops, chased the Greek priests out of the country and urged the khan to accept only Roman clergy and Roman liturgy.

Since Bulgaria fell largely under Byzantine ecclesiastical sovereignty and had only just been Christianized by the Byzantines

A synod convened by Photios in late summer 7 condemned the Latin mission in Bulgaria and deposed Pope Nicholas I, whom this (good) news never reached. However, séne converts were jealous of

their achievements. Aitch Ludwig the German's somewhat late-coming savior under the south-east particularly

interested Bishop Ermenrich of Passau (86s 7-) had to turn back in anger, as the Roman mission of Pope Nicholas did not hold them in high esteem, as it had "already filled the whole country with sermons and baptisms" (Annales Ful- denses).

The Pope himself instructed the Bulgarians, under the title "Responsa", in ind points about almost all the important things in human life. For example, that the Patriarch of Rome, that is, he himself, was much more important than the Patriarch of Constantinople, that they should beware of Greek rites, which he not only attacked but ridiculed, and that they should submit to Rome. He also told them how they should dress, how they should marry, when they should eat, when they should have sexual intercourse and so on. And gave the downright revolutionary advice that they should no longer go into battle with a horse's tail as their flag, but with the cross! Thus the Bulgarian khan was finally convinced, he knew himself to be a servant of St. 'ntrus and declared his submission - -the Western-Roman O%dience had almost reached the gates of Constantinople!" (Handbook of European History).

Of course, Rome's triumph did not last long. Since Prince Boris did not receive an autocephalous Byzantine patriarch, since neither Nicholas I sent the requested bishop Formosus nor Nicholas' successor Hadrian II the requested deacon Marinus, and since Boris also had to hear that the Roman pope and the patriarch of Constantinople had ex-communicated and deposed each other, the Bulgarian Church, which had always been eagerly courted by Byzantium, turned to Rome immediately after the Council of Constantinople.

Constantinople 86# 7o again to the patriarchate there, which meant that their missionary territory once again fell to the Greek Church. And now, despite all papal protests, the Latin priests were expelled. And no matter how much John VIII might admonish and warn the Byzantine tsars and threaten them with Peter's keys to heaven, no matter how hard he tried to force Bulgaria under Roman salvation and against the sub fide falsi, it remained with Constantinople and was thus able to maintain its independence. pa8, the Bulgarian church was recognized by the Byzantine church as being au- tocephalous.

Photios, however, who excelled in the Christianity of his time, fell a second time in 886 and withdrew behind monastery walls, still famous today at least as a theologian and scholar. And Khan Boris, the cruel butcher of his pagan nobility, the murderer of women and children, also became a monk (88q) - and a saint, even a national saint of the Bulgarians (feast of May)."

Deserved, deserved.

RoK GEWIbf IT BöHMEN UxDHRRN - THE "SLAWENAPOSTEL" xouusx

In Moravia, Ratislaw had clearly recognized that a union with the ecclesiastical province of Salzburg would endanger his independence even more. Thus, at the height of his power, he strove for ecclesiastical separation from Bavaria, sought support in Rome by inviting Italian missiologists, and thought of a Slavic national church that would be bound only to the Pope. However, after Nicholas rejected him out of consideration for the imperial church and Louis the German, he wished to align himself with Byzantium, which he considered less politically dangerous than his nearby Frankish neighbors. He therefore pushed back the Bavarian mission and asked Byzantium to send Greek clergymen. And

Caesar Bardas soon sent the two brothers Constantine and Methodius with their missionaries, just a few years before his assassination and that of Emperor Michael by his successor Basileios. In this way, the Great Moravian Empire not only gained de facto independence from the subjugated East Franks, but also Slavic Christianity and, following the Greek-Byzantine Church, gained a national church in Moravia for the time being.

Constantine (usually called by his later name Cyril) and Methodius, the brothers who became known as the "Apostles of the Slavs", came from a high official family in Thessa- lonike (Salonika) and were educated in the circle of Patriarch Photios in Constantinople. The elder Me- thodios, born around 8i J, was first an imperial strategist, then an abbot, while the younger Constantine, a deacon, perhaps a priest, had taken over Photios' chair and finally went to the Khazars in what is now Ukraine as an imperial envoy in 8öo. Both had already gained experience in the Slavic mission, and two years later, when Ra-tislav asked Michael **III** for teachers to translate Byzantine Gesen books into Slavic, among other things, the two brothers set off at the head of a missionary delegation.

The "Slavic apostles" were able to speak and preach to the Moravians in their mother tongue, they were able t o practice the Christian liturgy, the Roman mass (St. Peter's liturgy), in the Slavic language and in the ecclesiastical tradition of the Orient, and they also translated the Bible into the vernacular. With all of this, they trained a church and liturgy idiom known as "Old Church Slavonic". However, all this also led to a serious dispute with the Latin-Franconian clergy already active in Ratislav's area along t h e Danube. All the more s o as they quickly overtook the Bavarian mission. Naturally, they were accused of "heresy" and summoned to Rome. So, after about three years of work, Constantine and Methodius set off in 866 7 on their **way.** They went via Pannonia to the son of the now deceased Sla-

The first of these was Pribina (p. iy6 f.), Kocel (in Känkian sources: Chozilo, Chezilo), who ruled the main stronghold of Mosapurg (Zalavar) on Lake Balaton until his death around 8yj and now began to promote the Slavic liturgy. And from there they moved on to the Pope via Venice in 868 in order to obtain the highest approval for their undertaking.

In fact, in Rome (where Constantine, who took the name Cyril, died in 86d) Hadrian II approved their missionary practice. He approved the Slavonic liturgy, but ordered the epistles and gospels to be read in Latin. However, when Hadrian appointed Methodios as papal lcgate and archbishop of Pannonia and Moravia in 8yo at the request of Cocel, who wanted to free himself from East Frankish dependence and establish an independent church, and also placed the metropolis of Sirmium (today Mitrovica near Belgfad), which had been under his control since the Avar invasion of 58z, under his authority, the bishops of Salzbuig and Pas- sati put up fierce resistance. Hadrian's decree affected their dioceses, and by no means only their ecclesiastical regiment, but of course also the continuation of Frankish "colonization". The church dispute, which had already been going on for around fifteen years, intensified, with something else at stake: "Methodism was concerned with the Slavic church language, the Bavarians with the integrity of their missionary spring, the papacy with unquestionable rule over the Moravian church, but the Moravians themselves with their independence" (Zöllner). Basically, everyone was after the same thing: power."

DUKE TISLAW WILL BE GIVEN1'4DET EnzBISCHOF METHOD TRAKTIBRT BY THE SASSAUER BISHOP WITH THE RIDER'S HORSE

The political conflict was inextricably linked to the church dispute. Louis the German had just invaded the East once again. He advanced with three army contingents (p. i6a).

Prince Karlmann attacked the principality of Neutra in Slovakia from Carinthia, where Ratislav's nephew Swatopluk
reigned (7-- d). He had begun as a partial prince where the Salzburg archbishop Adalram had consecrated the first Christian temple in 8z8 and apparently founded the Roman church. Thus he was miraculously saved from al) the dynastic pitfalls threatening him.
saved by "God's grace", "the righteous judgment of God". Karlmann pulled him over to his side, and Swatopluk h a n d e d his uncle over to him. Karlmann had Ratislav locked up in a prison in Regensburg and now i n v a d e d his kingdom without any resistance, brought all the cities and castles into subjection, organized and administered the kingdom through his people and went home "enriched with the royal treasure".

In late fall, however, Ratislav was brought before King Louis "heavily bound", blinded - mercifully - and thrown blind again into a monastery dungeon. (After all, there had been omens throughout the year, "miraculous signs": the air over Mainz was bathed in blood for nights on end, there were two earthquakes there, and a cattle plague raged - most terribly in some places in Francia". Indeed, during a synod in Cologne, "voices of evil spirits were heard in the church of St. Peter, talking to each other and complaining that they should be driven out of the seats they had held for so long": Annales Fuldenses). - One probably remembers the -evil spirit- of Caputmontium (p. i68).

But when Methodios lost his marksman Ratislav, the
Bavarian bishops also arrested Methodios and imprisoned him for years in Bavaria - where is unknown - but the entire Bavarian episcopate was certainly in close contact with the secular power. Moravia was now administered by German margraves.

Before that, however, 7 the archbishop, who had just been approved by the pope, had been dragged to a Regensburg synod, a man who presumably represented a more serious Christianity than the Frankish cleric who was proselytizing in Moravia at the time.

rus, and there was a clash with the Bavarian prelates, who detested anything Slavic. -You are teaching on our territory", the arrested man was accused, while he in turn accused the chief shepherds of 5alzburg and Passau of having crossed the "old borders" out of ambition and greed.

Bishop Ermenrich of Passau had perhaps captured Methodios. And Ermenrich, an educated man of letters from the Swabian nobility, a pupil of Hraban and Rudolf in Fulda, Walafrid Strabo in Reichenau, who also spent time at the court of Louis the German in Regensburg, threw himself at the brother in Christ with a riding crop - after Pope John VIII - and exposed him to the winter, the
Regen atis and probably also imprisoned him. In any case, from the end of 7 to 8y3, Archbishop Methodios was imprisoned in Klosterhah, either near Freising, in Regensburg or in Ellwangen, where Ermenrieh
was once a monk."

INCIDENTS IN OsTE1't **OR** "KSINBR
RHTRANN FROM THERE EXCEPT ßISHOr EMBRICHO ... ^

Grand Prince Swatopluk, the actual ruler of the Great Moravian Empire, the entire Sudetenland, including Bohemia, Silesia and Central Hungary, had also been imprisoned in Frankish prisons, but gradually proved to be more useful, subjugating and "converting" neighboring Slavic tribes, such as the eastern Czechs. The princely seat of Neutra was already an episcopal see in the second half of the q. century. century, the easternmost seat of the Latin Church.

7- But 5watopluk was accused of disloyalty and taken into custody again by the Franks, by Karlmann, whose grandson he had raised from the baptism. However, as he was probably innocent, he was r e l e a s e d again, even "with royal gifts". Of course, the prince now took his revenge. He

took up Ratislav's anti-Frankish policy, rose up and inflicted a terrible defeat on the Bavarian army. The border counts against Möhren, Wilhelm and Engelschalk, ca
with many other tim. -All the joy of the Bavarians over so many previous victories was turned into grief and lamentation - what was not cut down ended in captivity. Swatopluk, who at least made use of Christian priests for the most important political business, John of Venice, the Swabian Wiching, remained the symbol of the Franks.
"Brain full of deceit and guile", "inhuman and bloodthirsty like a wolf" (Annales Fiildenses).

In 87, Moravians and Bohemians are attacked with a whole series of forceful a t t a c k s , but again with little "luck".
Thuringians and Saxons are chased into flight "with very great loss", fleeing counts are beaten by the women of the region and knocked to the ground with clubs from their horses. For this, of course, -trusting in God's help- (who at the same time is building the cathedral at Worms with
"consumed by heavenly fire"), the army under the Archbishop of Mainz kills as many as five enemy armies - together with a large number of rebels", lets them drown in the Vltava, devastates a "not small part" of the country and then returns
"home unharmed. Archbishop Liutbert was in charge of this procession".

Another Frankish troop, led by Bishop Arn of Würzburg - the builder of a cathedral there as well as the responsible military commander in four "overlordly campaigns" (Lindner)
- and Abbot Sigehard of Fulda, rushed to the aid of Karlmann, who was operating against Swatopluk "with murder and fire". But the Bavarians were defeated. They had to turn back - with the loss of most of their own - under great difficulties. And another Bavarian troop, left behind on the banks of the Danube to protect the ships, was completely routed by a band of Swatopluks - - nobody escaped from there except Bishop Embricho of Regensburg . . ."

After an unusually sacrificial filling, Swatopluk

and 8y¢ the Peace of Forchheim brought him relative independence, also in terms of church policy, albeit in return for annual tribute payments*.

FINAL BAN OFTHE SLAVIC LITURGY AND THE RISE OF THE ^ $LAWENAPOSTEL" TO ÜA1'4DESPATRONEN AND 'MODEHEI LIGEN

It was not until 873 that Pope John VIII obtained the release of Methodius. After his return to the Pannonian Sptengel, he was ordered to renounce the Slavic liturgy, the "barbarian" language, and to celebrate Mass only in Latin or Greek, "as the Church of the Cotes sings throughout the world", but Methodius did not comply and the Pope revoked the ban in 88o.

Swatopluk himself, the lord of Great Moravia, backed Method politically, but was personally more inclined towards western "culture", above all to the papacy. He had his favorite, the Swabian monk Wiching, who had been educated in the monastery of Reichenau, elected bishop of Neiitra, Swatopluk's former seat, in Rome. Wiching then became the suffragan of Methodes. However, he continued to intrigue against the latter's missionary program - even though John VIII had made it possible in June 88o with the bull "Industriae tuae- and surprisingly decided against Wiching after Method, who was summoned to Rome, was able to completely refute the accusation of "heresy".

However, Pope Stephen V (88J-8qi), who was under the influence of the Frankish clergy, finally banned the Slavic mes-secanon and had it replaced by the Roman rite, "the last significant ecclesiastical decision of a Carolingian pope" (Handbuch der Europäischen Geschichte). As a result, a part of the Western and Southern Slavs were forever in

included the Latin West. Stephen V rejected "the false doctrine completely" and warmly recommended Bishop Wiching as orthodox to the -king of the Slavs. However, Wiching was only successful against Method's desired successor after Method's death around 8g.

Methodius' attempt to create a Slavic national church in the style of Byzantium had completely collapsed. The Bavarian episcopate had won across the board. A great ecclesiastical upheaval took place. The Latin liturgy replaced the Slavic, the Frankish church province replaced the Moravian, Slovenes and Croats came back under Roman Catholic rule, the Byzantine mission in Moravia was finished for all time. As in Bulgaria, the East had prevailed in Moravia. From then on, the dividing line between Greek and Roman Christianity, between the larger Slavic south-eastern Europe and the smaller western part of the Slavs, ran through the middle of the southern Slavs, through the middle of the Balkans, Byzantium and Rome were hostile to each other here, with all the catastrophic consequences that this would have in the future.

ao. The company's success was particularly evident in the Second World War and the Balkan War of the 1 9 9 0 s .

The Slavic clergy, the followers of Methodius, were imprisoned for a long time in 886, mainly under the influence of Bishop Wiching, some of them chained, then driven out of Moravia, from where they mostly fled to Bulgaria, but also to Serbian and Croatian territory. At the same time, the Slavic liturgy was eradicated in Moravia and a precious treasure trove of manuscripts from the Old Slavic school was barbarically destroyed. Contrary to the decree of his predecessor, Str/an V issued an absolute ban on the use of Slavic in church services and appointed the East Frenchman Wiching as Archbishop of Neutra. No Old Church law tradition was preserved, in Moravia as little as in Bohemia.

Only in the id. century did Constantine-Cyril and Methodios became the patron saints of the country, indeed, they suddenly became typical "fashionable saints". It is clear that

It was established that there was no cultic veneration of the two missionaries in Bohemia and Moravia before 1347. Even relics - "understandably of a very dubious nature" (Graus) - have only now been "discovered."

. CHAPTER

JOHANN VIII- 1 7* =): A POPE AS HE IS WRITTEN IN THE BOOK

-The one who is to be raised by us to the imperial throne must also be based and considered first and foremost by us - Pope John Vlli.

• ... the world hard understood that what he, like his predecessors, strove for and demanded was a matter of worldly rights and earthly power, not of faith and church. Johannes Hallcr'

-In Rome, the bishop of the apostolic see was different, John by name; he had already received poison from his relative earlier, but now he was poisoned by the same and at the same time by other comrades of his iniquity . . ., since they had taken over both his see and the leadership of the Bishopric to see eu travel, as *long as* with a Hsm-mer beaten, bic this ifn brain stuckwi.- Annales Euldens¢s^

• No **Fregc:** complete anarchy reigned in Italy ... Of the nine popes who ascended to the Chair of Peter in quick succession over the next twelve years, only one died a normal death - Karl Kupisch'

Of Hadrian's successor, the already very old Roman-born John VIII, one of the most famous popes between Nicholas 1 and Gregory VII, even the relatively critical Catholic Kühner commented: -"His whole life was dedicated to peace and justice". In fact, however, John VIII was an extremely ambiguous pope, literally conspiring on all sides, chasing nothing but power and surrounded by sad war glory. No one before him had issued so many banns, no one before him had been so unscrupulous, so confused in adapting to every change of the times, even if enough of his predecessors were similarly unabashed in their use of ecclesiastical power for political ends.

FRESH)INITIATIVE OR THE FIRST PArST ADMIRAL

Inspired by Gregory I and Nicholas I, his role models, he pushed for papal leadership. Just as Leo IV had transformed St. Peter's, the Vatican's fourth valley, the -Lcostadt", into a fortress, John VIII walled in St. Paul's Basilica together with the entire city there, which he called -Johannipolis-. And just like his predecessor Hadrian - after he had conquered Louis 11 from a
(by the Beneventan Duke Adelch*5 7-) had generously dissolved the oath - had incited the emperor - to renew the fight - (Regino of Prüm), so also accompanied
Pope John with pithy Bible verses Ludwig's Saracen-

war and, similarly again to Leo IV (p. *77 <.), absolved all from their sins who -in Catholic piety- fall against pagans and unbelievers, and also promised them peace
of -eternal life-.

This Vicar of Christ also kept soldiers, requested Moorish cavalry from the King of Galicia and presumably established the office of shipyard director, but certainly, in a "fresh initiative" (Catholic Seppelt), the first papal navy: boats manned by troops, armed with two forts, equipped with machines for slinging, firing and boarding and rowed by galley slaves. Indeed, he himself led military enterprises, was the first Pope-Admiral to personally hunt down Saracens, killing many of these - as he truly called them - "wild animals" and taking 18 ships from them at the Cape of Circe - a "piece of heaven" (Catholic Daniel-Rops). Last but not least, he sought to d e t e r C h r i s t i a n s - on whom he would impose ecclesiastical banishment if they joined forces with Saracens - from any collaboration by means of considerable bribery.'

JOHANN'S DESCRIPTIONS WITH KARL THE KNIGHT, **THE - SAVIOR OF THE WORLD"**

After the death of Emperor Louis II, Louis the German and Charles the Bald, the two uncles of the deceased, claimed the imperial crown. John VIII therefore sent his legals to Charles, .the Italian clergy also decided in his favor, and
-The "tyrant of Gaul" soon invaded Italy via the Great St. Bernard, where he gathered all the treasures he could find with a bent hand (Annales Fuldenses). In contrast, the East Franks Charles III and Karlmann, who were advancing across the Alps (on behalf of their father), were only supported by Margrave Berengar of Friuli, who later became king and emperor (his mother Gisela was a daughter of Louis the Pious).

Louis the German, however, used his brother's absence to invade West Francia - as he had already done in 8y8 (p. ixx f.) - a purely vengeful move. According to the Annales Fuldenses, the royal army "robbed and devastated e v e r y t h i n g it found". Although the western magnates swore an oath to defend themselves against the invaders, they in turn ruined Charlemagne's realm,
-that they themselves plunder it like enemies". Indeed, many a count and bishop defected to Louis, while the plundering East Franks celebrated "the feast of the Lord's birth in Attigny" and, after the attack in the Palatinate of Frankfurt, "Lent and Easter" (Annales Bertiniani).

Charles the Bald, of course, but already by Nicholas I through
-The Pope, who had been promised and designated by "divine inspiration", undoubtedly had the strongest power at his disposal, so that he could probably assist Pope John against both the Roman nobility and the Arabs, with whom princes and cities were always greedy for booty - and John was also very hungry for booty. At the same time, however, western Franconia was so threatened by predatory Danes that the pope believed he had a free hand in Italy for his own political plans.

In any case, Charles, who fleeced his empire insatiably despite the rampant poverty, but generously bestowed gifts on the local church, seemed to want to squander his treasures in the south as well, to literally buy the empire. In this way he was able to persuade Karlmann, whose sword he feared as surely everyone does - for he is as fearful as a rabbit - to abdicate with "gold and silver and precious gems in endless quantities". He also "bribed the whole senate of the Roman people with gold like Jugurtha and won them over" (Annales Fuldenses).

And even Pope John, who was no friend of the East Franconian Carolingians anyway, may have been impressed by Charlemagne's enormous sums of money.

For of course he had also and especially "made many and precious gifts to St. Peter". And so his -successor - declared that Charles surpassed his father, even his grandfather; claimed

that God had already chosen his emperor "before

He was predestined for the "creation of the world "¡celebrated him in ludicrous salivating as the salvific star that had risen for mankind, as the long-awaited "savior of the world", the man of God, to whom angels showed the way through impassable regions, swamps, through unknown fords, raging rivers, etc. And crowned Charles the Bald at Christmas. And crowned Charles the Bald at Christmas

8yy in St. Peter's Church - exactly 7s years after the coronation of his grandfather Charles, while he threatened all those, bishops and laymen alike, who supported Louis the German with expulsion, deposition and cursing.

It is hard enough to consider the change, the complete reversal of history: whereas the emperors once claimed the crown by right of inheritance, now the papacy, the papacy alone, was entitled to bestow this crown as it saw fit! At the same time, Rome made another big deal. Not only did Charles give the rights of the emperor established by Lothair I in 8-4 in the Papal States (p. 66); he not only referred to the

He also received income from the three imperial monasteries of S. Salvatore, S. Ma- ria in Farfa and S. Andrea on the Soracte; not only did he renew all the donations of his ancestors from Pippin to Louis 11 to the Roman Church. The pope also received considerable territorial expansions in Benevento and near Naples, the regions of Samnium and Calabria, the Tuscan border fortifications of Chiusi and Arezeo and, above all, sovereignty over the duchies of Spoleto and Benevento. Of course, this soon earned him the enmity of two neighboring princes, Duke Adalbert of Tuscany and, in particular, Duke Lam

bert of Spoleto, who invaded Rome at the beginning *7 'and lived there for four weeks, just as the later popes had to suffer constantly from the revenge of the Spoletinians.

In addition, the Arabs put more pressure on the Papal States than ever before.

On the one hand, there were incessant cries for help from high priests, cries of distress about the devastation of land and violations of the law, for which the saints themselves were guilty, followed by complaints about Saracen invasions and raids by

Christians (the Duke of Spoleto!). On the other hand, the "foot-dragging"

Pope John, who "found no more sleep for his eyes, no more food for his mouth*, once again generously promised the emperor "the halls of heaven" and "the pastures of eternal life among the angels" in the event of his support.

John VIII worked on the destruction of the emperorship and the Italian kingship in order to elevate his own throne, to rule bishops and princes in the same way and to lead Italy politically. -The one who is to be elevated by us to the imperial dignity must also be appointed and elected by u s first and foremost-, he declared astonishingly boldly and lured with this crown, sometimes simultaneously, almost all nux possible candidates, Boso of Vienne, the king of Provence, the sons of Louis the German, Carlemagne and Louis III, but above all the West Franconian Louis (II) the Progenitor, the son of Charles the Bald. And to each he promised every exaltation, honor and salvation in this world and the hereafter, all kingdoms. And he assured everyone that he was the only candidate and claimed that he had sought help and assistance from no one else! And when it finally became clear that he could not expect much from the Franks, he turned to Byzantium.

After Charles was crowned emperor in Rome at the end of 875, the Italian royal crown also fell to him on his return. The Lord gives it to his own in his sleep. A promise

The assembly of magnates in Pavia offered him further dignity, above all a group of numerous bishops, headed by Archbishop Anspert of Milan, who was the first to swear allegiance to him, as they found. In February, the Greats unanimously made Charles their protector, lord and king, as it was said that divine grace had elevated him to emperor through the mediation of the princes of the apostles and the pope.

Mutual oaths were sworn and here too the emperor made concessions to the clergy. Charles recommended that Pope John be strengthened, that the Roman Church be honored, that its landholdings be protected and, last but not least, that the prelates be given permanent missatic power.

LUDWIG THE GERMAN DIES: PBT GIHOS **ACHRUF**

Louis the German, however, had no intention of leaving Italy to Charles alone. And when papal legates wanted to investigate the "disputes" that had broken out between the brothers and decide according to canon law and secular law, Louis did not even receive them. Instead, he sent his own envoys, Archbishop Willibert of Cologne and two counts, to Emperor Charles. They met him in the palace of Ponthion, together with the bishops John of Arezzo and John of Tuscany, who had been rejected by Louis, along with a well-attended synod of clergymen and many secular greats that met for almost three weeks, to which they were only able to present their king's demand in the presence of Charles on ¢. yuli - to receive a part of the realm of Emperor Louis, the son of their brother Lothar,
-as he was entitled to under inheritance law (ex hereditate) and had been sworn to.

The Roman legates responded by reading out two letters from their master to the Osdraconian bishops and
Counts of -3 February, in which the pope insulted the "Bavarian king" in an unusual way, comparing him to Cain, accusing him of envy against his brother, of friodensbxuch, of unrepentance, of unbridled agitation. In two decrees of the same day to the West Frankish bishops and grandees, he called on those who had been defeated by Louis to make amends under threat of banishment, while he
praised the others for their loyalty - "harder than diamond".

In the same year, Louis the German, who had been ailing for some time, died on z8. He died on August 8 in the Palatinate at Frankfurt at the age of seventy, incidentally in the midst of preparations for a war against his brother Charles. The very next day, Louis was laid to rest in the nearby monastery of Lorsch, where his sarcophagus is still in the
It stood in the church crypt in the early -7th century, but has since disappeared without a trace.

Regino von Prüm writes in a letter to the king:

-He was a very Christian prince, Catholic by faith, not

He was well versed not only in secular but also in ecclesiastical knowledge¡ the most zealous executor of what religion, peace and justice demanded. He was very shrewd of mind (ingenio callidissimus) and cautious in judgment¡ in the conferring or withdrawing of public offices, he was guided by a measured judgment; in battles he was exceedingly victorious and more zealous in the armament of arms than of hospitality, since the tools of war were his greatest treasure ..."

The famous abbot, to whom Reinhold Rau attests **egj j** ZİemlİChes understanding - for the inherent laws of the formation of power - created here in nuce an almost astonishingly eloquent Catholic mirror of a prince: a very Christian prince and very cunning, Catholic by faith, exceedingly victorious, a friend of arms, the tools of war his greatest treasure, yet also diligently working for peace, in short: the most zealous executor of what religion ... required ..."

KARLS DES SHUN CONDOLENCES
UlsíD **FIRST BATTLE** OF "ERB FEI1'1DR
AROUND THE RHEIN

Charles the Bald, however - another moving Christian move - was filled with great joy at the news of his brother Avon'*s* death" (Reginonis chronica) and had hardly any other thought than to take as much of their paternal inheritance as possible from his nephews. He had already threatened his Catholic relatives with -many unbelievable- things¡ for example, an attack with such overwhelming force -that when the Rhine was drunk dry by their horses, he himself would cross the dry bed of this river and devastate Louis' realm (Annales Fuldenses).

At least the grand speaker took the first step. Searched he immediately expanded his territory in the east. Half

of the Lotharingian Empire, which he had had to leave to his brother, he wanted to have back, presumably even advancing as far as the Rhine border, i.e. also possessing eastern Franconia's territories on the left bank of the Rhine around Mainz, Worms and Speyer.

He promised the leaders of Lotharingia, whom he had ordered to join him, rich fiefdoms, threatened those who refused with "extermination" and, despite all the oaths he had sworn to his brother and despite the Normans, who besieged the ends of the Seine with a hundred large ships in mid-September, invaded the empire of the man who had just died. With a considerable army, he advanced to Cologne via East Lotharingia and Aachen, which he would have liked to make his headquarters with the illusion of renewing the empire of his grandfather, Charles I, plundering and devastating the country like the Scandinavian pirates, always accompanied by the two papal legates. John
of Arezzo and John of Tuscany - spiritual helpers
of the raid" (Mühlbacher).

As the attack by the West Franks came as a complete surprise, since Louis the German's eldest son, Karlmann, was fighting the Moravians in the east and the youngest, Karl, was in Alemannia, Louis (III), whose territory was also threatened at first, hurried to meet his insatiable uncle on the Rhine, to Deiitz, with quickly assembled troops from Saxony, Thuringia and Franconia, who were greatly outnumbered, while Karl held on to Cologne on the other side of the river. Louis sent him envoys, invoked kinship, oaths, treaties, even the precious Christian blood on both sides, and, mocked by his opponent, sought to strengthen his troops morally through fasting, prayers, supplications and the usual reconnaissance at the highest point (ten men each underwent the judgment of God with cold water, with hot water, with glowing iron) - and of course "all emerged unscathed from the judgment of God" (Annales Bertiniani).

Charles had wanted to stall Louis through negotiations and use the truce to a m b u s h the enemy at dawn. Archbishop Willibert, however, betrayed

and when the West Frankish army, o ooo men (-as the story goes"), arrived at Andemach on the morning of October 8 after an exhausting night march in pouring rain, it was attacked by Ludwig's troops, who were ready for battle. According to the Fulda Yearbooks, he "immediately put on the hammock" and "placed all his trust in the Lord ..." The good old Christian custom again: whoever trusts in God and fights well will always succeed ...

And indeed: "As the fire sweeps across the stubble field and consumes everything in an instant, they crush the power of the enemy with the sword and strike them down to the ground" (Regino von Prüm). The entire Troi and all the merchants' treasures fall into the hands of the victors. But they were unable to flee,
"were plundered by the country people in such a way that they wrapped themselves in hen and straw to cover only their private parts ..." (Annales Bertiniani). Among the prisoners: the emperor's chancellor, Abbot Gauzlin, and Bishop Ottulf of Troyes. The booty is immense: weapons, armor, horses, the gold and silver of the Croces and Charles' treasure. He himself, who, cautious as ever, avoided battle, fled to Liège in the evening of the next day, allegedly "almost naked" (pene nudus), as the monk from Fulda claimed. The empress, also fleeing, has a premature birth at night - "at the cry of a cock in the open street" (Annales Bertiniani). The child, a son of Charles, dies soon afterwards, but his soul is saved for heaven - and King Charles soon "recovers": the Battle of Andernach, the first battle between "Germans" and "French" for the Rhine."

After this debut, so to speak, of the future "heir enemies", the victorious East Franconian still moved to Aachen, but was too weak to defeat the defeated emperor (whom Archbishop Hinkmar, in the West Frankish imperial annals, now called a
-Räuber" - what would he have called him if he had won!) on his own soil.

n November, the three East Frankish brothers divided the kingdom in accordance with their father's decrees and swore to each other

loyalty. They divided the kingdom by right of inheritance alone and without, as was customary in the Western Empire, having themselves crowned. Charles, the eldest son of Louis the German, became -king in Bavaria" with Pannonia and Carantania, but ceded the administration of the latter to his son Arnulf. Louis III the Younger, the -king of eastern Francia", received East Francia, Thuringia, Saxony and Friesland, including the tributary border tribes. Charles III the Fat, the youngest, initially received Alemannia and Chiirrätia and, after the early death of his brothers (88o and 88s), also ruled over their now considerably expanded inheritance, whereby he succeeded in renewing the Kai- sertum as early as 88i."

JOHAHN REVOLUTIONSXL -PREMISES THE MB1'tSCHLICHE ÜU1'4GE NOT TO BE DISCUSSED VERMAG ..."

Charles the Bald, however, had not only been defeated by the East Franks. He also achieved nothing with the Normans on the Seine and Loire. Instead, he bought himself free with money, which he naturally extorted from the landowners, who were once again large-scale scalpers. Thus he had a precisely quantified tax collected from every manorial Hube (an economic enterprise in the context of early medieval landlordism) in those areas of Francia that he owned before Lothar's death, as well as in Burgtind from every free and every unfree Hube. In this way, the king obtained at least five thousand pounds of silver, naturally also using church treasures to raise the tribute. How Charles - according to Pope John distinguished by his virtues, his battles for the faith ... his efforts to honor the clergy" (cf. p. zip f.) - also compensated the Lorraine combatants who had fled to him after his failed raid with abbeys and church estates.

Naturally, the ruler felt no desire to protect the Pope from the increasingly aggressive Saracens. However, John did not want Charles to be crowned emperor in vain. In the meantime, he had expanded the Papal States and renounced some privileges. But Rome, always insatiable, wanted more, especially as the new prince had repeatedly promised more, above all help against the Arabs, which was not at all to Charles' taste.

Thus, according to the tried and tested method (cf. especially IV 3 ff.! 3 6 ff.1), the "locust swarms" of the Muslim devils were invoked, who robbed everything, plundered, plundered, plundered, plundered and plundered.

The emperor, dragged into captivity, conjured up atrocities that had not yet happened, dangers that were supposedly already looming, an approaching mighty fleet with troop units attacking Rome. People painted black on black, admonishing bishops and magnates, but especially the emperor himself. Papal legates appeared, one cry for help after another rang out. The Saracens were robbing, it was said, destroying the churches, but the dukes Lambert and Wido, appointed by Charles to protect the ecclesiastical state, did not lift a finger, and Count Boso, appointed viceroy in Italy, also remained deaf. Letter after letter followed, "genuflecting" to save "Christendom", first of all, of course, the papacy, which embraced the bald Charles. - Most excellent of all Caesars", praised the again and again and more inciting Johann, who also wufited that Charles' wisdom grew from his mother's womb, that his merits the human tongue is not able to pronounce "

At the same time, Charles had done something around this time that made him the papal

He had forced his son, the heir to the throne Louis II, to repudiate his wife Ansgard in order to marry a lady who was pleasing to him, the imperial father. However, if one considers how his predecessor Nicholas I fought against Lothar II's marriage deal year after year and how much he insisted on the indissolubility of this marriage, it is surprising that Pope John Jent did not oppose the second marriage of the West Frankish heir to the throne at all.

had any objections, let alone canonical sanctions against the West Frankish princes."

ToD **AFTER** 37 YEARS oF **HARSHAPT** ^**At'f ÖURCHFALL** I1'I **BIG JAMMER** ..."

As hardly a hand was moved for the pope in Italy, neither the powerful duke who was obliged to protect the Papal States of Spoleto nor gdr Boso of Vienne, who had been missus for the country since *7* * m, nothing remained for the emperor if he wanted to retain his credibility, his prestige and Italy itself. had no choice but to move south, given how precarious the situation was at home, especially at the hands of the Normans. He had everything that could be fleeced fleeced for their benefit.

When Charles set off for Italy in August 77 accompanied by his wife, he also brought with him a "very large treasure trove of gold and silver as well as horses and other valuables". (Annales Bertiniani), but only a relatively small one followed. The army of his greats, who had even less desire for the Italian adventure than he himself, was to follow later. And it was not without the promise that he would not allow them to return without touching either the church estates or his family property! (There was nevertheless a rebellion by leading aristocrats, apparently including his own son Louis the Stammerer).

The Pope, however, celebrated Charles effusively, as he needed him for a war. He praised him officially before a holy synod in Ravenna, in front of no less than fifty bishops, mostly from Upper and Central Italy. And his address to the council fathers - which has been preserved - was evidently intended as a kind of gift from the host to the expected emperor, the prince called by God, chosen and crowned by him, John, and equal to the illustrious great grandfather. The assembled prelates also saw Charles as having been chosen by an "inspiration of the Holy Spirit" and confirmed once again that he had already been crowned emperor in 8y.

and, at Johann's insistence, threatened all those who would not accept this
-undoubtedly d e c r e e d by God", than
-servant of the devil- with the church ban.

In the last canons of the ravennatic synod, the inviolability of church property is again particularly emphasized and it is forbidden to give out property of the Roman See as a fief or in any other way - "except when the recipients are relatives of the popes"! Offenders shall s u f f e r the anathema."

The synod members also expected protection for their property from the emperor, who would soon be approaching over the St. Bernard, because the envoys of a pope who had called him so often and urgently were hurrying to meet him. For even if all the wood in the forests had been turned into tongues, it would not be enough to enumerate the suffering that the Saracens were causing him. But worse than the pagans were the bad Christians. But no one would hear his cry of fear, no one would help, retre, unless it was the emperor. John himself traveled to meet him as far as Pavia and, as he could hardly tame his desire to meet Charles, also to V6rcelli noCh, where he received fhn **e}2jjt** gföBt honors (honore maximo).

But by the time they were both in Pavia, the old coronation city where the empress was also to become queen of Italy, Charles's nephew, Louis the Detite's eldest son, the Bavarian Karlmann, was already approaching with strong allies over the Brenner Pass. They therefore crossed the Po to the south, where in Tortona the pope, simply enough and in a hurry, consecrated Richildis as empress*, in* order to then make their way quickly and, so to speak, by stealth to Rome, in fact with nothing in their hands but a gift for St. Peter, a heavy crucifix made of pure gold and decorated with exquisite gemstones, the like of which had never before been given by a king (Annales Vedastini).

The empress returned in the meantime via Mont Cenis with Charles' treasures, while he himself also fled in the end, as the expected reinforcements from the greats of his empire, who had repeatedly sworn allegiance to him, failed to materialize, indeed,

they now conspired against him, as did most of the bishops. So Charles dared

He did not fight with Karlmann; "for all his life", writes the East Frankish annalist, "he was in the habit of openly turning his back or secretly running away from his soldiers when he had to face the enemy" (Annales Fuldenses).

While still on the road, he caught a fever, fell ill, as ecclesiastical chroniclers insinuate, from a medicine of his Jewish personal *physician* Sedechias against fever - "a powder", the editor of the yearbooks of St. Bertin knows, "a deadly poison"; ″a bctrü- *gei-,* who, according to Abbot Regino, bewitched the people -with magic jugglery and enchantments- (magicis prestigiis incantationi- busque ... deludebat). Terminally ill, Earl reached Mont Genis in a palanquin and died on its fiiB in "a miserable hut" {Annales Berriniani) in the hamlet of Brides der Mau- rienne (Savoy) on October 6, 8y2 at the age of Jh years after 3y years of reign "from diarrhea in great misery" (Annales Fuldenses). Embalmed "with wine and all kinds of odors", he was carried on, but because of the smell he was soon placed in a barrel, which was plastered inside and out and also sewn in leather. Nevertheless, the stench became increasingly unpleasant, which is why Charles the Bald's remains were not transferred to St. Denis as he had wished, but were first left to rest in the monastery of Nantua near Lyon as they lay in the cask."

JOHAHN PREISTS LMAHN AND CROWNS LUDwIG DEN STAMMLER

Now the Pope, whose entire plans to elevate the Papal States to the dominant power in Italy collapsed with the death of the Emperor, found himself defenceless against his enemies. After Charlemagne's flight and death, the kingdom of Italy fell effortlessly to his nephew Charles. And the same bishops who had just celebrated Charles the Bald in Ravenna as the "most Christian and mildest emperor", indeed, whose threat of banishment had also been made against Charles.

man, the same bishops now paid homage to him. Likewise the Pope, the epitome of an opportunist. He spoke briskly of the "inhuman counsel of God" and praised Jetet Kaufmann as the only protector of the Church and its most faithful defender ...

However, the Bavarian himself was defeated, if not already marked by death, at least seriously ill, and was forced to retreat to (Alt-)Ötting, his palace, in November. He also returned home in a litter. And his army dragged a terrible plague that claimed many victims into the Frankish Empire, where epidemics were already raging, the "Italian fever" and an eye disease - so that many breathed their last from coughing (Annales Fuldenses)."

In Italy, however, the margraves Lambert of Spoleto and his brother-in-law Adalbert of Tuscia, two closely connected clans, now came forward with their claims. Neither the pope's anger nor his flattery of Lambert helped. In the spring of 78, the latter, soon to be John's "sole supporter" and
"most faithful defender-, soon the "son of perdition-, like-
who suddenly arrived in Rome with his brother-in-law to enforce Karlmann's recognition. For thirty days they held the pope, who hurled the ray of banishment against the church robbers, captive. Then John, who had announced a general synod in western Franconia, hurried to Arles via Genoa with three swift sailors from Naples. And on September 7, he crowned Charles the Bald's son, Louis II, in Troyes.

Stammler 1$77 879)' as king, although he was barely fit to rule due to his bouts of illness, despite the fact that Archbishop Hinkmar, the practiced goronator, had only crowned him in Compiégne on 8 December of the previous year.

Although he had just, in the same year, repudiated his wife Ansgard, who had given him two sons, Louis III and Karlmann, and married the daughter of Count Adalhard, Adelheid, in a second marriage while his first wife was still alive, who gave birth to Charles III the Simple, the pope did not crown her, but supported Louis the Progenitor in 87s.

The Pope's "crowning of fortification" (Schneidmüller) and banishment of all enemies. And finally, in his final speech at Troyes - the first council in the presence of the Pope in the Frankish kingdom north of the Alps - he demanded that the bishops force his return to Rome by force of arms.

John had opened the SyROde in I x. August 8y8 and had also expected the three East Frankish kings and their bishops, as he wanted to choose his candidate for emperor in front of a large forum. However, no one came from East Franconia, indeed, the kings did not answer the papal letters at all, Charlemagne even remained silent after a second papal letter, and there were only three bishops from Italy; John had brought them with him himself.

The rest of the 8ynod - which was also attended by Bishop Hinkmar of Laon, who was later blinded and (much to the annoyance of Hinkmar of Reims) at least partly "rehabilitated" - among other things once again massively for the return of church goods by the laity, who were otherwise threatened with excommunication and the refusal of a Christian burial; the aim was to reduce the taxes that had allegedly been weighing on church assets for decades (after all, wrote the aged Hinkmar to the new king, "the once rich churches had become completely without resources").

Louis II, who was appointed king by the mercy of God and the election of the people (!), promised to leave the church ordinances and the laws untouched. But he was ill and the very next year, after a sudden deterioration in his condition, he was said to have died on Good Friday, not quite 33 years old."

While the king was still alive, however, Pope John **VIII** had courted a man who had already accompanied him to Troyes, who then led him back to Italy and on whom he clearly intended to place nothing less than the imperial crown - Count Boso of Vienne (d. 71

PrxFFKING BoSO STEPS INTO THE RAMPE1'4LIGHT

Boso was the son of the Lotharingian count Biwin, the lay abbot of Gorze, and a nephew of Lothar's 11th wife Theutberga and her brother, the abbot Hticbert of Saint-Maurice. After Charles the Bald's marriage to Boso's sister Richilde - he had given her to him at the time(p. zIy) - he began his rise in the service of the king, who bestowed numerous dominions and offices on him in Aquitaine, Burgundy and Italy. In 86q Boso was given the abbey of Saint-Mäurice, in 70 the county of Vienne, and two years later he became chamberlain and magister ostiariorum for **Charles'** son Louis, the sub-king of Aquitaine, which he now ruled.

71' 7*, during Charles's first Italian campaign, he probably received Provence and was appointed missus for Italy at the imperial assembly in Pavia in February 7 ßtif and given the title of Her-
of Lombardy as viceroy, so to speak.

Boso seems to have lacked as little in piety as he did in cruelty. At the very least, he had a number of monasteries where prayers were said for him on his orders. Boso had the eyes of Bishop Hinkmar of Laon, who had been overthrown and imprisoned for several years, plucked out in prison, poisoned his first wife according to a "credible source" and then stole Ermengard, formerly the fiancée of the Byzantine heir to the throne, the only heiress of Emperor Louis II, in order to marry her, as she brought him considerable property in northern Italy.

However, Pope John VIII not only approved of the irregularity of this marriage, but also assured in writing that he would regard Boso and Ermengard as his own children. After all, an upstart like Boso seemed to him to be just the man to take on Charles in Italy and take the Italian kingdom from him.
can. Thus he appointed deIt< 7 Boso, the "glorious prince", as his son per adoptionis gratiam {an act that had a tradition-forming effect), which placed him as filius adoptivus under the special spiritual protection of the pope, but he in turn also had special protective duties for the pope.

who threatened to ban anyone who dared to turn against his "son" (predictum filiiim nostrum).

The Holy Father enticed Boso, who was to accompany him to Rome on behalf of Louis II, with the royal crown of Provence and even the imperial title - nothing less than a planned revolt against the Carolingians, as Boso did not belong to their dynasty. But that was not all: -The pope orchestrated a downright treacherous game. He solicited troops to support Boso from Louis the Stammerer, who himself had laid claim to Italy¡ the Carolingians themselves were to further the decline of his dynasty" (£ried)."

Boso, who had even openly conspired against Charles the Bald, to whom he owed his entire career, numerous high offices and great feats, and had also put his son and successor Louis the Stammerer under severe pressure, finally also abandoned his sons Louis III and Karlmann. In return, he surrendered on October 5, 7s in the (now gothic) church of the (now gothic) "Boso Dei gratia". October 7s in the (now officially Mantaille, south of Vienne (near Anney-ron, Dép. Drôme), was elected king in Burgundy and Provence - 2a kind of "priest-king", since he was elected by the clergy only, in close reference to the election of bishops. clothed, by >7 archbishops and bishops, and then anointed, all naturally by divine inspiration.

A process with far-reaching consequences. This was because the priests from the Rhone region were disregarding Boso's lack of legitimacy, disregarding the East Frankish Carolingian dynasty and its claim to prosperity. For the first time in i 3o years, the sole right of the Carolingians to a crown was thus broken. Boso had ignored the young sons of the progenitor, considering them "for nothing", as "spurious children", their Mother, after all, on Charles' orders (p. a47. *'i) -had been rejected and destroyed" (Regino von Prüm). And Boso's ambitious wife Er-mengard did not want to live any longer, she, daughter of an emperor and bride of an emperor - mau had betrothed her to Basileios I (p. a6i) in 866 - could not make her husband king.

Boso threw gifts around and vowed to do everything according to the wishes of the clergy. Quite apart from the fact that many bishops had been made compliant not only "through promises of abbeys and land ownership, but also through threats" (Annales Berti- niani). Without hesitation, Boso then also robbed monasteries and church property in Reims and even seized the papal crown estate of Vendeuvre in order to satisfy the most influential prelates and vassals, people who once again feigned electio per inspirationem by claiming that **Boso's** election had been given to them by God by virtue of their fervent prayer. For to present the Electus as predestined by God was -almost like a phrase" (Eichmann) - and it was always a lie. "Not only in Gaul," the bishops praised Boso,
-but also in Italy he shone before all, so that the Roman Pope John, esteeming him like a son, praised his fair mindedness with much praise ..." And the murderer of his first wife, the robber of his second, confessed his only blessed Catholic faith, gratefully submitted to the supervision of the princes of the Church and promised to protect their privileges.

In Lyon, the largest city of the new empire, Archbishop Aurelian crowned Boso king - not thanks to his birth, his right of inheritance, but thanks to the clergy, who were clearly taking their cue from Pope John. For just as he took the liberty of choosing an emperor as patron, they now also claimed the right to choose a protector as they saw fit, naturally to their greatest possible advantage. Although the Frankish kings came to an agreement against the usurper and conquered the fortress of Mficon on the Saone in the summer of 88o, they were unable to take Vienne, as Charles unexpectedly broke off the siege in order to move to Italy. And Boso held his ground against the resistance of the West and East Frankish Carolingians u n t i l the end of his life on i r. January 7

THE USER **WANTS "FIRST** AND **FOREMOST***
PxPST **JOHANN BERUFEN**

But the pope insisted on the right to elect and crown the emperor. -For the one," John once wrote to Archbishop Ansbert of Milan, "who is to be consecrated by us for the emperorship must first and foremost be called and chosen by us.

For centuries, however, the Roman bishop had no say at all in this matter, let alone any decision-making power.
right. For centuries he was, like all other patriarchs and bishops, the emperor's subordinate, his overlord. And none other than Leo I (Ryo-¢6x), -the Great- (the only pope, apart from Gregory 1 and ditto -Great", to be bestowed with the most ancient and highest title of the Catholica, that of a Doctor of the Church),
even granted the emperor the right to overturn council resolutions concerning dogmas. Not enough, he conceded to him - and by no means just once! -infallibility, infallibility *in faith*, while it was his, the pope's, "duty" to "reveal what you know and proclaim what you believe …" (II z J¢ f.).

Difficile est satiram non scribere.

Charles I had passed on his emperorship to his son Louis the Fromraean through his own power,
Pope LeO III (79J- iö) recognized Charles' supremacy over the ecclesiastical state from the very beginning. He had obeyed him as well as iramex in Kirchenin- terna and, as his subject, had also recognized his
coins according to the years of the emperor's reign, even honoring them with a prostration after his coronation as emperor (IV 446 ff.). And following his father's example, Louis the Pious also gave the imperial crown to Lothar I, his first-born, just as he himself appointed his eldest as emperor. The ecclesiastical blessing by the pope was added later, but this did not yet result in a papal right of disposal, which John VIII derived from the coronation of Charles the Bald, albeit also to non-Carolingians, which the candidates were unquestionably happy to accept.

LRTZTER APPELr w Boso
^... NOW IS THE DAY OF THE SALVATION OF JOHA NNS ° FOURFOLD GAME"

Of course, there were enough opponents to the papal ambitions, especially among the Italian princes and church leaders. And Archbishop Ansbert of Milan, who led them on, was
had already failed to appear at the synod convened in Pavia in December °7g. At the time, John, led by Boso and his wife, had crossed Mont Cenis and was urgently called to Turin.
and cajoled the Italian greats to Pavia to discuss "the situation of the Holy Church of God and the peace of the country". But no one came. Even when the Pope postponed the appointment and once again and more urgently summoned princes and ecclesiastical princes to Pavia, indeed, the West Frankish king
"to fight his enemies", everything failed to materialize and the Holy Father and his paladin remained alone in the city.

So each of them continued their journey separately, Boso back to Provence, the Pope back to Rome. And when he met Ansbert
and all his suffragans to a synod in May $7s to discuss, among other things, the installation of a new king of Italy, that of his adopted son Boso of course, Ansbert again did not come; he did not even apologize and was excommunicated. And when the Metropolis, who calmly continued to say mass and perform his duties, also
did not arrive at a synod in Rome in October, he was deposed. Of course, the next year he backed down and swore an oath of allegiance to the Pope.

But John also addressed Boso one last time from Italy, enticing him with a biblical twang: -The secret plan which, with God's help, we agreed upon with you at Troyes, we keep firmly and unalterably in our apostolic breast like a hidden treasure and wish, as long as we live, to accomplish it with all our strength and vigor. For this reason, if it pleases your heart, you should now set it to work; for, as the apostle

exhorts: "Behold, now is the pleasant time, now is the day of salvation, when you can effectively fulfill your desires with the Lord."

However, Pope John had probably known for some time that Boso was no longer able or willing to serve him. So he apparently gave up his beloved adopted son, whose dear friendship he did not "want to miss for the sake of anyone, for the sake of God. Now he appealed - no doubt still at a pleasant time, on the day of salvation - to the unloved kings of the Franks, the Swabian king Charles and Charlemagne, whose two kingdoms bordered on Italy. -While he acted as if he were holding on to Boso," writes Johannes Haller, -and affirmed that he had not sought help from anyone else, he was already making contact with Charles of Swabia and promised him any increase, but dealt even more eagerly with Carlemagne, sending the man who had been paralyzed by the stroke and deprived of speech for months

In the summer of 7S, two bishops sent him a letter of help with the assurance that he had not asked for anyone else's help, promising him honor and salvation in this and that life,

He even threatened him with the judgment seat of Christ. He even sought to entice the eldest of the German brothers, Louis III of Rhenish Franconia and Saxony, the most distant of the Carolingians, with the Roman imperial crown, which would bring him greater glory than all his ancestors and lay all kingdoms at his feet. At the same time, he still demanded that the kingdom of Italy should be modeled on him …- And Louis III the Younger, brother of Emperor Charles III, also adopted John soon after Boso disappointed him. "It is clear that the pope was not playing a double, but a triple or quadruple game (Hartmann)."

In any case, Boso did not want to risk everything he had already won for the dubious imperial crown and the alluring pope. Without forfeiting apostolic favor, he now sought to expand and consolidate his power at home, in Provence. The situation there was precarious enough.

FRENCH CONVERSItIon COnTROL

From his first marriage (to Ansgard), Louis the Stammerer had left two sons, Louis and Karlmann, and finally designated the elder, Louis III- (7W88z}, as his sole successor. The powerful Hugh Abbas, a cousin of Charles the Bald and lay abbot of St. Germain d'Auxerre, also supported this. However, Boso regarded the progenitor's son, like his brother Charles, as illegitimate (degeneres) and also passed over Charles (III the Festering), who had just been born after him.

Even Louis' own chancellor, Abbot Gauzlin, betrayed him. The abbot had already been chancellor and one of Charles the Bald's closest confidants, to whom he also owed some of the richest estates: Jumieges, St. Amand, St.-Germain-des-Prés, 7*
St.-Denis. 84 he became Bishop of Paris. Abbot Gauzlin was,
Alongside Abbot Hugh, he was at times the leading man of the West Franconian kingdom. He represented the house of the influential Rorgonids, while Hugh Abbas represented the family clan of the West Frankish Guelphs. Thus, immediately after the king's death, Gauzlin, together with the nobles between the Seine and Meuse rivers, out of fear of his powerful rival Hugh, called on the East Franconian Louis the Younger to invade the Western Kingdom and offered him the crown of the land.

Louis did not need to be told twice. He advanced to Verdun via Metz, whereby his atrocities and devastation during the advance, his "wickedness of every kind", allegedly
"even surpassed the evil deeds of the pagans" (Annales Bertiniani)¡ Verdun was also plundered. However, if Abbot Gauzlin had initially beaten the royal loyalists to the punch, the latter, led by Lay Abbot Hugh, now ceded West Lotharingia to Louis in order not to lose everything. Twice Charles the Bald had tried to annex the whole of Lotharingia to the Western Empire by breaking the law, and now it belonged entirely to Eastern France, albeit also by breaking the law.

But Ludwig the Younger immediately gave Gauzlin and Ge-
and returned home satisfied - and was greeted by his

He immediately persuaded his greedy, ambition-ridden wife Liutgard to wage a new war in order to win the entire Western Empire. He now took the opposition in the north, Gauzlin and his followers, who called him again, back into service, whereupon they immediately set out, as a sort of advance party, plundering and pillaging through the country, signaling Louis' arrival.

However, he was still preoccupied with Bavaria, whose king, his brother Karlmann, was wasting away more and more miserably. Ludwig hurried from Forchheim, where he had just celebrated the "birthday of the Lord", to Bavaria, ruthlessly dethroned the already linguistically incapable king, seized his land and then celebrated the resurrection of the Lord in Frankfurt. In between, on March 88o, Karlmann died. Louis had advanced further into western France, but was satisfied with the cession of western Lotharingia.

In the late summer of *79, Abbot Hugh had already had Archbishop Ansegis of Sens crown and anoint the West Frankish princes Ludwig III and Karlmann as kings. And

In the south, a third king, Boso, the Hercog of Provence, had just become king in October, the first king of non-Croatian descent in the former empire. When, two years after the death of his brother Karlmann, Louis **III** the Younger was also crowned king in the East on zo. January 88s in Frankfurt am Main without children (as his only young son of the same name had broken his neck by falling from a **palace** window), the whole of East Franconia fell to his youngest brother, the Swabian king Charles.

AGAINST OVERLAS SUNG VOx WAR SHIPSI'4 U.A. JOHAHN WILL REPEAL THE1"1 TWO-TIME DISMANTLED AND CURLEDx PxTRIARCHEx PHOTIOS

As Pope John was unable to win over the East Frankish Carolingians for the time being, he did not hesitate to c o n t a c t Constantinople again in the last years of his life, especially as it seemed that Italy might become Byzantine again. Bart', taken by Emperor Louis II in 8yi, had already reverted to Byzantium in 7, and its generals in Lower Italy often retained the upper hand; Greek rule was consolidated.
itself.

In April 7*, before setting off for the Frankish Empire, the Pope had also s e n t an appeal for help to Emperor Basileios I ¡**7-*fj, a far more rapid careerist than
Boso. After all, the former groom had made all his rivals scruple-He also got rid of his patron Michael III, who crowned him co-emperor in *866* and whom he - himself of the greatest importance in legal history due to his new legal codification - had murdered at night the following year (p. azI f.).

Pope John repeated his contact 7s And he did not give himself up for military aid, for the announced surrender of warships of the Eastern Roman ruler and the evacuation of the Bulgarian mission territory by the Greek imperial church, deti Patriarch Photios, despite all earlier
to recognize him again as the rightful patriarch, to welcome him as a brother in office and to praise him highly. Yet two of his predecessors had irrevocably deposed and solemnly cursed him! Had the well-known VIII Ecumenical Council
In the 8th Council in the Hagia Sophia 8äq' 7 under t h e direction of the papal legals or the honorable Basileios 1. personally confirmed the deposition of Photios and annulled the ordinations he had conferred.

Now, in the winter of 8y9/88o, John's envoys signed their names to a council, the last of the entire church, but now u n d e r the direction of the now rehabilitated

Photios to curse everything that would oppose his recognition! "In order to avoid disputes," theologian Bernhard Ridder (once General President of the international Kolping Society) instructs us, "the Pope consented under certain conditions. But no pope has ever consented to anything just to avoid controversy, at least not to processes of such relevance. In fact, it was simply a new adaptation to the circumstances, which moreover aroused the distrust of the Frankish king Charles and did not lead to success. Neither in Lower Italy, where the Greeks regained control of their important east coast with the conquest of Taranto in 88o, but continued to leave the west coast to the Arabs¡ nor in the Bulgarian Empire, which continued to be subject to the Greek Church (p. ziq ff.)."

However, Daniel-Rops, the Catholic church historian, does not see the Holy Father as being drawn into a single swamp of corruption, cabals and deviousness, but only his protagonists, everything around him. -He himself, an old and clumsy apologist's trick that has been used throughout the ages, sits enthroned like innocence incarnate in the midst of it all. ("The Führer doesn't know that.")"

Vox KwLMAxN TO URL III. **THE FUCK**

In reality, this pope was opportunism incarnate. He made friends with almost everyone, the more powerful the better. He lured, frightened, summoned anyone who seemed to suit him, sent letters, legal letters, begged for salvation, help, flattered, promised friendship, eternal salvation, promised everyone the crown, which "subjugated all kingdoms. And when he could no longer hope for anything from Karlmann, the infirm, the language-robbed, the incurably ill, his legals forced a declaration of renunciation from him in favor of Karl, his brother, not only younger, but also more willing, more compliant, more useful.

more important to the Holy Father. And when the East Franks agreed to leave Italy to Charles III of Swabia (the Fat One), the Pope begged him: "With regard to Boso, you should rest assured that he will neither have nor find a friendly approach nor assistance from our side, because we have sought you as a friend and helper and want to hold and cherish you with all our heart as our dearest son,i'

He now declared Boso, his adopted son, now king of Provence and, with all his troubles and difficulties there, useless to him, a tyrant. In contrast, he crowned Charles
III proclaimed the Fat Man king in January 88o at an imperial assembly in Ravenna in the presence of the magnates and bishops of the country. All secular and ecclesiastical greats, with the exception of the Pope, swore an oath of allegiance to him. However, much to the Roman's disappointment, Charles had no desire for the imperial crown and no **desire to** fight with the pagans and false Christians. Instead, he returned across the Alps in May, leaving behind only the Dukes of Tuscany and Spoleto, who were not very favorable to him, under the protection of the Pope.

In true desperation, John now asked the king to take care of the state of St. Peter and to send an authorized missus (legate) to Rome. Peter and send an authorized missus (legal representative) to Rome. He begged and complained, and again not just once. But when the coming of the ruler himself was imminent, he suddenly imposed conditions on him in his last letter of zy. January 88o, he suddenly made conditions, threatened him, reproached him for being hasty, forbade him to cross the borders of the Papal States before he had given guarantees for the good of his soul, before he had sanctioned his wishes, which had been conveyed to him by the pope through a legate, in every word and paragraph.

However, Charles did not joke about it, traveled very leisurely to Rome, staying in northern Italy for months, and was crowned Roman Emperor on February 88x in St. Peter's - with a crown from the treasury of St. Peter. He was crowned Roman Emperor in St. Peter's in February 88x - with a crown from the treasury of St. Peter - as the first of the East Frankish line of

Carolingians. It triumphed over papal politics, admittedly only after the pope had already been crowned in Ra-

venna had obtained Charlemagne's momentous promise - to guard the treaties and privileges of the Holy Roman Church; a promise that the king of Italy, the rex Romanoruni, as he was later called, had to make throughout the Middle Ages before receiving the imperial crown.

But Charles, a potentate whose work consisted of little more than waiting and doing nothing, which also brought him more success than glory, now in possession of the imperial dignity, retraced his steps even more leisurely, spending a whole year in Pavia and Milan, and also making a trip to Lake Constance, while John's care pursued him incessantly. The Roman saw all around him a constant stream of grief and sadness. The evil was growing from day to day, he wrote, and it would be better to die than to endure it any longer. He wished for war against Christians and Saracens and asked Charles to send an army without delay to finally establish order - impossible. So John (the empress and Archchancellor Liutward) continued to complain of his suffering. Sleep fled his eyelids, food his lips. In the midst of the darkness he hoped for light, but no longer wanted to leave Rome and feared b e i n g captured and drowned."

ØAPST JOHANN HUNTS $ARACENS - THE THOLIKEI'J COLLABORATE WITH THEM

All of the pope's acts of adaptation served not least to increase his domestic power, the Papal States, and to subjugate parts of southern China to him. However, since the beginning of the Islamic occupation of the Byzantine
SİZilien 8 7 * foúhlicli the maritime attackers of the pirates, more or less spectacular raids, the scope of which was apparently not recognized at the Frankish imperial court. Especially since After the collapse of Emperor Louis' power, the Arabcr advanced from Sixilien and Tarcnt, mostly along the west coast.

The Sabina, Latium and Tuscia were plundered, the papal estates and monasteries devastated, Rome and its treasures threatened. John VIII, one of the most important figures in the dark history of the later yth century due to his "fanatical zeal, but above all his holy zeal for war" (Ephesus, p. 1). (Eickhoff), he was the first pope to sail with his own fleet against the Mohammedans, took x8 galleys from them at the Cape of Circe and guaranteed eternal bliss to each of his martyrs (pp. 2-37 f.). He called on the whole world to hunt the Saracens: the Italians, Charles the Bald, Boso of Vienne, the Dalmatian prince Domagoj, a "charismatic" Croat and pirate whose ships frequently engaged in piracy in the Adriatic (Ferjanéic), which led the Venetians and Byzantines after him.

The papal battle, which was by no means against the Saracens, only for the protection of the country, but secretly for the subjugation of southern Italy, was of course not very promising. All the less so as Catholic princes and Circian princes cooperated with the enemies of Christ in order to protect themselves against Eastern and Western emperors and against the Holy Father, of course also for the sake of many trade advantages (in the apologetic diction of Daniel-Rop: -yes even political bishops tried to steer their little ships independently-). The Christians concluded alliances and treaties with the "infidels", they recruited mercenaries from them, tolerated them in close proximity, provided for them, protected them, some apparently even fought against Christians on Saracen campaigns. Naples, Gaeta, Amalfi and Salerno kept up with the Arabs. And the Pope, who sought to gather a Lower Italian league around him, hurled biblical verses and bans against the unfaithful, whom he sometimes paid for an alliance."

For example, the Amalfitans.

Amalfi, the coastal town on the Gulf of Salerno, squeezed between the mountains and the sea and the neighboring areas of Sorrento, Naples and Salerno, was only able to maintain a certain independence through a strong fleet and changing alliances.

create. 8jfi and 8qq it fought alongside Naples against the Saracens, later it stood against Naples with Emperor Louis II. It then made pacts with the Arabs out of trade interests. As John VIII tried to dissuade them and secure their fleet for himself (annual coastal protection between Traetto and Civitavecehia, both of which belonged to the Church), the Amalfitans had collected zo one gold pieces (silver shillings, mancusi) from him, but had not harmed a single Saracen and had not repaid a denarius to the pope, but soon claimed that they were entitled to II em by treaty and collaborated,
although John gave them $7P the io ooo to continue with the enemies of the Lord. Even when the pope gave them iooo additional gold pieces for the current year and complete exemption from customs duties.
for all their merchant ships in the port of Rome, on the other hand threatened the bishop and the prefect of Amalfi with excommunication and banishment at the end of 7s, along with a trade boycott - in
all the countries in which they used to trade", neither the threat nor the promised increase in subsidies could persuade the Amalfitans to wage war for His Holiness.

Difficulties with Capua too.

The city in Campania, ¢y6 destroyed by the Sandals, 8¢i by the Saracens, in between Byzantine, long longobaric, had been rebuilt in 8J6 under Bishop Landulf, somewhat off the beaten track on a bend of the Volturno. At the same time, Landulf founded a dynasty that had held the title of prince since Zoo. The prelate also ruled over the secular power of his territory and continued to cooperate with the opponents of Christ, while the Holy Father hunted them down. Landulf's oaths to the emperor, the pope and the prince of Salerno were of as little concern to him as the dogmas of the church. The shepherd of souls, who led a court like a sultan, surrounded far more by eunuchs than by clerics, was bound only by power and fame. And while he was allying himself with the Saracens, he quarreled with the monastery of Monte Cassino, publicly declaring that whenever he saw a monk, it was a bad omen for him."

Johann had better luck in Salerno.

He visited it in 8y6, dissuaded Duke Guaiferius from his alliance with the Arabs and armed him against Naples. Following the example of his relatives in Benevento, the valiant Catholic not only had all the Muslims serving him slain, but also, on the Pope's orders, had zy captured Neapolitan nobles beheaded.

KILLING OF **CAPTURED** MUSlM LEADERS: rarSvLiciiE **CONdItIon FRIEDRaUF1** **'IAHME** I1'4 THE CHURCH

In Naples, the city ruler Sergius 11 and his brother Athanasius, whom Pope John had m a d e bishop of the city, feuded for years. The duke, who did not want to let go of the Saracens at any price, drove Athanasius away and finally tried to get rid of him for good with Saracen help, which of course failed.

In March *77, the Pope used the Synod of Gaeta to instigate an uprising in Naples and financed even with his gold. Bishop Athanasius tore out the eyes of his own brother Sergius and sent him to the loudly rejoicing Holy Father, who had the "new Holofernes" imprisoned and starved to death. This was followed by cash, Bible verses and much praise from Rome for the "godly deed", the episcopal fratricide, the "man of God", as the Pope calls him, who loves God more than his own flesh and blood, who rules the Christian people in justice and holiness like a good shepherd! (Incidentally, when a leading ally of the Greeks fell in a Croatian revolt and the perpetrator and successor sided with Rome, John VIII also praised the murderer of princes and promised him victory over all visible and invisible enemies).

But Bishop Athanasius of Naples, now also a duke there, became the learned disciple of his Roman master. He soon changed fronts. He now played the role of the liquidated

brother and joined the Muslims even more closely than the latter. No amount of gold or curses from the pope, who threw them around like hardly anyone else, kept him from joining forces with the "infidels". He took them into the port of Naples as a crew, left them outside the city walls and had them sacked at Vesuvius, whereupon they pillaged Gaeta, Salerno and the Lombard principalities as far as Spoleto and Benevento.

Only when they harassed Naples itself, requisitioning weapons, horses and women, and the Pope bribed the bishop with money, did he drive out his allies, was released from the ban along with the city - and immediately brought new Saracens from Sicily, only to change sides once a g a i n , now standing by the Pope once more and attacking his long-time accomplices together with detachments from Rome, Capua and Salerno. John, however, had made the extradition or killing of the captured Muslim leaders a condition for his readmission to the Church. He demanded that the bishop survive the noble Saracens named to him and put the others to the sword. But then Pope John himself was deeply humiliated, he had to make annual tribute payments to the Saracens and buy temporary peace for zy ooo silver lings.

The unbelieving devils, however, settled near Paestum. Still others, summoned by Duke Docibilis I of Gaeta out of fear of the pope, established themselves at the mouth of the Garigliano, devastating Campania, Tuscany, the Sabina and the region of Rome for decades from a powerful cartel. And just like Amalfi, but much more costly, John now occupied Gaeta, which was important due to its location and fleet, by giving it the coastal hinterland with Fondi and Traetto (today Mintiirno) to expand its scarce territory.

Even the largest monasteries in southern Italy, such as S. Vincenzo on Vol- turno and Monte Cassino, were destroyed by the Saracens i n 88i and 883, but not, as is often claimed, the imperial Farfa in Sabine, next to Nonantula in Lombardy

Italy's most beautiful monastery at the time and as rich as a principality. Abbot Peter defended it for seven years, brought his treasures to safety and left the abbey. While the Arabs spared the monastery because of its beauty, Christian raiders from the Cegenda burned it down, leaving it desolate for thirty years. "Thus the fear of Catholic princes of the earthly designs of a pope was one of the most important causes that allowed the Saracens to fortify themselves in Lower Italy" (Gregorovius). Or as Johannes Haller summarizes: "The pope's policy in Lower Italy was crowned by complete misdeeds"; "the world had understood that what he was striving for and demanding from his predecessors was about temporal rights and earthly rule, not about faith and church, and he should not have thought of promising paradise as an eternal feudal reward for this struggle."^

Just as John VIII led his power struggles to the outside world, so
also internally, against influential clerics as well as noble families.

JOHANNEAN SrIessGESELLEH U1fD FIRST PAPAL ASSASSINATION

John particularly disliked, and probably feared, Bishop Formosus of Porta (86d-8y6). He had already made a name for himself under earlier popes. Under Nicholas 1 as a Bulgarian missionary and founder of the Bulgarian Church, although his elevation to archbishop failed¡ under Hadrian 11 as legate in Constantinople and in other missions. John, however, excommunicated the bishop on zq. April 8y6 for allegedly conspiring against the emperor and pope, a judgment that was even renewed several times. He also stripped him of his bishopric and of all ecclesiastical degrees. Perhaps Forinosus was a competitor in John's elevation, he himself was keen on the papal dignity - and he still got it (p. 3* 1

When F-ormosus evaded his condemnation by fleeing to the western Frankish kingdom, other personalities also left Rome¡ people who, entrusted with the most important offices of the court, had spent years in John's immediate vicinity and had made a name for themselves, so to speak, through embezzlement, affairs with women, robbery and murder.

The pope's treasurer, perhaps also master of the entire administration, a certain Georgius of the Aventine, had killed his own brother because of womanizing, secured himself financially by marrying a niece of Pope Benedict III, then murdered his wife, almost publicly, and now, unpunished by bribing the judge, married Constantina, who of course dumped him herself and was just as loose with men as she was with money. After all, she was the daughter of the papal master of ceremonies Gregory, who had allegedly already enriched himself enormously through fraud and robbery under Hadrian II and represented the pope as apocrisiar. The militia leader Sergius also belonged to this illustrious circle. For pecuniary reasons, he married a niece of Nicholas I, but then left her to live with his Frankish concubine Walwisindula."

All these and other honorable Christian Catholic lords were now accused under John **VIII** of colluding with the Arabs, with other enemies of the Pope, the Duke of Spoleto and Camerino, with Adalbert of Tuscany. And when the rumor of their imminent liquidation or conversion

When the news got around, they fled the Eternal City through the Porta S. Pancrazio on a spring night in the year 7 using a duplicate key. Georg and Gregor had only just

Lateran along with other places of worship and stole the church treasury. John excommunicated them and Formosus, who was allegedly eager for the papacy and is also said to have used money from churches and monasteries in his diocese to escape.

At the Synod of Troyes (S. ayi f.) anno 7, the bishops in the presence of the pope (-our tears

uniting with yours") again against all these "wicked men and servants of the devil" and declared in a pompous torrent of words once more their "destruction with the sword of the Holy Spirit", once more "with heart and mouth, with our unanimous will and with the authority of the Holy Spirit- the condemnation of those "for execution", in which *they* declared "all whom you have excommunicated, as I have said, to be excommunicated, those whom you have expelled from the church to be expelled, those whom you have cursed to be cursed". And after they had thus assisted their "most holy and venerable Lord and Father of Fathers John", they immediately sought his help "against the robbers of our churches, against the unworthy robbers and despoilers of the church's possessions and goods, as well as against the despisers of the holy episcopal office …".

Four years later, however, it was the Roman's turn. In a palace revolt on I6. December 88s, a pious relative, who wanted to become pope and rich himself, *killed* him and then, because the gih did not work fast enough, as the Annales Fuldenses briefly but vividly describe, "beat him with a hammer until it got stuck in his brain" (malleolo, dum usque in cerebro constabat, percussus est, expiravit) - the first papal murder. And an example that set a precedent (p. 477)

While the Christians fell over each other, not with in the
The popes' immediate surroundings, not only in Italy, while their grandees blackmailed each other, while they robbed and killed, the Saracens attacked in the south and the Normans in the north. Indeed, the Norman plight had become worse again. Even the Frankish king Karlmann asked in the year 88d: -Should we be surprised that the pagans and foreign peoples are becoming masters over us and taking away our temporal possessions, when each of us is violently depriving his neighbor of the necessities of life? How are we to fight with confidence against our enemies and the enemies of the church, since we keep in our own house the goods stolen from the poor [Isaiah 33:r] and since we go into the field with our **bellies** full of plunder?""

. CHAPTER

NORMAN DISTRESS AND EMPEROR KARL III THE FAT

-But Charles, who held the title of Caixar, marched against the Normans with a large army and reached their fortress; but then his heart sank, and by the mediation of several he obtained by treaty that Gotfrid and his followers should b e baptized and that FrieSland, as well as the others, should be baptized.
Rorich t o o k back the estates he had owned." Annalee Bertiniani

-When the emperor b e c a m e aware of their cunning tricks and the interplay of their machinations, he negotiated with Henry, a very clever marine, with the secret intention of using a ruse to c l e a r the enemy he had let into the first end of the empire out of t h e way; ... he decided to try it more by artifice than by force.
He therefore sent the envoys with unclear instructions "b and let them return to Godcfrid, under the vcnich<- rung that he would give an answer by his messengers to all the objects of their mission, as they had given him as well as Gedefrid, only that he might continue in faithfulness.
Thereupon he sent Henry to that man and with him, to conceal the fraud that was at work, Williberi, the venerable bishop of Cologne ... And indeed Godcfrid died after Everhard had first struck him a blow and then Henry's companions had pierced him, and all the Normans present on the Bttuwe are put down. Only a few days later, on the advice of the same Henry, Hugh is lured to Gondrcville by promises and taken captive, and at the emperor's behest, Henry
the eyes are poked out . . . After this he was sent to Alamannia to the monastery of St. Gallus ... Finally, at the time of King Zwentibolch, he was shorn by a trieine hand in the monastery of Prüm - Abbot Regjno of Prüm

KILL "Mrr Gore 's HiLFE-
AND BE DEFEATED WITHOUT SIR

For almost two decades, tribute payments by Charles the Bald had curtailed the invaders' attacks. From 8y8/8yq, however, the raids increased again. At the time, the English king "Alfred the Great", who supported the church with donations, monastery foundations and money sent annually to Rome, the later "Pcterspfennig", had brought the constant Viking attacks to a halt, at least for the time being, with an army reform, bases, refuge castles and large ships. However, under pressure from the Anglo-Saxons, a new wave of Normans, the "Great Army", swept across the sea from Britain and devastated the Morin city of Tliérouanne with fire and sword, without encountering any resistance. And when they saw how well they had got off to a good start, they ravaged the entire land of the Menapians with fire and sword. Then they invaded the school and destroyed all of Brabant with fire and sword." The rich monastery of St. Omer was also burned to the ground. The East Franconian king Louis III the Younger, the victor of Andernach (5. z f.), drove them out; indeed, he killed many "with Gortt's help" (Annales Bertiniani), "by the hand of God the greater part" (Reginonis chronica), "more than Sooo" (Annales Fuldenses). But Hugh, an illegitimate son of the king, also perished in the process - otherwise -he would have won a glorious victory over them" (Annales Vedastini).

But far too rarely were they "chased away - and killed", as it says in

as the Fulda Yearbooks so beautifully Christianize, -in that God forgave them what they had earned. In fact, the Normans completely destroyed the army under Duke Bruno of Saxony at Hamburg on February 88o. He himself, the queen's brother, fell, as did Bishop Theoderic of Minden, Bishop Markward of Hildesheim and eleven counts and i8 royal satellites along with all their men.

At the end of the year 88o, Norman raiding parties, who raided up the Rhine as far as the Xanten region, finally destroyed the magnificent palace built by Charlemagne in Nijmegen. On a8. December, the northerners burnt the monastery of St. Vaast in Arras, burnt the town and all the farms in the area, killed, expelled, crossed the country as far as the Somme, dragged away people, cattle and horses, destroyed Cambrai, devastated all the monasteries on the Hisscar, all the monasteries and towns by the sea, ravaged Amiens, Corbie, reappeared in Arras - and killed everyone they found¡ and after ravaging the whole country in the surrounding area with fire and sword, they returned unharmed to their camp- (Annales Vedastini) [4]

However, on August 3, 88i, the young West Franconian Louis **III** (the elder son of the Stainmler from his first marriage to Ansgard) defeated the robbers at Saucourt-en-Vimeu (near Abbeville) at the mouth of the summer - and an Old High German praise song, the "Ludwigslied", made him "immortal". Written in the Rhine-Franconian dialect, it is the first free German rhyming poem and the oldest surviving historical song in our literature.

Of course, the unknown, presumably spiritual pen-holder mixes up the story, "exaggerating" everything in Christian terms. There -heidine man", da godes holdon", the Franks, the Lord's chosen fighters. They rush into battle with "-kyrieleison", Louis himself as the Highest's representative, full of "godes power and noble love of enemies, of course, and mercy. "Suman thuruhskluog her, 5uman thrtihstah her." (Some he cut in half, some he stabbed through.) Yes, whoever God

trustworthy, well behaved ... He is said to have killed sooo riders- (Annales Fuldenses). -Uuolar abur Hltidulg, Ku- ning unsér s3lig!" (Hail to thee, Louis, our blessed king!) Hail!

But now the "heathen people" under their princes Gottfried and Siegfried took over. With a fleet and a land army reinforced by cavalry, they advanced far into the East Franconian Empire, ravaging not only Maastricht, Tongern and Liège, but also Cologne and Bonn - "with churches and buildings" (Annales Fu)denses) as well as the fortresses of Zülpich, Jülich and Neuss. In Aachen, they destroyed St. Mary's Church, the burial place of Charlemagne.

-The monarchs turned the palace of the Great into a stable and set fire to the magnificent palace. They also set fire to the monasteries of Inden (Cornelimünster), Stablo, Malmedy and Prüm. They sewed down the rising rural population like stupid cattle (Regino von Prüm), and the streams of refugees poured into Mainz.

FUTURE BNSTERBRN IN OsT- UiStD STFRANKEN

From nearby Frankfurt, the terminally ill King Ludwig IH, the victor of Andernach, sent an army against the invaders. But when he died on zo. January 88z for the Church and the Empire", as it is said, -after a life without gain for himself- (Annales Bertiniani), his troops, already standing in front of the fortified camp in Elsloo, turned back, pursued by the Normans, who cheered Louis' death, sang and burned their way to Koblenz and then turned up the Moselle. On April J, t h e day of the Lord's Supper, they attacked Trier, which they plundered and burned, after they had partly chased away and partly killed the inhabitants" (Annales Fuldenses). When they marched against Metz, the local bishop Wala fell in battle" (Regino von Prüm).

In the west, Louis III, the victor of Saucoun, was already on his way to repel further enemy troops in the Loire region.

but died on y. August 88z, only about twenty years old (because, as the Annales Vedastini reveal, he allegedly - in jest", iocando, xu horse chasing a girl, collided too violently against the lintel of her father's house). Although his brother Karlmann continued the fight, with varying success and an enormous payment of in ooo pounds of silver, he died, aged only i 8, in December 88d in a hunting accident in the forest of Bé2ti (near Andelys) - not by a boar, as was first heard, but, the annalists assure us, "involuntarily", by a fellow hunter, one of his servants, who wanted to help him. Both kings were buried in St. Denis. Louis II had another son by his second wife Adelheid. However, as this son, the future Charles III the Fat, was still a five-year-old child, the greats of the land hoped for help from Charles III the Fat and i n v i t e d him to West Franconia.

XL THE THICKNESS, DRM EVERYTHING FALLS AND EVERYTHING MISSES

The youngest son of Louis the German, Charles III (83p-888), who was only given the nickname "the Fat One" (Crassus) by historians in the 16th century. He was the heir to the smallest part of the empire - Alemannia and Alsafi - and was initially unusually successful. But he was simply lucky. Without ambition, thirst for action or lust for power, everything fell to him as if by magic: 88o Italy, 88i the imperial crown, then the whole of East Francia.

After the death of his brothers, the ailing Bavarian king Kaufmann, who in his last charter granted him the right to rule over the small kingdom of Swabia, he reigned for the first time.

in favor of Charles, and King Louis III the Younger, who died on zo. January 88s in Frankfurt am Main without heirs, also over their regna. And after the death of

the West Frankish kings, Louis III, the Sie8er of Sau- court, * 5 August 88z, and his brother Karlmann in December *4- the former lord over the north, the latter over the
south of the Western Empire, Charles III was also elected emperor there.
recognized. In 885, all secular and ecclesiastical greats surrendered to him in the Palatinate of Ponthion, thus restoring the Frankish Empire in its e n t i r e t y .

However, Charles the Fat did not fight the Saracens, as the Pope had expected, but the Normans, as he had been constantly called upon to do north of the Alps. And of course he fought in his own way; on his return from Italy, he first paid homage in Bavaria, then in Worms, before he surrounded the Norman camp in Asselt (Elsloo) on the lower reaches of the Meuse in July 88 with a huge army, including Lombard troops. However, even when a fortunate coincidence came to his aid when a terrible thunderstorm broke a breach in the walled fortifications, he did not blow the whistle and instead began to negotiate with the Normans after iz days and secured their withdrawal by making major concessions.

In exchange for an oath of fealty and the promise of their leader Gottfried to become a Christian, Charles ceded the province of Friesland to him. Gottfried, probably related to the Danish royal dynasty and often called king in the sources, was personally "raised from the holy spring" by the emperor and allowed to marry Gisla, Lothar II and Waldrada's illegitimate daughter. However, the attempt to integrate the prince into the Carolingian dynasty failed bloodily (p. z83 f.). And King Siegfried and the other Normans, reports Abbot Regino again, received "an immense amount of gold and silver" - several thousand pounds of silver and gold - reported the -Annales Bertiniani- and confessed that the pious emperor had taken them -from the treasury of St. Stephen at Metz and from other saints, and allowed them to remain as before to devastate his and his father's part of the empire.

At that time, the Archchancellor of the Emperor, Bishop Liutward of Vercelli, inspected, bribed by the enemy

and to have brokered the settlement together with one Count Wikbert. (7 The same prince of the church, sued for adultery with the empress, lost his court offices, whereupon he
to Charles' opponent Arnulf of Carinthia¡ 8qp the Uttg8rn exhausted him: p. * 7 f.)'.

Of course, the Norman misery was not over with all this, least of all in the Western Empire.

CNN CHRISTIANS MUST ENDURE WHAT ELSE THEY DO",

Anyone who reads the "Annales Vedastini", the yearbooks of a monk from the monastery of St. Vaast near Arras, which were only discovered in the mid-18th century, is confronted with this misery again and again, monotonously, certainly, grammatically pathetic. There is always talk of the devastation and murder-burning of the heathen robbers, of their "thirst for human blood". Day and night they kill the Christian people", they set fire to monasteries and churches of God, they c o n t i n u e their raids in their usual manner ...'

All the suffering and misery that Christians otherwise carried to other countries, century after century, they experienced themselves. And of course their lamentations never end. Looting, devastation, enslavement, extermination everywhere. Everywhere, monasteries, churches, hostage murders, people fleeing and being massacred. Thus "in the year of our Lord 88a-: " ... and the Normans ... destroyed monasteries and churches to t h e ground, killed the servants of the divine word by the sword or by hunger or sold them across the sea and killed the inhabitants of the country without encountering resistance". Thus e jj@ years of the Lord 4 "' -But the Normans
did not stop ... to kill, to destroy the churches, to destroy the Mau- to burn down the villages. The corpses of clergymen, nobles and other people lay in the streets.

their laymen, of women, youths and infants.- Or 88y: -Then the Normans began to rage again, thirsting for fire and murder …""

DE BELLIS PARISIACIS
OR - NOTHING OF IMPERIAL MAJESTY
WOULD HAVE BEEN WORTHY*

In November 88d, the invaders' "great army" appeared before Paris. Allegedly with countless small and 7 larger ships and a force of 4o ooo men, they had crossed the Seine.
upwards - possibly an act of revenge for the home
treacherous assassination of their king Gottfried in May of the same year, in which Hugo was also blinded (p. k83 f.).

Together with Count Odo of Paris, the future king, Bishop Gauzlin (from the noble Rorgonid family, once one of Charles the Bald's closest confidants and arch-chancellor, chief shepherd of Paris since 88d) initially led the command of the encircled city, whose famous siege was sung about by an eyewitness, the monk Abbo, in his epic "De bellis Parisiacis". When Bishop Gauzlin fell ill and died, another clerical warhorse, Abbot Ebolus of St. Germain-des-Prés, led the defense, which became increasingly difficult, especially as the only East Frankish army sent to relieve the city under the notorious Count Henry (p. a8a ff.) withdrew without having achieved anything. The Normans had long since pillaged the surrounding countryside according to all the rules of
-They did not shy away from cruelty in their assaults on the city. They are said to have slaughtered their prisoners and filled the ramparts with their corpses. In any case, many were killed on both sides, even more were incapacitated by wounds, the Normans continued their assault day after day", they besieged Paris "without any support with the most diverse armor of

weapons, machines and wall-breakers. But by all shining to God with great fervor, they were always saved; and about eight months the battle lasted in various ways before the emperor came to their aid- (Annales Vedastini)."

But no help really helped, neither that of various count's nor ecclesiastical troops - Walo of Metz, -who took up arms and went to war against the holy precept and his episcopal dignity'-, fell "in the year of our Lord 88s" while fleeing from the Normans. Again and again one reads that there was no help at all, no resistance (nemine sibi resistente), or that, if one intervened militarily, "nothing happy or profitable" came of it (nil prospere vel utile) that

-Nothing memorable" (nihil dignum memoriae) was accomplished¡ if it was not immediately said: "And they accomplished nothing worthwhile there, but returned to their homeland in great disgrace". "For instead of striking a fortunate blow, they barely escaped in a disgraceful chase, most of them being captured and killed" (Annales Vedastini)."

Auéh the emperor generally disappointed.

It was not until October that he finally arrived and camped on the heights of Montmartre. The army was enormous, but the commander, **Count** Henry, himself an accomplished, treacherous murderer and 5chinder (p. z83 f.), fell with his horse into a Norman pit and, abandoned by his own, was killed in it. Charles could not make up his mind. For weeks he remained inactive and "did nothing in this place that would have been worthy of imperial majesty". When it was even rumored that a relief army under the Norman king Siegfried was already approaching on the Seine, he bought off Paris and released the territories beyond the Seine to the Normans -for plunder- "because the inhabitants of the same would not obey him" (Regino von

Charles also left Burgundy to the enemy to raid, but remained in the west for the time being. King Siegfried, however, had already invaded the Oise and was f o l l o w i n g Charles, taking

"devastated everything with fire and sword. When the emperor learned of this - and the *fire* brought him certain news - he returned to his country in haste." Siegfried then continued all the more
continued his work of destruction. And in the following year, the 7th, the Normans "made their usual forays as far as the Saone and the Loire ... and by burning
and murder turned the land into a desert (Annales Vedastini). King Siegfried, however, turned to Friesland in the fall, where he was killed.[3]

DIVINE PROVIDENCE OPERATES WITH ASSASSINATION: ExDB **OF THE NORMAN1'4EdGE** IN **FRIES** LAND

Sometimes there were triumphs.

For example towards Gottfried. Through his marriage in 88z to Charles Christ, husband of King Lothar II's daughter Gisla (conceived with Waldrada), he had become lord of the territory of what is now Holland. When he was accused of having conspired against the kingdom with his brother-in-law Hugh, King Lothar II's illegitimate son, Gisla's brother, as
"If God was against it, the Lord gave him the reward he deserved" (Annales Fuldenses).

Divine Providence did not operate openly.

The emperor - Gotdried's godfather - had him murdered by one of his accusers, the East Frankish Count Heinrich, the brother of Poppo (p. 3J). Henry, "a very clever man", who apparently concocted the plot, and Willibert, or the venerable Bishop of Kö1n (Regino von Prüm), meet the unsuspecting Gottfried "in the year of the divine incarnation 88J- on the island of Betuwe (between the Lower Rhine and the Waal). On the second day of the "negotiations", Bishop Willibert summons Gottfried's wife Gisla from the island in order to -encourage her zeal for peace elsewhere-, while Henry's companions, just during the bishop's pacifist efforts elsewhere, call the king to the island.

nig secretly. Not enough: atich "all his companions -,
-All the Normans who found themselves on the Betuwe were massacred."

And only a few days later **Hubo,** "who behaved imprudently in the emperor's realm" (Annales Fuldenses), was also lured to Gondreville, to the imperial court, on the advice of the same Henry, had his eyes gouged out by the same noble count and all his followers were deprived of their fiefs. Later, in the monastery of Prüm, where his grandfather Emperor Lothar I had already ended up as a monk (p. iso), Hugo is shorn by his own hand by Abbot Regino, who reports all this, and dies after a few years, while his sister Gisla, Gottfried's widow, ends her life in the nunnery of Nivelles near Namtir."

A pious family.

The Norman regiment in Friesland came to an end at that time. &i North they were overcome in battle with the Frisians
-Many of them were killed. And in the year of Gottfried's death, the Fulda Yearbooks report again: -At last the Christians raged against them with such carnage that few remained of so great a multitude. Then these same Frisians stormed their ships and found so many treasures of gold and silver, together with various implements, that everyone from the lowest to the highest became rich." The old dream of mankind, including Christians: treasures of silver and gold! As if a camel couldn't go through the eye of a needle ... But be that as it may: "The Norman rule in Friesland ended without leaving any tangible traces" (Blok)."

Now the "men of the north wind" had come to many countries in the early Middle Ages, including Iceland and Greenland, Spain, Morocco, Russia and Byzantium, a n d the Church fought them far and wide, bloodlessly and bloodily, through annalists, authors, bishops and popes. But when the Normans, iiR I I, in the iz. century, the Normans provided the best cavalry in Europe, the bravest knights, the most modern fortress builders (they developed the castle with ramparts and moat from the middle of the I I century),

latisxrotrriscuzs - ais to Aasc xzinan nen Gzsc mcirrsvziix z8

When they also had a strong navy in Sicily, one of the most capable admirals of the Middle Ages in George of Antioch and took the lead militarily, the papacy went over to them and they played a major role not only in the Crusades. As "a people accustomed to war", as William of Malmesbury said, "who could hardly live without war", they were just right for the representatives of Christ."

Under Charles III the Fat, however, the ruler's lack of fighting spirit was not only held against them. Increasing insecurity at home, everyday banditry, notorious robbery, years of clan feuds, also and especially jetct in the East Frankish kingdom, none of this strengthened the imperial prestige.

J1'4NENPOLITISCHES - UP TO THE CUTTING OF THE GRSCHLECHTSTΣI LE "THAT ALSO NOB TRACE REMAINED OF IT ..."

In 88z, a bloody feud broke out between Saxony and Thuringia, between Poppo, the Count of Sorbenmark, and the Frankish Count Egino, whereby we do not learn the reason for the war, but only that "Poppo and the Thuringians were defeated with heavy losses". In the following year, the same source laconically reports "a cruel war", which Poppo lost again, "as was usual before". He escaped "barely with a few men, while all the others fell". On the other hand, he was very successful against the Slavs in 88o, against "Daleminzians, Bohemians, Sorbs and the other neighbors around" - "trusting in God's help, he defeated them in such a way that none of this great multitude remained" (Annales Fulden- ses). He himself lost 8qz his life."

In the Ostmark, Count Aribo raged against the descendants of his predecessors, the sons of the 8yi, in a two-and-a-half-year battle against the Moravians

fallen Margraves Wilhelm and Engilschalk, whereby the
-The "margrave" was even associated with the Moravian duke Swatopluk, the vassal of the empire, who supported him militarily on several occasions. And after Aribo's expulsion in 88a by the margrave's sons, Swatopluk repeatedly raided the Eastern Margraviate and killed "inhuman and greedy as a wolf". In 884, Pannonia was plundered as far as the Raab, most of the country was "devastated, destroyed and annihilated with fatier find sword". Indeed, the Moravian invaded here a second time in the same year, "to devour it completely, as if in a wolf's rage", if anything had remained before. All the possessions of the margrave's sons were also burned down. The two eldest of them, Megingoz and Poppo, drowned in the Raab as they fled. But Werinhar, one of the sons of Engilschalk, and his relative, Count Wezzilo, were mutilated, their right hands and tongues cut off, as well as t h e i r private parts and genitals, so that no trace of them remained. Some of their people also came back without rights and lefts.

"Servants and maidservants with their children are killed ... All this is no doubt due to the mercy or wrath of God' (Annales Fuldenses). And happened without any atonement on the part of the emperor. The Moravian's homage and his oath -as long as Charles lived, never to invade the empire with an enemy army- were enough for him.

In the meantime, the monarch's star had sunk lower and lower, and the great happiness he had enjoyed at the beginning of his career was increasingly reversed. After the death of King BoSo of Vienne on January I,7 *t2Ch, Provence was the last of his possessions.

Lafid still outside the empire in spring *®7 ifl

Churches were once again formally placed under the feudal sovereignty of the emperor,

for which he adopted Boso's underage son Louis (by the daughter of King Louis of Italy). However, this was of little consequence in view of his behavior towards the Normans, his generally resented retreat from Paris, his abandonment of Burgundy and his otherwise tolerated continued devastation by the privateers, not

least in the face of scandalous

events in his immediate surroundings, especially the fall of his archchancellor Liutward (d. 8q9)."

BISHOP LiuTWARD OF VERCELLI - FIRED AND FUNDED

This man, a Schwebe from, according to hostile sources, a very lowly family, was a monk at Reichenau (a monastery that only took in nobles in the course of the eighteenth century) and Charles' chancellor during his reign as Swabian king. The up-and-comer took advantage of his high patron's career, became bishop of Vercelli in 79/880, became Charles' archchancellor and archchaplain, his most influential advisor and finally -more honored and feared by all than the emperor" (Annales Fuldenses). After all, the clerical upstart had almost unimaginable wealth at his disposal and took great care of his relatives: a brother Chadolt became Bishop of Novara in 88, a nephew with the same name Liutward became Bishop of Como a little later.

As a result of his advancing hereditary illness, the emperor increasingly left the governing to Liutward. In the end, he held most of the strings in his hands, *was* in charge of all important delega- tions and, in particular, always regulated all negotiations with the pope; in short, the bishop stood as "the all-powerful minister next to the weak ruler" (Schur), "the key figure ... of his reign" (Fleckenstein).

Gradually, however, Bishop Liutward increasingly incurred the wrath of wider circles. Not only because he tried to oust everyone from the emperor's side, not only through his yielding to the Normans in Elsloo, where he is said to have been bribed by them, but also through his greed, his nepotism and his infamous clan politics in general, whereby he had girls from the noblest families from Swabia and Italy stolen,

to bring them to relatives as wives. He even ordered a burglary in the nunnery of St. Salvatore in Brescia in order to extract a daughter of Margrave Unruoch of Friuli for a nephew, a granddaughter of Louis the Pious on her mother's side - a splendid match. -But the nuns of this place turned to prayer and asked the Lord to avenge the disgrace inflicted on the holy place; their request was immediately granted. For the man who wanted to marry the girl in the usual way died that night and the girl remained untouched (intacta). This was revealed to a nun from the above-mentioned convent ... (Annales Fuldenses)."

The bishop's uncle, Margrave Berengar of Friuli, thought the sudden death of the bishop's nephew o n the night of the wedding was still too little. He hurried to Vercelli, "and once there, he stole as much of the bishop's belongings as he wished". Not enough, Liutward was also accused of "-kenery", namely of belittling our Savior by claiming that He was One through the unity of substance, not of person (An- nales Fuldenses). He was also accused of adultery, even with the empress herself - all of which was publicly brought up in the summer of 7 *at the Imperial Diet in Kirchen (near Lörrach).

Charles the Fat, however, was not only comfortable by nature, honorable

miserly, he was also ill, physically, perhaps mentally. In the spring he had a head incision (ineisionem) made in the Palatinate of Bodmann, his favorite region of Lake Constance, as the annalist reports - a wrong translation, one now thinks, not a trepanation, less dramatic.

Nevertheless, the emperor was almost incapable of governing (admittedly the fate of many rulers). And in this fatal situation, he also exposed his first man to general anger and disappointment. Without any consultation with Liutward, he withdrew many fiefs from him - and drove him out of the palace in disgrace as a heretic. However, the latter went to Bavaria to Arnulf and discussed with him how he could make the emperor r e i g n ..."'

2 YRS JOSEPHSEHE - PASSED THE ACID TEST

Like his first husband (or her second?), however, the high couple did not want to let adultery take its course. After just a few days, Charles therefore brought his wife Richardis
"because of the same matter before the Imperial Assembly, and-, writes Abbot Regino delightedly, -it sounds wonderful, she confesses publicly that he has never mingled with her in a carnal embrace, although they have been in his company for more than ten years through a lawful marriage".

More than ten years? zy years. Because in 86s the fat Karl had already married the daughter of the Alsatian and Breisgau count Er- changer. A quarter of a century of Joseph's marriage. No, much more beautiful, even purer: "She even claims that she has remained free not only of his, but of all male concomitance (omni virili commixtione) in general, she praises the integrity of her courage and confidently offers to prove this, if it pleases her husband, by the judgment of Almighty God, either through a single battle or through the test of the glowing plowshares; for she was a godly woman." This is why, after the divorce, Empress Ri- chardis withdrew to the monastery of Andlau in ElsaB, which she had built on her estates, "no longer for the sake of any men, but, says Abbot Regino, -to serve God."

The emperor generously refrained from proving their un-augmented magdttim by judicial duel as if by red-hot plowshares.

Church propaganda, however, took up the miraculous case of chastity, gloriously embellished the empress's fiery embers - and still the
-The "Martyrology of Germania" (with imprimatur of May 6, ip3q) holds to such a "passed trial by fire". For centuries, a wax shirt was also presented (in the monastery of Etival), which was applied to the naked body of the tested person at all four ends.

was neither violated nor harmed herself. And while the murderer is hanging the dirty lie on the gallows, poor Richardis (who was not so poor¡ she had already b e e n given a series of women's monasteries at the end of the empty years)
"everything she still had to the poor and monasteries".

And she, too, goes to the convent, living only her salvation, humility, prayer; which is why God glorifies her grave through miracles and finally Pope Leo IX raises her holy body, which "was tantamount to canonization, writes the Capuchin priest Fr. Wilhelm Auer von Reisbaeh - with the approval of the Most Reverend Bishop's Ordinary of Augsburg and with the permission of the superiors" already in the
*54. to ido. thousand of his -saintly legend". And immediately afterward he imposes the -church prayer- on us: -O God, who didst give thy saints
We ask you, grant that we may love our neighbor in word and deed according to her example and through her intercession, so that we may obtain the rewards of eternal love. Amen.

Well said, in passing: to love one's neighbor in word and deed according to their example ... One must not think of poor Charles the Fat. And after two years of Joseph's marriage to a saint - where is the parity! - he is not even beatified! Of course, according to Capuchin priest Wilhelm Auer from Reisbach: - He had become weaker and weaker in spirit ... ... and was now deceiving the noble woman, even though she declared herself ready for all tests of her innocence and purity*.

Pathfinders don't know what to do with someone like Charles the Fat, who loses his nerve at every outrage. And historians not much more. They both idolize gentlemen of a completely different ilk, men with punch above all, yes, with punch, types of the criminal calibre of Charles I. -The Great", bandits of the state, devourers of peoples, scourges of humanity, great leaders who cuddle hundreds of thousands of square kilometers and walk over corpses like dirt,

Cannibals of secular stature, world-historical terrorists. This is called Carolingian universal politics, while Charles III the Fat fails again and again" (Handbuch der Eiropai- schen Geschichte), and historians generally dislike nothing so much as weakness, failure* nothing so much as strength, success, no matter at what price. On the contrary: the higher the price, the higher their prizes.

ARNULFS - TAATSSTREICH" AND RLS SCH1'4ELLES LEBE1'1SR1'4DE

Liutward of Vercelli was replaced in June 88d by his opponent, Archbishop Liutbert of Maine (863-88q), a valiant Norman butcher who sometimes struck down "not a few", sometimes "very many" (Annales f-uldenses) - but whom the same Catholic source also calls "patient, humble and kind", which, from a Christian point of view, harmonizes beautifully. Liutward, once archchaplain to Louis the German and Louis the Younger, became archchancellor to Duke Arnulf of Carinthia after his fall. And Archbishop Liutbert of Mainz, who became the emperor's most important advisor in 8 7, soon did the same. His change of party at the imperial assembly in Tribur, which Amulh founded as it were, Charles's dismissal, but the archbishop had to -improve his weakened position ... (W. Hartmann). And he wouldn't have played his way back to the top with the new master if he hadn't died in February 88q*

Arnulf's outrage, his "coup d'état", began when he caused the Bavarians to apostatize and soon moved with them and his Carantanian troops to Frankfurt, where the East Franks, especially the Conradines, elevated him to king in November 88d. Charles fled toTribur to escape the advancing forces. However, his attempt to recruit a fighting force against Arnulf at the Imperial Diet failed miserably. An influential

The conspiracy of the nobility spread and forced him to abdicate. Even his Alemanni all deserted him. The court disbanded and his servants also ran away. They went over to Arnulf "on a bet", writes Abbot Regino, -so that after three days there was hardly anyone left who would even have shown him the duties of philanthropy.

Practical Christianity (in both senses of the word).

As usual, the bishops immediately jumped in harm's way. Yes, they paid homage to the usurper - without exception and willingly" (Dümmler). Just two months after Charlemagne's deposition, his notary and chancellor Bishop Waldo of Freising visited the new ruler. According to the synodal records, the great assembly in Mainz, which met just six months later, did not say a word of disapproval about the overthrow of the emperor. On the contrary. The Synod - which once again spoke at length in favor of the (indeed immense) church property and the payment of tithes to the clergy (c. 6, ii,
II, I3, *7.) and against the fornication of clerics (had they even fathered children with their own sisters: c.io) - this synod already commands in its first canon that everyone pray for the nice King Arniilf and his wife.

Of course, it didn't help at all that Charles sent the rebellious nephew the supposed piece of "wood from the holy cross of Christ" on which Arntilf had once sworn allegiance to him,
"so that he would remember his oaths and not act so cruelly and barbarically against him". For even if the rather jaded prince had shed tears at the sight, he naturally "ruled the empire at will" (Annales Fuldenses). After all, Archbishop Liutbert of Mainz provided the emperor, who had "become a beggar", with a minimum subsistence level until the new lord - begged by the supported prince - gave him a few farms in Alemannia - out of mercy ... for usufruct until the end of his life ...-."

But the end of Emperor Charles III's life came surprisingly quickly. January 888, abandoned by everyone, near Neudingen on the upper Danube, according to the Annales Vedastini he was even "strangled by the 5some".

Adelsverschwörung griff um sich und zwang ihn zur Abdankung. Selbst seine Alemannen ließen ihn sämtlich im Stich. Der Hof löste sich auf, auch seine Diener liefen davon. Man geht «um die Wette» zu Arnulf über, schreibt Abt Regino, «so daß nach drei Tagen kaum jemand übrig blieb, der ihm auch nur die Pflichten der Menschenliebe erwiesen hätte».

Praktisches Christentum (in doppelter Wortbedeutung).

Wie üblich sprangen die Bischöfe gleich in Scharen ab. Ja, sie huldigten dem Usurpator «ausnahmslos und bereitwillig» (Dümmler). Schon zwei Monate nach Karls Absetzung fand sich dessen Notar und Kanzler Bischof Waldo von Freising beim neuen Herrscher ein. Auch die nur ein halbes Jahr darauf tagende große Versammlung in Mainz verlor, laut Synodalakten, kein mißbilligendes Wort über den Kaisersturz. Im Gegenteil. Die Synode – die wieder einmal lang und breit für den (ja immensen) Kirchenbesitz nebst Zehntleistung an den Klerus eintritt (c. 6, 11, 12, 13, 17, 22) und gegen die Unzucht von Klerikern (hätten die doch sogar mit ihren eigenen Schwestern Kinder gezeugt: c.10) – diese Synode befiehlt schon in ihrem 1. Kanon das Beten aller für den neuen König Arnulf und seine Gattin.

Es half natürlich auch gar nichts, daß Karl dem rebellierenden Neffen jenes vermeintliche Stück «Holz vom heiligen Kreuze Christi», auf dem ihm Arnulf einst Treue geschworen, schickte, «damit er seiner Eidschwüre eingedenk nicht so grausam und barbarisch gegen ihn handle». Denn soll auch der recht abgebrühte Fürst Tränen bei diesem Anblick vergossen haben, er schaltete natürlich «nach Belieben über das Reich» (Annales Fuldenses). Immerhin stellte der Mainzer Erzbischof Liutbert dem Kaiser, der «zum Bettler geworden», noch das Existenzminimum zur Verfügung, bis ihm der neue Herr – von dem Gestürzten erbettelt – ein paar Höfe in Alemannien überließ «aus Gnade ... zum Nießbrauch bis an sein Lebensende ...».[24]

Aber das Lebensende kam überraschend schnell für Kaiser Karl III., der schon am 13. Januar 888, von allen verlassen, bei Neudingen an der oberen Donau gestorben, nach den Annales Vedastini sogar «von den Seinigen erwürgt worden» ist, ja nicht

This is impossible; "in any case, he soon ended his present life in order, as we believe, to possess the heavenly one". The Fulda Yearbooks, however, claim: " ... for he stayed only a few days full of piety in the places assigned to him by the king, and after Christ's birthday he happily ended his life on January I3. And miraculously, while he was honorably buried in the church of Reichenau, many spectators saw the heavens open … - the everlasting Christian lies. Meanwhile, the victor allowed himself to be courted by the East Frankish and Slavic nobility in Regensburg "and celebrated the Lord's birthday and Easter there with dignity".

After the end of the lent ruler over the Carolingian empire as a whole, a series of kingdoms emerged, now forever. The only Carolingian among the new rulers was Arnulf of Carinthia, albeit an illegitimate scion of the dynasty and therefore with at least a dubious right to the throne. The West Franks raised Count Odo of Paris, the legendary defender of the city. In Burgundy, the Guelph Rudolf founded a new kingship in 888. In Italy, two members of the Frankish hociocracy, Berengar of Friuli and Wido of Spoleto, fought for power.

The Carolingian state as a whole had played out its role. The title of emperor became a bone of contention between Italian petty princes. As the last shadow emperor of the dynasty, Louis III the Blind, a son of Boso (p. z 3 ff.), died around qa8, having become emperor in Italy, qo5 blinded there and thus practically incapable of ruling. However, the papacy had gained considerable power under the Carolingians of the q. century, the papacy had gained a considerable increase in power, the foundation of its further rise in the
II. century."

6. KAPITEL

ARNULF VON KÄRNTEN, OSTFRÄNKISCHER KÖNIG UND KAISER (887–899)

«Wie sein Vater Karlmann ist auch Arnulf durch die politische und militärische ‹Schule› als Befehlshaber in den südöstlichen Marken gegangen ... Als der kranke Kaiser Karl III. politisch immer schwächer wurde, griff Arnulf rasch zu, verband sich 887 mit dem abgesetzten Erzkanzler Liutward zum Sturze Karls ... Arnulf konnte sich seit der Synode von Frankfurt 888 stark auf die Bischofskirchen stützen.» Wilhelm Störmer[1]

«In mir habt ihr den entschlossensten Gegner aller, welche der Kirche Christi feind und eurem priesterlichen Amte widerspenstig sind.» Arnulf von Kärnten[2]

«Aus Franken zog der König sieggekrönt nach Alamannien und feierte auf dem Königshof Ulm in würdiger Weise den Geburtstag des Herrn. Von da zog er nach Osten ... und kam im Juli nach Mähren. Vier Wochen hindurch verweilte er daselbst mit einer solchen Übermacht – auch Ungarn hatten sich daselbst seinem Zuge angeschlossen – das ganze Land niederbrennend ... Vor Fasten besuchte der König im ganzen Land der Westfranken» (Lotharingien) «Klöster und Bischofssitze, um zu beten.» Annales Fuldenses[3]

«Anarchie, Rechtlosigkeit und Rechtsunsicherheit sind das Merkmal der Zeit, erwachsen auf dem Boden des feudalen Aufbaus der Gesellschaft ...» L. M. Hartmann[4]

I. ARNULF VÖN KÄRHTEN: OSTFRANEEN AND **THE** oSTEN

Arnulf "of Carinthia" (uni 8yo-8qq) was the eldest illegitimate offspring of the Bavarian king and king of Italy, Karlmann, the eldest son of Louis the German and his mother Liutwind, apparently a Luitpoldinger. In addition to his lawful wife Ota, Arnulf had several concubines and had no shortage of children out of wedlock, which did not bother the monarch. On the contrary, the thoroughly church-going prince was favored by the community of saints just as much as he favored them, at least when he renounced an anointing.

"HRIL **ARNOLF THE GREAT SEN KING** '

From the very beginning, there was a close relationship between the bishops and the new lord, who once called himself the "most united opponent" of all enemies of the Kirehen, in a document entitled
-son and defender of the Catholic Church", to which he also signaled his loyalty immediately after his elevation through donations and acts of mercy. -He "conspicuously generously" endowed the bishops with royal estates, forests, minting, market and customs rights with a "previously unknown frequency" (Fried). He c o n v e n e d five synods during his reign, which lasted just over ia year. The authority of the prelates was

desired by him against the rising particular powers. Moreover, it could sanction his illegitimate kingship.

The Church, on the other hand, benefited from the ruler's power in the conflict with the dukes and the high hereditary nobility. For this reason, it immediately supported him, had him prayed for from the outset and immediately interceded for his protection under threat of ecclesiastical punishment. But of course she also made the duties of a Christian ruler clear to him. And by supporting him, she supported herself. Thus began a development that gave the church - with all the fatal consequences that this entailed - more say than ever before, making it the most powerful factor in the state" (Mühlbacher).

While there is no evidence of counts in the king's entourage for many years, a series of bishops, many of whom were favored by him, continue to tip the political scales. First Archbishop Thietmar of Salzburg, Arnulf's arch-chaplain, head of the court chapel and chancellery; later increasingly the chancellor and diaconate Aspert, made Bishop of Regensburg by Arnulf 8qi, and his successor as chancellor (since 8931 Bishop Wiching of Neutra (p. *31 f.). Hatto 1st of Mainz, who was as intelligent as he was cunning, was an inassgcbale politician close to the ruler, whose death (9- 3) was attributed by some to an avenging ray of lightning. Hatto came from a Swabian family, partisans of Charles, but immediately sided with Ar- nulf after the emperor's fall, rewarded by him with the abbeys of Reichenau, Ellwangen, Lorsch and WeiBcnburg, 8qi with the archbishopric of Mainz. The prelate accompanied the king to Italy twice and intervened in all important public issues. The bishops Solomon III of Constance (from

4 Notary, chancellor to Charles III from 88y, already chapellain to Ar- nulf in 888), also Waldo of Freising, Erchanbald of Eichstätt, Engilmar of Passau, the high noble Adalbero of Augsburg, made Arntilf the educator of his son'.

In May 8Jt$, at the imperial assembly at Tribtir, the royal palace near Mainz, at one of the largest and most brilliant synods

of the century, the unusually numerous

tagende ostfränkische Episkopat Arnulf überschwenglich als den König, «dessen Herz», so die Synodalakten, «der heilige Geist mit Feuer entflammte und mit dem Eifer der göttlichen Liebe entzündete, damit die ganze Welt erkenne, daß er nicht von einem Menschen und durch einen Menschen, sondern durch Gott selbst erwählt worden ist». Alte Sprüche der Prälaten. Denn wen sie wählen, sie stützen, der ist immer von Gott – nämlich von ihnen!

Auf der Synode, laut Regino von Prüm «gegen sehr viele Weltliche abgehalten, die die Autorität der Bischöfe zu mindern strebten», dachten diese desto eifriger, ihre Autorität zu erhöhen. So erörterten sie eingehend Rechtsstreite von Geistlichen und Laien, Mißhandlung von Klerikern, deren Verwundung oder Tötung, was anscheinend häufiger als früher vorkam – man ließ sogar einen geblendeten Priester auftreten. Ein Kanon enthält den Befehl des Königs, Kirchenbannverächter zu verhaften, wobei das Umbringen Widersetzlicher kein Wehrgeld kostete! Weiter wird völlige Unterwerfung unter das Papsttum gefordert, «wenn auch ein kaum erträgliches Joch vom heiligen Stuhl auferlegt werde»! Mehrere Kapitel gelten dem da immer Wichtigsten, Geld, Besitz, Zehnten (c. 13 und 14), auch den Kirchenräubern (c. 31). Nach Kapitel 7 ist geraubtes Kirchengut gleich dreifach zu ersetzen, und dies mit Berufung auf die pseudoisidorischen Fälschungen (die man auch zu weiteren Canones, wie 8 und 9, heranzieht – befiehlt aber andererseits, Vorzeiger gefälschter Papstbriefe in Gewahrsam zu nehmen).[7]

Selbstverständlich billigte der König die Beschlüsse. Ja, auf die rhetorische Frage, wie sehr er «die Kirche Christi zu verteidigen und ihr Amt zu erweitern und erhöhen geruhe», ermutigte er erst einmal die «Hirten», auch als «hellste Leuchten der Welt» apostrophiert, selber kräftig zuzupacken – «es sei zu rechter Zeit oder Unzeit, strafet, dräuet, ermahnet mit aller Geduld und Lehre, auf daß ihr in wachsamer Sorge und durch unablässige Mahnung die Schafe Christi in die Hürde des ewigen Lebens treiben möget». Dann aber betonte er seine ganze Solidarität. «In mir habt ihr den entschlossensten Gegner aller, welche der Kirche Christi feind und eurem priesterlichen Amte widerspenstig sind.»

Kein Wunder, daß sich die ehrwürdigen Konzilsväter von ihren Plätzen erheben und samt der umstehenden Klerisei drei- oder viermal in den Ruf ausbrechen: «Christus, erhöre uns, Heil Arnolf, dem großen König». (Erinnert's nicht an Heil-Geschrei, das uns noch selbst im Ohre dröhnt . . .?) Dazu Glockenläuten, das Tedeum, alles Gott zum Preis, «der seiner h. Kirche einen so frommen und milden Tröster und einen so wackeren Helfer zur Ehre seines Namens zu schenken geruht hat».[8]

Besonders innig verehrte der Herrscher seinen Schutzpatron, unter ihm gar zum Patron des Reiches, zu einem Reichsheiligen aufgestiegen.

Der hl. Emmeram oder: «Gott loben ohne Zung, / Macht ja Verwunderung»

Emmeram, ein reichlich mysteriöser Bischof und Märtyrer (schwer zu sagen, was er weniger war, falls er beides gewesen sein sollte) aus dem späteren 7. Jahrhundert, wurde in den Tagen des Bayernfürsten Theodo der Verführung der schwangeren Herzogstochter Uta beschuldigt und dann von deren Bruder Lantpert auf dem Weg nach Rom in Helfendorf (heute Kleinhelfendorf, Oberbayern) erschlagen. Die Legendentafeln der dortigen Marterkapelle haben den «Vorgang» in Bild und Vers verewigt:

«O Grausamkeit der Pein und Qual,
So Emeram erlitten,
Sein Glider wurden all und all
von Leib hinweck geschnitten,
Die Händ und Füs, auch d'Finger z'gleich,
wurd alles abgehauet,
Erwirbt dadurch das Himmelreich,
So er stätts angeschauet.»[9]

Wann dies war, wenn es denn war, ist völlig ungewiß und umstritten, wie fast alles an dieser Figur, ihre Herkunft, ihr Bischofsamt, besonders auch die Gründe, die zu der Ermordung führten; vielleicht, doch auch dies ganz unsicher, 685. Fiel der «Märtyrer» als Repräsentant fränkischer Macht in dem nach Selbständigkeit strebenden Bayern? Errang er die Palme des Martyriums als Verführer der schwangeren Herzogstochter? Oder hat er freiwillig die Schuld der Verführung auf sich genommen, wie dies die fromme Version seines ersten Hagiographen, des Bischofs Arbeo von Freising, in seiner «Vita Haimhrammi» unterstellt, aber «wohl nur nach der ausschmückenden romantischen Volkssage», so selbst das katholische «Kirchen-Lexikon» von Wetzer/Welte, das überdies hinzufügt, «die mit seiner eigenen Erzählung im Widerspruche steht».

Bischof Arbeo verfaßte sein Opus erst 772 und offenbar aus recht egoistischen Gründen, nämlich, so 1931 das katholische «Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche» (das in seiner neuesten Ausgabe von 1995 überhaupt nicht mehr vom «Märtyrer» spricht), «vornehmlich im Interesse der Stätten der Emmeram-Verehrung in seiner Diözese». Und Bischof Arbeo, aus dem Adelshaus der Huosi, das den Freisinger Bischofsstuhl mehrmals besetzen konnte, war ein sehr geschäftstüchtiger Prälat, der Besitz und Recht seines Bistums auszudehnen vermochte. Doch verbreiten fast alle populären katholischen Darstellungen einen eher mehr als weniger grauenhaften Kitsch, wie er Arbeos oberhirtlichen Ausschwitzungen auch angemessen ist. Da stirbt dann, nachdem Utas Bruder dem abgereisten «Heiligen» nachgejagt ist, dieser wie ein großer christlicher Blutzeuge. Hat Herzogssohn Lantpert doch «fünf flaischhacker» engagiert, «dy des hayliges mannes leichnam sand Haymram von ader zu ader, von glied zu glied zwerlegen». Und während man ihn grauenhaft verstümmelt, ihm die Augen ausreißt, Nasen und Ohren abschneidet, Hände, Füße und das (natürlich nur vermeintlich) unkeusche Glied, dankt er Gott «mit großer Andacht» für die herrliche Tortur.[10]

Emmerams Verehrung als Heiliger setzt freilich erst Jahrzehnte nach seinem Tod ein, dann allerdings begleitet von den schönsten Mirakeln, Krankenheilungen, Teufelsaustreibungen, nicht zu-

letzt Strafwundern (denn die Regensburger Bischöfe vergriffen sich immer wieder an seinem stets wachsenden Besitz. Auch Leibeigene schenkt man dem Heiligen später!)

Der gloriose Kult, noch im 17. Säkulum neu belebt, dehnte sich im Frühmittelalter nicht nur über Bayern aus. Unter den ostfränkischen Karolingern aber erreichte Emmeram seine größte Bedeutung als Stammesheiliger, und unter Arnulf wird er persönlicher Schutzherr des Kaisers, wird Schlachtenhelfer gegen die Mährer. Ihm allein glaubt der Herrscher beim Feldzug 893 wider Swatopluk (S. 308) seine Rettung aus Lebensgefahr zu verdanken, weshalb er die bayerischen Klöster reich begabte, besonders St. Emmeram, das den gesamten Schmuck seiner Pfalz bekam, und 899 seine Leiche – aber im Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche 1995 gar keinen eigenen Platz mehr: der ganze Artikel über das Kloster «St. Emmeram», 1931 noch doppelt so lang wie der über den Heiligen selbst, entfällt jetzt.

Wie auch immer: die Emmeramer Mönche ehrten das Andenken ihres Wohltäters, indem sie alljährlich an seinem Todestag ein feierliches Amt begingen und das Jahr über in seinem Namen Erfindungen und Fälschungen von Urkunden wie die, daß er ihnen die gesamte Neustadt vermacht haben sollte. Vor all diesen Gaunereien trat sogar «der eigentliche Klosterpatron Emmeram für lange Zeit immer mehr in den Hintergrund» (Babl). Gleichwohl – auf den Kleinhelfendorfer Legendentafeln (und wahrlich nicht nur dort) lebt er weiter:

«Gott loben ohne Zung,
Macht ja Verwunderung.
Es kunte die gottlose Rott
Auch diss nicht länger leyden
Das er nun immer lobet Gott,
Thuet ihm die Zung abschneiden.
Doch lobet er Gott noch immer fort,
Last unß diss Wunder loben,
Alß wär die Zung am alten Ohrt,
Fragt nichts nach Wüttrichs Toben.»[11]

«... EIN SCHLACHTGESCHREI BIS ZUM HIMMEL»

Arnulf, geprägt durch die Waffengänge in den südöstlichen Marken, war nach der Enthebung einiger Grenzgrafen von seinem Vater, dem Bayernkönig Karlmann, kurz nach 876 mit der Verwaltung des alten slowenischen Herzogtums Karantanien betraut worden, seiner eigentlichen Machtbasis im Osten; daher ja auch sein Beiname «von Kärnten». Doch während er in Unterpannonien auszugreifen vermochte, scheiterte er (mit seinem gelähmten Vater) im nördlichen Donauraum zunächst an der innerbayerischen Opposition. Seine Gegner, erst Graf Ermbert vom Isengau, dann Markgraf Aribo, gewannen die Unterstützung von Arnulfs mächtigen Verwandten, Ludwig dem Jüngeren und Karl III. dem Dicken, den Brüdern seines Vaters, die sich in Bayern durchsetzen konnten.

Immerhin hatte Arnulf politisch taktieren, hatte er abwarten und, natürlich, kämpfen gelernt. Er war als Haudegen erprobt, u. a. 882 bei Elsloo als Befehlshaber des bayerischen Heerbanns gegen die Normannen, wo man freilich nichts hatte ausrichten können (S. 277), während er sie Mitte Oktober 891 bei Löwen an der Dyle (heute Belgien) schlug. Übrigens ein erklärter Racheakt. War doch kurz zuvor im Juni an der Geule ein «Heer der Christen, o Schmerz, als Folge seiner Sünden» besiegt worden und unter vielen Vornehmen auch einer der Heerführer, der von Arnulf eingesetzte Erzbischof Sunderold von Mainz, gefallen (Regino von Prüm).[12]

Nun aber, an der Dyle, verlieh «Gott vom Himmel herab ihnen Kraft». Umso offensichtlicher, als die gleichfalls aufgebotenen Alemannen zuvor unter Ausreden umgekehrt und «vom König nach Hause zurückgeschlichen sind». Wie markig aber putschte er «die edlen Herren der Franken» auf: «Ihr Männer, da Ihr den Herrn verehrt und allezeit, wenn Ihr unter Gottes Gnade die Heimat verteidigtet, unbesieglich gewesen seid, fasset Mut, wenn Ihr daran denkt, an den ja doch ganz heidnisch rasenden Feinden das vergossene fromme Blut Eurer Eltern zu rächen ... Jetzt, Krieger, auf, nun Ihr die Verbrecher selbst vor Augen habt, folgt

mir ... nicht unsere Schmach, sondern die des Allmächtigen zu rächen greifen wir unsere Feinde in Gottes Namen an» (Annales Fuldenses).

Von den frommen Franken wurde nun «ein Schlachtgeschrei bis zum Himmel erhoben» und dort auch prompt erhört, was ja nicht immer so ist. Aber da jetzt «die Christen mordend andrangen», schmissen sie die Heiden «haufenweise» in den Fluß, «zu Hunderten und Tausenden ..., so daß ihre Leichen das Wasser stauten ...» Zwei Könige, Siegfried und Gottfried, wurden getötet, 16 königliche Feldzeichen im Triumph nach Bayern geschickt, Prozessionen befohlen. Arnulf selbst «hielt mit dem ganzen Heer Umzug, Gott Lob singend, der solchen Sieg den Seinen gab ...»

Denn, ja, wahrhaftig, nur «uno homine» hatte die christliche Seite verloren (was muß das für ein Teufel gewesen sein!), die andere aber «tanta milia hominum»! Katholische Geschichtsschreibung. Dabei standen dort zwar «Verbrecher», doch zugleich, so hebt der Annalist zur Erhöhung der eignen Leistung stolz hervor, focht «das Volk der Dänen, das tapferste unter den Normannen», das «niemals früher» in einer Verschanzung besiegt worden sei. Jahrhundertelang feierte man in Löwen diesen wunderbaren Sieg, seit dem die Normannen immerhin das ostfränkische Reich verschonten (ein letzter Raubzug bis Bonn und Prüm im nächsten Jahr beiseite).

Es war überhaupt ein wunderreiches Jahr.

Denn eben anno 891, als Bischof Embricho von Regensburg alt und «glücklich» starb, da brannte auch Regensburg ab: «durch göttliche Rache auf wunderbare Weise plötzlich in Flammen stehend, verbrannte am 10. August mit allen Bauten, auch Kirchen, ausgenommen das Haus des hl. Emmeram des Märtyrers und die Kirche des hl. Cassian, die obwohl mitten in der Stadt liegend, gegen das Feuer von Gottes wegen geschützt wurden». Da göttliche Rache, die (fast) die ganze Stadt, auch Kirchen, verschlang; dort aber zwei Kirchengebäude «von Gottes wegen» gerettet (Annales Fuldenses).[13]

O this wonderful work of the Lord!

-The paths are often crooked and yet straight,
Then you let the children go with you;
it often looks wondrous,
but in the end your high counsel tritimphes.

THE (GERMAN) DRnHG AFTER STBt'i

King Arnulf had a new palace built in Regensburg. The city had already been the central palace of Louis the German, a center of the Eastern mission, a center of caravan t r a d e with Bohemia, Moravia, Hungary - everything essentially Christian and Western was concentrated here, the power of state, church and money. Re8ensburg became the city with which Arnulf (who often, like his father and grandfather, also visited the palaces of Ötting and Ranshofen) probably felt most connected, where a third of his charters were issued, at least four imperial assemblies were held by him and numerous stays are attested. For scholars, this choice of his heartland not only reflects his own past, "but also the emphasis on Louis the German's tradition and the priority of south-eastern politics, as well as Arnulf's keen sense of political realities" (Störmer).

In other words, the (German) drive towards the East is
King Arnulf already clearly.

Immediately after his 'coup d'état', he retired to consolidate his position on his most important power base, now strong enough to easily suppress the attempted rebellion of his younger cousin Bernhard in Swabia. Bernhard (ca. 7T-8pi/
8qz), illegitimate like Arntilf, was the son of Emperor Charles III, who
88y Bernhard could not assert himself as heir to the throne (as Charles did two years later with the adoption of Louis, son of Boso of Vienne and a Carolingian on his mother's side). But

Bernhard, who probably sought to re-establish his father's original kingdom, did not want to relinquish his rights to the throne even after Arnulf's elevation to East Frankish king. He rose up in 88q in alliance with nobles from Raetia and Alemannia, including Abbot Bernhard of St. Gall (who was then deposed by Arnulf), but was killed a year later when Margrave Rudolf of Raetia defeated the Putsches.

Arnulf himself led a strong army against the Abodrites in the late summer of 88q, shortly after meeting with his grandees and many bishops, including Sunderold of Mainx and Willibert of Cologne, in Frankfurt. However, this time he was unable to achieve anything in the north and celebrated the "birthday of the Lord" in Regensburg in a dignified manner.

And it continues with church visits, war campaigns, constant praying and killing. In particular, in the last years of the q. Century almost continuously intervened in Moravia. Admittedly he had made peace with him s 5. as it had gradually become too strong, and had even made Swatopluk the godfather of his son Zwentibold. But all this did not last long, and soon we returned to the usual mode of transportation."

RHEEREHDE KRIEGB WITH HRBN

-'In the year of the divine incarnation 8po-, reports Abbot Regino, the Duke of the Moravians, "puffed up with the arrogance of pride", rose up against the king. Naturally, the king raided the Moravian kingdom with soldiers and razed everything he could find outside the cities to the ground. Finally, since all fruit-bearing trees were uprooted, Zwentibolch asked for peace and obtained it late enough by giving his son as a hostage! But Arnulf, who apparently practised the tactic of "scorched earth" in the east, still found time, as we know from other sources.

Quelle erfahren, auf die Reichenau zu gehn, «um zu beten» und dann wieder mal in Regensburg «den Geburtstag Christi» zu feiern.

Und nachdem er 892, diesmal auf dem Königshof Ulm, abermals «in würdiger Weise den Geburtstag des Herrn» begangen, zieht er erneut «nach Osten», in bester Absicht, «in der Hoffnung, dort mit Herzog Zwentibald zusammenzutreffen». Doch Swatopluk, «dieser Kopf voll Trug und List», war einfach nicht friedfertig. Er weigerte sich schlicht, «zum König zu kommen», so daß der König zu ihm kommen mußte, was umso leichter ging, als er inzwischen Ostfranken fest im Griff hatte. Und vielleicht trauerte er ja auch früher gemachten Konzessionen nach. «Jedenfalls war er es, der den Krieg eröffnete» (Reindel). Er war es, der wieder «die Oberhoheit des deutschen Königs über das Großmährische Reich» erstrebte (Stadtmüller). Es hatte unter Swatopluk – kaum zu Unrecht gelegentlich der erste große Panslawist, vom Papst «König der Slawen» genannt – seine größte Machtentfaltung gewonnen. Im Süden dehnte es sich zu beiden Seiten der Donau bis zur Drau und Save aus, im Osten bis zum bulgarischen Reich, im Norden über das von ihm unterworfene Böhmen beinahe bis gegen die Saale hin. Und sein Einfluß soll «bis zu den Elbslawen und an die Weichsel» (Löwe) gereicht haben.

Gerade diese Machtfülle freilich provozierte den Ostfranken. Mit drei Kriegshaufen, mit Franken, Bayern, Alemannen, fiel er im Juli 893 abermals in Mähren ein und ließ sogar die Ungarn für sich kämpfen, diese unchristlichen Teufel, die damit ein katholischer König ins katholische Abendland gerufen, dem sie bald die Hölle heiß machen sollten, wie man Arnulf auch vorwarf (und noch vorwirft). «Vier Wochen hindurch verweilte er daselbst mit einer solchen Übermacht ... das ganze Land niederbrennend». Und besuchte wieder im Winter überall in Lothringen «Klöster und Bischofssitze, um zu beten» (Annales Fuldenses).[15]

In jenem Jahr war auch Arn, «der ehrwürdige Bischof von Würzburg» (855–892), einmal mehr zum Schlachten der Slawen ausgezogen, diesmal jedoch umgekommen. Zweifellos war Bischof Arn, den die christlichen Nachfahren der Heiden, die ihn

and venerated as a saint, a man with "Easter leadership". Research praises him as a military leader in "at least four campaigns" and, in the same breath, so closely connected, as a "guardian of the missionary tasks of his diocese" (Wendehorst), asserting that his "diocesan concern" was -above all the Christianization and expansion of the church organization (Störmer).

Unfortunately, we do not know much about Bishop Arn's talents as a general. However, as the Fulda Yearbooks show, the war-monger, representative of a pronounced "vita activa" (Störmer), was not able to give the Bohemians a chance.

7- in one fell swoop, after all, "*44 cleared and saddled and robbed an equal number of shields are accordingly "cheerful" to further "mission tasks".

and further -christianization- of the world.

A new campaign against Moravia took place as early as 8q3. It was the year that brought a terrible end to the sons of two margraves, the brothers Engilschalk 1 and Wilhelm.

The eponymous scion of Engilschalk, Engilschalk II, had once robbed an illegitimate daughter of Arnulf, fled to Moravia, but was soon accepted into grace and became Margrave in the East again. For this reason, however, he incurred the enmity of the Bavarian greats and was condemned and blinded by them when he unsuspectingly entered the Regensburg Palatinate in 8q3, allegedly without the king's knowledge. When his cousin William, fearing for his life, turned to Swatopluk, he was beheaded as a traitor. And when William's brother, Count Rudbert, fled to Swatopluk, he had him - "along with many others", with all his companions - assassinated. All of the possessions of the victims on both sides of the Danube were confiscated and given in part to Abbot Snelpero of Kremsmünster Abbey, one of the main beneficiaries of the tragedy. Arnulf now marched into Duke Swatopluk's realm again, this time allied with the Bulgarians, and "plundered most of it ...", but managed to hold out and only - with great difficulty - return to Bavaria. - And in the Emmeram monastery it was later said that he attributed his rescue to St. Emmeram, his patron saint (p. 3oz)."

Die fränkischen Kriegszüge 892 und 893 waren mißlungen, obwohl Arnulf Großmähren, mit Hilfe der Ungarn und der Bulgaren, jedesmal von zwei Seiten angegriffen hatte (ein altes «Staatskunst»-Verfahren bis heute: zwei Partner fallen über einen Dritten her und zerfleischen sich dann gegenseitig). Swatopluks Macht blieb ungebrochen.

Im nächsten Jahr aber kamen die Ungarn wieder. Diesmal jedoch ungerufen. Und sie führten auch nicht für, sondern gegen Arnulf Krieg. «Die Männer und alten Weiber töteten sie insgesamt, nur die jungen schleppten sie wie Vieh mit sich, ihrer Lust zu frönen, und verwüsteten ganz Pannonien bis zur Vernichtung» (Annales Fuldenses). Nicht von ungefähr ruft Bischof Liutprand von Cremona erregt: «O blinde Herrschsucht des Königs Arnulf! o unseliger, schmerzlicher Tag! Um ein einziges Menschenkind zu demütigen, wird ganz Europa in Not und Jammer gestürzt. O blinder Ehrgeiz! wie viele Frauen machst du zu Witwen, wie viele Väter beraubst du ihrer Kinder, wie vielen Jungfrauen raubst du die Ehre, wie vielen Priestern Gottes samt ihren Gemeinden die Freiheit; wie viele Kirchen veröden durch dich, wie viele bewohnte Gebiete legst du, verblendeder Ehrgeiz, wüst!»[17]

Nach dem Ungarnsturm schien es den Bayern freilich an der Zeit, mit den Mährern Frieden zu schließen. Doch lange dauerte er nicht. Zwar kaum wegen innerstaatlicher Miseren, großer Hungersnöte, die gerade seinerzeit weite Teile Ostfrankens heimsuchten. Zweimal, 895 und 897, meldet sie der Annalist fast gleichlautend «im ganzen Land Baiern, so daß man an sehr vielen Orten vor Hunger starb». Aber auch 893 hatte man gehungert, 889 sogar eine übermäßig schwere Hungersnot erlitten, natürlich nicht die Edelschicht. Bei ihr fiel statt dessen ins Gewicht, daß mittlerweile Herzog Swatopluk I., dieser «Urquell jeder Treulosigkeit», dieser nach Menschenblut dürstende Vampir, 894 gar «unselig sein Leben» beendet hatte – und natürlich nicht ohne zuletzt noch die Seinen zu beschwören, «nicht Liebhaber des Friedens zu werden» (Annales Fuldenses), sondern Feinde der bösen Nachbarn zu bleiben.

Und das wollten ja auch die Nachbarn.

King Arnulf, not unjustifiably feeling ever stronger, knew what to do. First he held an imperial assembly at the palace of Tribur in the summer of 8qy, then "he went to the monastery of Fulda to pray. He then received messengers from the Sorbs at the royal court of Salz an der Saale, followed by Bohemian dukes in Regensburg, who demanded help against their enemies, the Moravians, by whom they were often, as they themselves testified, harshly oppressed at the time. The king and emperor received these dukes kindly, gave them ample words of comfort and allowed them to leave for their homeland happy and honored with gifts; and throughout the autumn of that year he stayed in the neighboring towns north of Danube and Regen, also with the intention of being ready with his faithful when his help was needed for the above-mentioned people" (Annales Fiildenses)."

Understandably, this was soon the case. For although Swatopluk's sons Mojmir II and Swatopluk II had made peace with the East Franks after their father's death, they were soon unable to keep any peace between themselves, which was probably also due to their peace with the East Franks, whose sninde now seemed to have come. Such hostilities now broke out between the two sons "that if one had been able to reach and seize the other with his strength, he would have been condemned to death" (Annales Fuldenses).

Arnulf, who took sides with his younger brother Swatopluk II. Arnulf, who took sides with his younger brother Swatopluk II, took advantage of this situation, which was certainly sent by God, to devastate the territory of Mojmir with fire and sword and to slay many Slavs; a good Christian-Catholic work, which the margraves Liutpold and Aribo carried out for him, although they also humiliated "with fire and sword …, plundered and murdered" those whom they were supposed to protect and liberate. However, Aribo himself had turned the brothers against each other and had only started the Moravian civil war in order to make loot. Aribo was briefly removed, but was soon pardoned completely and reinstated to his old office."

Mojmir's autocracy also marked the beginning of the restoration of the

lung der kirchlichen «Ordnung». Unter Übersendung reicher Geschenke an Papst Johann IX. erbat der Fürst für seine verwaiste Kirche neue Bischöfe und erhielt sie prompt. Doch intensivierte die Errichtung einer nationalen Kirche in Mähren noch die Feindschaft mit Bayern. Denn der Krieg wurde mit derselben Erbitterung jetzt gleichsam auch religiös geführt.

Bereits während des Winters 898 «drangen die Fürsten der Baiern mit ihren Leuten tapfer und gewaltig» in Mähren ein, durchzogen es «mit starker Mannschaft», verheerten, raubten, klauten, kurz, «sammelten Beute und kehrten mit dieser heim». Und schon im Sommer 899 überfielen die Bayern Mähren erneut, ja unternahmen nun dorthin gleich zwei Kriegszüge, «plünderten und verwüsteten, was sie konnten», wobei sie beim zweitenmal den gefangengehaltenen jungen Swatopluk samt Genossen aus dem Gefängnis befreiten und «aus Mitleid» mit sich fort führten, nicht ohne vorher die Stadt in Brand gesteckt zu haben. Und noch im Jahr 900 durchwüteten und durchsengten sie gemeinsam mit den Böhmen drei Wochen lang das Mährische Reich, nichts als Zerstörung erreichend – «und kehrten zuletzt glücklich und wohlbehalten nach Hause zurück» (Annales Fuldenses). Dann aber bekam man selbst genug mit den Ungarn zu tun.[20]

Und auch im Westen gab es Turbulenzen.

Die politische «Schlüsselfigur» der Zeit, Erzbischof Fulco von Reims, dreht sich wie ein Wetterhahn

Nach der Absetzung Karls III. und der Anerkennung Arnulfs von Kärnten hatte der karolingische Großstaat sich endgültig aufgelöst und die führende Schicht in den diversen Reichsteilen die Könige der Nachfolgeländer aus ihren eigenen Reihen bestimmt. Es erinnert, bei allen Unterschieden, etwas an die letzten Zukkungen der Merowingerdynastie (IV 279 ff.).

Im Westreich, aus dem Arnulf Thronangebote abgelehnt hatte,

what the development of a "German" empire after the act *>° 43 (p. izz ff.), two parties fought each other. The stronger group crowned the Robertine Count Odo of Paris, the son of Robert the Brave, a non-Carolingian, since Charles, the second-born son of Louis the Stemler, was not yet eligible to become ruler. The act of coronation took place on zq. February 888 in the Palatinate of Compicgne by the young Archbishop Walther of Sens, who was completely absorbed in politics and to whom Paris was subject as a suffragan bishopric. King Odo (888-8q8), who was occasionally able to prostrate himself at a saint's tomb in the midst of a campaign, "praying atifs most fervently and shedding "many tears" (Annales Vedastini), was, thanks to the favor of Emperor Charles the Fat, lord of all the (particularly -warlike) counties on the Loiie, also possessed some of the most famous abbeys (St-Martin in Tours, St-Germain-des-Prés, St-Denis, St-Amand) and had a considerable part of the episcopate behind him. He vowed in a document to increase and expand the church's possessions to the best of his ability, promised to defend the Christian principles of faith and only then d i d he take the oath of allegiance.

Archbishop Fulco of Reims (883-9oo) led the other party that rose up against him in Odo's own realm, probably because Archbishop Walter of Sens, a supporter of his own see, had anointed Odo king. Fulco, who succeeded Hinkmar in Reims in 883 through the favor of Hugh Abbas (p. zyq f.), was a political "key figure" (Hlawitschka), a pastor w h o fortified Reims, the abbey of St-Bertin, who also had the first two episcopal castles built in Omont and Epernay, but above all Fulco was a spiritual opportunist of the most edifying kind. Initially, he favored Duke Wido of Spoleto, who had been adopted by the pope, summoned him and, shortly before Odo's election, had him crowned king in Langres by the local bishop Geilo. Geilo, previously a supporter of the usurper **Boso,** thanked Boso for considerable property allocations and now probably expected further advantages from Wido. And Fulco was with

Wido verwandt und hätte gern einen seiner Sippe mit der westfränkischen Königskrone gesehen.

Angesichts der tatsächlichen Machtverhältnisse resignierte Wido freilich und kehrte nach Italien zurück. Erzbischof Fulco aber unterwarf sich nach dem Fehlschlag mit Wido König Odo und legte auf ihn im Frühjahr 888 einen Treueid ab. Um sich indes vor Isolierung zu bewahren, seine Macht zu stützen, suchte Fulco noch im Juni Arnulf von Kärnten während des Reichstags in Frankfurt auf und bot jetzt ihm die Krone Westfrankens an. Begleitet wurde der Erzbischof bei diesem edlen Unterfangen von den Bischöfen Dodilo von Cambrai, Honorat von Beauvais, Hetilo von Noyon, dem aus seinem Bistum verjagten Erzbischof Johannes von Rouen sowie dem Abt Rudolf von St. Omer und St. Vaast; letzteres jenes Kloster bei Arras, in dem seinerzeit ein Mönch die Jahrbücher von St. Vaast, die Annales Vedastini, niederschrieb.[21]

Aber Arnulf hatte durch das Debakel Karls des Dicken wohl erkannt, daß das großfränkische regnum von einem einzelnen kaum noch zu regieren war. So verzichtete er nicht nur auf das Westreich, sondern auch auf Italien und die Provence. Er entließ Erzbischof Fulco «ohne Rat und Trost» und traf sich mit Odo (nach dessen Triumph über die Normannen am 24. Juni in den Argonnen) im August 888 in Worms. Dort schloß er mit ihm ein Freundschaftsbündnis, schickte ihm eine Krone, mit der Odo am 13. November 888 in Notre-Dame zu Reims, in Anwesenheit ostfränkischer Gesandter, sich ein zweites Mal krönen ließ – eine «Befestigungskrönung» –, und zwar durch den Reimser Erzbischof Fulco!

Doch spätestens 892 kehrte Fulco auch dem von ihm gekrönten Odo wieder den Rücken und verschwor sich gegen ihn, u. a. mit den Bischöfen der Reimser Kirchenprovinz, die zu seinem Anhang zählten, wie Riculf von Soissons, Hetilo von Noyon und Herilandus von Thérouanne; von außerhalb der Provinz stieß Bischof Teutbald von Langres dazu, der Fulco sein Bischofsamt verdankte. Und am 28. Januar 893 weihte kein anderer als Erzbischof Fulco in Reims nun Karl III. den Einfältigen (893–923),

den Sohn Ludwigs des Stammlers, einen gerade dreizehnjährigen Jungen, zum König (sein Beiname stammt aus späterer Zeit). Zwar war er ein Karolinger, der letzte Nachkömmling ihrer westfränkischen Linie, somit ein durchaus rechtmäßiger Reichserbe. Doch Fulco hatte Odo vier Jahre lang, von 888 bis 892, als rechtmäßigen König anerkannt, ihm auch Treue geschworen – und jetzt lesen wir: «Und alle verschworen sich gegen König Odo» (Annales Vedastini).[22]

Freilich machte nicht Karls «Legalität» den Prälaten zu seinem Fürsprecher, sondern «die offenkundige Feindschaft und der Haß gegen Odo». Unermüdlich agitierte er wider diesen und für seinen Schützling. Angeregt von Fulco, ergriff auch Papst Formosus für Karl Partei, billigte Odo aber weiterhin den Königstitel zu. Und nach Ostern 893 zog das Reimser Kirchenhaupt unter Mitnahme des jungen Königs gar mit Truppen gegen Odo. Dieser jedoch lehrte sie laufen, drang in die Francia ein, verwüstete, raubte, entvölkerte, belagerte Reims, das Karl im September 893 mit einem starken Heer befreite. «Und so kommen wechselweise auf beiden Seiten viele ums Leben; man verübt gewaltig viel Böses, unzählige Räubereien und beständige Plünderungen» (Regino von Prüm). – Gerade auch Kirchen und Klöster waren seit langem und weithin immer wieder geplündert, geraubt, zerstört worden, und natürlich von gläubigen Christen.

Dann schließt man einen Waffenstillstand, worauf Erzbischof Fulco Hilfe für Karl den Einfältigen sucht, zunächst, indem er gegen Wido Stellung nimmt, bei Arnulf, dann bei dessen erbittertem Gegner Wido, den er auch wissen läßt, daß Arnulf gegen ihn einen Feldzug vorbereite. Nach Ablauf des Waffenstillstands führte Odo im Frühjahr 894 erneut sein Kriegsvolk vor Reims, worauf König Karl zu Arnulf floh, der sich nun für Karl und gegen Odo entschied, was aber die Machtverhältnisse im westfränkischen Reich nicht änderte.

Als Karl aus Ostfranken zurückkam, erwartete ihn Odo schon kampfbereit an der Aisne, und Karl sah sich jäh von zahlreichen Grafen und Bischöfen verlassen. Ja, als Odo gar auf dem Wormser Reichstag 895 die Anerkennung Arnulfs fand, der sich jetzt

Charles failed, Charles, probably at the suggestion of Fulco, his leading statesman, now made contact with Arnulf's son, Zwentibold, who had just been elevated to king of Lotharingia. But no sooner had the latter invaded the western kingdom in support of Charles than he led some of its magnates to apostasy, and now Charles and Archbishop Fulco, having become suspicious, secretly turned to Odo and came to an understanding with him, without, of course, being able to trust him. Archbishop Fulco therefore sought, via Pope Formosus, an alliance with Emperor Lambert, the son of Wido, who had died at the end of 8q¢, but this failed, as Arnulf himself t o o k the imperial crown in Rome in mid-February.

And so things went haywire in the Western Empire. People murdered,

made peace, ravaged, continued to murder. Even church princes were no longer sacrosanct. Bishop David of Lausanne had already been killed in 85o. Bishop Theutbold of Langres was blinded in 8s4 BEFORE Charles' followers, Duke Richard of Burgundy and his followers, and the Archbishop of Sens was imprisoned. In 8q5, Archbishop Fulco just managed to escape an accidental encounter with opponents, but his companion, Count Adelung, fell by the wayside.

After Odo had conquered Reims in the early summer of 8q6, the local bishop Fulco, hitherto a staunch supporter of Charles, naturally switched over to the victor and was now, at least outwardly, on his side; -embarrassed-, as the "Annales Vedastini" excuse him, -and did everything he ordered him to do". Charles fled, but reached an agreement the following summer with Odo, who had fallen seriously ill in the meantime, had secured Charles a territory and the succession to the office of king by treaty, and died at the beginning of January 8q8.

As a result, Charles the Simple at Rheims "returned to his father's throne; he became the sole ruler of western Francia and the basis for Carolingian restitution in the west was created. Although Odo had left no heir, he had always all too obviously ensured that his house power was strengthened and that his own clan was promoted, much to the annoyance of Adcl.

ne zu vermachen – ein bedeutendes Machtpotential vermittelt: die Basis für eine robertinische Sonderposition, die 922/923 Robert I. und 987 Hugo Capet zur Gewinnung des Thrones nutzten.

Erzbischof Fulco, unterdessen noch zum Erzkanzler erhoben, war jedoch am 16. Juni 900 von einem Dienstmann Balduins II., Graf von Flandern (infolge eines Besitzstreites um die reiche Abtei St-Vaast zu Arras, die vordem Balduin gehörte) «ungesäumt» erschlagen worden (Annales Vedastini). – (Wenige Jahre später wurde der Straßburger Bischof Otbert von seinen Diözesanen vertrieben und ermordet, auch Erzbischof Arnustus von Narbonne umgebracht, nachdem man ihm zuvor die Augen ausgestochen sowie Zunge und Genitalien ausgerissen hatte.)[23]

Eine eigene Rolle spielte zwischen West und Ost auch das «Land dazwischen».

KÖNIG ZWENTIBOLDS (HEILIGES) ENDE ODER SO WAR DAS LEBEN NUN MAL IN DEN GEHOBENEN CHRISTLICHEN KREISEN

Lotharingien, nach dem Tod Lothars II. im Vertrag von Meersen 870 zwischen West- und Ostfranken geteilt, war ein Jahrzehnt darauf durch den Vertrag von Ribémont ganz zum Ostfränkischen Reich gekommen, in dem es eine Sonderstellung erhielt. Blieb es doch auch später als Teilreich ein recht eigenständiges Land mit separater Kanzlei unter wechselnden Herren; blieb es als historische Landschaft etwas von «Germania» und von «Gallia» oder, anders gesagt, das «Land dazwischen», das für die Ostfranken in Gallien lag, doch auch für die Westfranken fast ein fremdes Gebiet und Volk war – die «Lotharienses». Selbst als es seit dem 10. Jahrhundert zum regnum teutonicum, zum sogenannten Heiligen Römischen Reich gehörte, gehörte es, behauptet jedenfalls Karl Ferdinand Werner, «nicht zu Deutschland».

Infolge der Geburt seines Halbbruders Ludwig IV. des Kindes 893, des einzigen Sohnes von Arnulf aus gültiger Ehe (mit der

Conradine Ota), Zwentibold, the son of Frederick, lost the prospect of succession to the throne that had been secured for him. Despite initial resistance, first from the East Frankish and then the Lotharingian grandees, King Arnulf succeeded in having the illegitimate Zwentibold, so named after his godfather, the Moravian Duke Swatopluk (Zwentibald), appointed king of Lotharingia at the Diet of Worius in 8qJ and anointed according to the West Franconian model. It was to be the last completely independent Lotharingian kingdom and a momentous event, least of all to the advantage of the German side."

King Zwentibold (8qy-too) ruled an autonomous kingdom under the feudal lordship of his father. Fierce and unbridled himself, he led a restless, troubled r e i g n in a land that was shaken by robbers, bush knights and bloody feuds from the Frisians in the north to Burgundy and the Elsa0 and which he shattered even more t h e more he was able to rule over it. He issued charters and laws independently, disposed of imperial property, was also independent in foreign policy and did not take part in the imperial armies. However, he ruled as usual with episcopal support. His court chapel was led by Archbishop Hermann I of Cologne, his chancery by Archbishop Ratböd of Trier, who had a very great influence on him for a time. In km, however, the bishops fell away from Zwentibold and j o i n e d the new King Louis IV and East Francia.

King Arnulf had arranged the matter carefully, even in Lotharingia itself, where the local grandee, Count Megingaud of Mayenfeldgau, a nephew of King Odo (even called "-dux" by a later source), jumped over the blade in good time Count Alberich insidiously killed him in t h e year of the divine incarnation 8qz-on z8. August at Rethel in the monastery of St. Xystus - and King Arnulf then bestowed Megingaud's fiefs and offices on his scion Zwentibold¡ a first step towards his incorporation, so to speak. The murderer of Count Megingaud, Count Alberich by the way, was killed four years later.

später, «um das Fest des hl. Andreas», von dem Grafen Stephan liquidiert. Und der Mörder Graf Stephan seinerseits wieder fünf Jahre danach, bei besonders romantischem Ambiente, «als er in nächtlicher Stunde auf dem Abort sitzend seinen Leib entleerte, von irgend jemand durch das Fenster des Gemaches mit einem vergifteten Pfeile . . .» (sagittae toxicatae).[26]

So war das Leben nun mal in den gehobenen christlichen Kreisen – so oder ähnlich kam man hinein, so oder ähnlich hielt man sich darin oder nicht; doch all dies und derlei tausendfach mehr blieb Kleinarbeit neben den «großen historischen» Taten.

Zunächst zwar standen die kirchlichen Repräsentanten wie die des Hochadels, die Grafen Reginar, Odakar, Wigerich, Richwin loyal zum neuen König. Doch bald geriet Zwentibold in Konflikt mit den in Lotharingien besonders zahlreichen großen Feudalfamilien (kein Honiglecken, wie gerade am Rande und mehr punktuell gezeigt). Und dem lokalen Adel fiel schließlich auch er zum Opfer.

Zuerst verfeindete er sich mit dem in den Ardennen begüterten Matfridinger-Clan, den Grafen von Metz, den Brüdern Gerhard und Matfrid II. Ihnen und einigen anderen «Edlen», wie dem Grafen Stephan, entzog Zwentibold «im Jahr der göttlichen Menschwerdung 897» Lehen und Würden und verteilte ihre Ländereien oder ihren monastischen Besitz unter seine Leute. – «Wollte man einen Getreuen oder Verwandten beschenken, so waren die Abteien gerade recht» (Parisse); wobei der König einige Klöster, in Trier, in Metz, natürlich auch sich selbst zukommen ließ.[27]

Schließlich überwarf sich Zwentibold 898 auch mit seinem bisherigen Ratgeber und Günstling, dem mächtigsten seiner Großen, dem zwischen Maas und Schelde weithin mit Land gesegneten Grafen Reginar I. (Langhals), einem Enkel Kaiser Lothars I., Laienabt des Klosters Echternach im Bistum Trier und der St. Servatiusabtei zu Maastricht. Der maasländische Feudalmagnat rief Karl den Einfältigen, den westfränkischen König, zu Hilfe, und der, vorsichtig wie sein Großvater, aber auch gierig wie dieser, drang bis Aachen und Nymwegen vor. Der gänzlich überraschte Zwentibold floh; doch mit dem Beistand des streitbaren Bischofs Franko

of Liège and his troops, as well as other civic leaders, he brought Charles back to his kingdom in the fall of 8q8 without a fight, after negotiations. And although the peace treaty of St. Goar the following year under Arnulf's mediation secured Lotharingia for Zwentibold for the time being, the course was probably already secretly set for his overthrow after the emperor's death.

For the time being, however, the power of the rebellious regent was still unbroken. Together with other oppressors, such as Count Odakar, he had taken up residence in the heavily fortified Dtirofostum or Dudos on the Meuse, with his possessions, wife and child. Zwentibold w a s unable to conquer it in two campaigns, even with all his might (Regino von Prüm). And since the bishops - who had previously favored Zwentibold, but ultimately fleeced him somewhat, depriving him of his "ecclesiastical fortune" - did not banish the party of the rebels, as Zwentibold had demanded, but switched over to them, his fate and that of the kingdom of Lotharingia would have been sealed, atich if he had not struck his own archchancellor, Archbishop Ratbod of Trier, perhaps during the last siege of Durfos, "against the priestly dignity with a stick on the head" (Annales Fuldenses).

The rebels around Count Reginar and the high clergy finally called on Louis the Child to seize power in Lotharingia. However, after their homage in Diedenhofen, Louis left again without having eliminated Zwentibold. He gathered new supporters, but lost his kingdom and his life on August 3rd at a "meeting" on the middle or lower Meuse. His slayers were the counts Stephen, Matfrid and Gerard, whom he had r o b b e d of their fiefdoms three years earlier. And Gerard, just a few months after killing the king, took his wife Ota as a special reward.

While Zwentibold's opponent Count Reginar now expanded his power, acquiring the abbeys of Stavelot and Malmedy in addition to the abbeys of Echternach and St. Servatius in Maastricht

Zwentibold, who was eliminated with the help of the clergy, at least came into the court of holiness. At least in the Süsteren monastery, where his two daughters (of Ota), Cäcilia and Benedikta, ruled as abbesses and where he was laid to rest, he began to be venerated as a saint, especially as one of his teeth often proved to be miraculous in cases of toothache. And his two daughters, whose relics also worked miracles, were also regarded as saints here."

Things were no better in Catholic Franconia than in Catholic Italy, and certainly not in papal Italy, where ever more confused and confusing times were dawning, with aristocratic turmoil, priestly crimes and affairs about which we are often left in the dark.

2. Arnulf von Kärnten: Papsttum und Italien

Luxus und Verbrechen

Man versteht schnell die ebenso intrigen- wie blutreichen Kämpfe dort, stellt man sich einmal Wohlleben und Reichtum dieser – ja schon in der Antike (vgl. bes. III 5. Kap.) – im Überfluß schwelgenden Prälaten vor, einen unverschämten Luxus, wie ihn gerade für das späte 9. Jahrhundert Gregorovius beschreibt, und keinesfalls nur für Rom, sondern auch für die Bischöfe Italiens «in Stadt und Land»: «Sie wohnten in prachtvollen Gemächern, die von Gold, Purpur und Samt strahlten; sie speisten gleich Fürsten auf goldenem Geschirr; sie schlürften ihren Wein aus köstlichen Bechern oder Trinkhörnern. Ihre Basiliken starrten von Ruß, aber ihre dickbäuchigen Obbae oder Weingefäße glänzten von Malerei. Wie beim Gastmahl des Trimalchio ergötzte ihre Sinne der Anblick schöner Tänzerinnen und die ‹Symphonie› von Musikanten. Sie schlummerten in den Armen ihrer Beischläferinnen auf seidenen Kissen in künstlich mit Gold ausgelegten Bettgestellen, während ihre Vasallen, Kolonen und Sklaven ihren Hofstaat versorgten. Sie würfelten, jagten und schossen mit den Bogen. Sie verließen ihren Altar, an dem sie, mit Sporen an den Füßen und ein Dolchmesser an der Seite, Messe gelesen, und ihre Kanzel, um auf goldgezäumte Pferde mit sächsischen Sätteln zu steigen und ihre Falken fliegen zu lassen. Wenn sie reisten, umgab sie der Schwarm ihrer Hofschranzen, und sie fuhren in kostbaren Wagen mit Rossen, deren sich kein König würde geschämt haben.»[29]

Bleibt dies aber nicht durch ein Jahrtausend so oder doch sehr ähnlich?

Johann VIII. war noch nicht bestattet, da wurde Marinus I. (882–884) schon sein Nachfolger. Marinus (gelegentlich falsch Martin II. genannt) war Sohn eines Priesters, bereits als Zwölfjähriger im römischen Kirchendienst und später meist päpstlicher Legat (vor allem in Byzanz gegen Photios); er wurde Schatzmei-

ster, dann als erster Bischof eines anderen Bistums (von Caére, heute Cerveteri) Papst. Dabei mißachtete er freilich das kaiserliche Bestätigungsrecht ebenso wie die kirchlichen Kanones (besonders den 15. Kanon des Nicaenums), die den Übergang der Bischöfe von einer Diözese in die andere verbieten.

Marinus gehörte zur Partei der von seinem Vorgänger exkommunizierten und verbannten Formosus von Porto, Gregor und Georg (S. 269 ff.), die nun, begnadigt, sogleich wieder das Ruder ergriffen. Formosus wurde erneut in seinen Sprengel eingesetzt, der einstige Zeremonienmeister Gregor zum Oberhofmeister befördert und wahrscheinlich, nicht unbestritten, Patriarch Photios abermals verdammt.

Von Hadrian III. (884–885) ist wenig bekannt. Und als er nach einem kurzen Pontifikat im Sommer 885 Rom verließ, um Kaiser Karl III. den Dicken in Worms zu treffen, kam er nur bis S. Cesario sul Panaro bei Modena; hier starb er plötzlich, vielleicht eines gewaltsamen Todes. Der Verdacht besteht zumindest, und bezeichnenderweise hat man seine Leiche nicht nach Rom überführt, sondern im Kloster Nonantula beigesetzt. Doch wurde dieser Heilige Vater, der die Römer bei Dürre und Hungersnot mit harten Strafen drangsalierte, 1891 wirklich «heilig», offiziell: Fest 8. Juli.

Konnte aber unter Hadrian III. die Gruppe der von Papst Johann Verbannten sich noch behaupten, sorgte der aus seinem engeren Kreis kommende Stefan V. (885–891) für ihre Beseitigung. Oberhofmeister Gregor, «sehr reich», wurde von einem kurialen Amtsbruder in der Vorhalle des Peterdomes erschlagen «und der Fußboden der Kirche, durch die er geschleppt wurde, ganz mit seinem Blute besudelt»; sein Schwiegersohn Georg vom Aventin, der päpstliche Kämmerer, wurde geblendet, Gregors Witwe nackt aus Rom gepeitscht. Nach dieser Glanzleistung beglückwünschte Erzbischof Fulco von Reims, wendig wie kaum einer (S. 311 ff.), den neuen Papst zur erfolgreichen Niederwerfung der Feinde des Heiligen Stuhles.[30]

Waren solche Feinde freilich nicht auszuschalten, versuchte man einfach, sich ihnen anzupassen, anzufreunden, wie das Ver-

halten Stephans gegenüber Wido von Spoleto zeigt. Es begann ein gänzlicher Umschwung in der päpstlichen Politik.

Wido und Berengar – Bürgerkrieg in Italien und päpstliche Schaukelpolitik

Dem längst in Italien heimisch gewordenen, seit 842 als Herzöge von Spoleto begegnenden, mit den Karolingern aber nicht verwandten fränkischen Hochadelsgeschlecht der Widonen-Lambertiner entstammend, war Wido II. von Spoleto und Camerino seinem Vater Lambert gefolgt. Außenpolitisch nach Westfranken orientiert, familiär auch mit Toskana sowie Salerno verbunden und so der eigentliche Beherrscher Mittelitaliens, suchte er in den Spuren des Vorgängers sein Territorium vor allem im Süden und nicht zuletzt auf Kosten des Kirchenstaates zu vergrößern, ja, in Italien eine eigene Dynastie zu begründen.

Schon Johann VIII., der Wido als schlimmsten Feind der Kirche haßte, hatte immer wieder Kaiser Karl III. zu Hilfe gerufen, ihn umschmeichelt und gebeten, «dem langwierigen Übel ein Ende zu machen». Nachfolger Marinus I. traf den Herrscher 883 in der reichen oberitalischen Benediktinerabtei Nonantula (bei Modena), bereits seit ihren Anfängen auch ein bedeutendes politisches Zentrum. Wido wurde nun hochverräterischer Umtriebe mit dem griechischen Basileus bezichtigt und seines Herzogtums entsetzt. Gefangengenommen, entfloh er, warb in Unteritalien Mauren an, mit denen er sich fest verband, worauf der Kaiser gegen ihn einen seiner führenden Parteigänger und Blutsverwandten schickte, den seit etwa 875 in Friaul gebietenden Markgrafen Berengar, einen Unruochinger, somit ebenfalls aus längst in Italien ansässigem fränkischem Hochadel. Der Kaiserenkel war durch seine Mutter Gisela, eine Tochter Ludwigs des Frommen, mit den Karolingern nah verwandt und unterstützte deren ostfränkischen Zweig und dessen Ansprüche auf die italienische Königswürde. Den ausbrechenden Krieg beendete indes bald eine

plague in Berengar's army, which spread throughout Italy, reaching the court and the king.

But Wido was able to hold his ground, was pardoned by Charles at the end of 4 and, for better or worse, was reinstated to his duchy. Eventually he gained such power that Pope Stephen V.,

After asking both the Greek and Frankish emperors to intervene, he then stuck with the strongest at the time, the arch-enemy of the Church, Wido II of Spoleto. He even adopted him - as John **VIII had** once adopted Boso - and won him over for a campaign against the Saracens, with Wido storming and plundering their fortress on the Garigliano in 885 and stabbing the Arab leader Arran and his 3oo followers to death near Arpaja on another occasion.

Berengar, however, was crowned king in Pavia in January 888, especially with the help of Upper Italian bishops, but in fact only ruled over Upper Italy (g i ¢). Wido had been out of the country for some time in order to obtain the West Frankish crown (p. 3iz f.), but returned across the Alps as quickly as he had arrived after his succession.

This marked the beginning of the civil war between the two Catholic princes in Italy.

After the disappointment in West Francia, Wido had immediately taken up arms against Berengar, but was unable to defeat him in an extremely bloody clash near Brescia. Both sides suffered heavy losses and concluded a brief truce, a respite that served only to rearm, strengthen and seek allies until the next meeting at the beginning of 88q on the Trebia, where Hannibal had once defeated the Romans. A murderous slaughter ensued, a battle that lasted the whole day, in which even high-ranking clergymen wielded swords and thousands lost their lives. Berengar had to give way; *ez* could now only hold his ground in eastern northern Italy (with Verona at its center). In mid-February 88q, however, Wido was proclaimed senior et rex in the Palatinate of Pavia, mainly by the bishops of northern Italy - they were "for the most part the same people who had previously been on the

stood on Berengar's side" (Dümmler). In return, Wido had to freely guarantee the protection of the church, the privileges and honors of the prelates, indeed, he promoted some of them to such an extent that he gave them all public property in their cities and also allowed them to build fortifications.

Pope Stephen V had initially favored Wido. However, he soon became uncomfortable with the new power of the Spoletinian, whose hereditary lands were in the immediate vicinity. He did not dare to openly resist him. However, like countless of his predecessors, he was used to cries for help. Stephen had already asked the Byzantine ruler to regularly send warships, even though he refused to recognize the patriarchs Pho- tios and Stephanos. The Pope had also demanded the intervention of Emperor Charles III in Italy, where he appeared six times. However, as the monarch had meanwhile died and been replaced by his nephew, King Amulf of Carinthia, he now urgently requested him to "visit Rome and St. Peter's and take possession of the Italian kingdom, freed from bad Christians and oppressive pagans". But because Arnulf, bound by internal and external opponents, refused and the requested support failed to materialize, Stephen submitted to the - sincere Christians- and crowned the most powerful man in central Italy at the time, for better or for worse, on February II, 8qz (together with the Holy Roman Emperor). February 8qz (together with his wife Ageltrude) in St. Peter's - the first emperor from a non-Carolingian dynasty, but admittedly only an Italic parti- cipal potentate, who soon had his fifteen-year-old offspring Lambert elevated to king. '[3]

Papst Formosus krönt die «Tyrannen» Italiens und ruft Arnulf auf, sie zu bekriegen

Nachfolger Stefans V. wurde Formosus (891–896), der Gründer der bulgarischen Kirche. In eine (angebliche) Verschwörung wider Kaiser und Johann VIII. verstrickt und von diesem 876 exkommuniziert, war Formosus im westfränkischen Reich, sein Anhang im Herzogtum Spoleto untergetaucht. Dann hatte er 878 dem Konzil von Troyes, nachdem er sich schuldig bekannt, eidlich versichert, seine Degradierung zum Laien anzuerkennen und nie wieder nach einem geistlichen Amt zu trachten, auch nie wieder Rom zu betreten. Er leistete diesen Eid auf die vier Evangelien, auf das Kreuz Christi, die Sandalen des Herrn, die Reliquien der Apostel, endlich bekräftigte er ihn noch unterschriftlich – und wurde am 6. Oktober 891 Papst! Er hatte, ebenso fähig wie ambitiös, sicher keinen größeren Ehrgeiz, erklärte sich aber, wie noch fast jeder seiner Vorgänger seit langem, für unwürdig; gewaltsam mußte er von seinen Wählern in Porto vom Altar der Bischofskirche, den er umklammert hielt, gerissen werden. Gewiß hatte ihn Marinus I. vom Eid wieder entbunden und erneut als Bischof in Porto eingesetzt. Gehörte ja auch Marinus, wie Formosus selbst, zu jener Partei, die durch Johanns VIII. Ermordung zur Herrschaft gelangt war.

Gleich zu Beginn seines Pontifikats klagte Formosus über «Ketzereien» und Spaltungen in der Kirche. Sein Hauptgegner wurde der Diakon Sergius, der berüchtigte spätere Papst, ein Parteigänger der Spoletiner oder der nationalen Faktion, während Formosus, dessen ganzer Anhang doch einst unter Johann VIII. in Spoleto Zuflucht gefunden, zu Arnulf und dessen Schützling Berengar stand. Gleichwohl hat Formosus unter dem Druck der Verhältnisse Wido von Spoleto, den Tyrannen Italiens, so die ostfränkischen Chronisten, anerkannt, ja, wie widerwillig immer, dessen Kaiserkrönung am 30. April 892 in Ravenna wiederholt und gleichzeitig auch Widos Sohn Lambert zum Mitkaiser gekrönt. Wie üblich wurden in einem Pactum die päpstlichen Besitztümer und Privilegien bestätigt. Als aber Wido den Beren-

In the summer of 8q3, when he had even defeated the king once more and confiscated patrimonies of the Papal States according to the old custom, when his power seemed to be growing all the time, Formosus sent King Arnulf Legalen with the once again urgent chokehold of the kingdom of Italy and the inheritance of St. Peter. Peter", i.e. the "tyrant" Widö, out Italicus regnum et res sancti Petri ad suas manus a malis christianis eru- endum adventaret- {Annales Fuldenses).[2]

THE CAPTURE OF BERGAMO S OR Eixx MoRGEHMESSB ALWAYS GIVES Knnrr

Arnulf first sent his son Zwentibold to march. Together with Berengar, he lay idle for three weeks outside Pavia's walls facing Wido and then returned, allegedly bribed by him. Now Arnulf himself followed. With a strong army, he crossed the snow-covered Alps, presumably the Brenner Pass, in January 8q¢, in the middle of a harsh winter (vines, sheep and bees were still dying in some parts of Bavaria in March). In Verona he was again reinforced by Berengar's troops and then, "around the purification of St. Mary" (e.g. February), after the celebration of Holy Mass, "at dawn he stormed Bergamo in heavy fighting and conquered it under God's guidance" (Annales Fuldenses) - an event much admired by contemporary chroniclers and later medieval historians, not least because of the love for the enemy demonstrated in the process. For Arnulf's fighters, strengthened by the Holy Mass, including Archbishop Hatto of Mainz, Bishop Waldo of Freising and the Bishop of Neutra, Chancellor Wiching, continued to carry out all kinds of Christian acts after the conquest, about which Bishop Liutprand of Cremona writes: "Priests of God were dragged away bound, consecrated virgins violated, wives ravished. Not even the churches could

den Flüchtenden eine Freistätte bieten; denn in diesen gab es Schlemmereien, unanständige Aufzüge, unzüchtige Gesänge und Trinkgelage. O Greuel! es wurden dort sogar Weiber öffentlich der Unzucht preisgegeben.» Das alles im Beisein der hochwürdigsten Herren aus Mainz, Freising und Neutra. Aber eine Morgenmesse gibt allemal Kraft.

Widos Grafen Ambrosius ließ Arnulf vor den Toren in voller Rüstung an einen Baum hängen, ebenso einen bewaffneten Kleriker Godfrid. Dagegen übergab er den Bischof Adelbert von Bergamo dem Mainzer Seelenhirten, der ihm natürlich kein Haar krümmte. Und auch Arnulf versöhnte sich sehr rasch mit dem geistlichen Ortsoberen und bestätigte ihm schon am 1. Januar 895 alle Besitzungen seiner Kirche; noch die Landgüter des ante portas strangulierten Grafen Ambrosius von Bergamo gingen in den Besitz des Bischofs von Bergamo über.[33]

Arnulf aber kam nur bis zur Lombardei.

Zwar hatte er in Mailand bereits eine Urkunde nach «dem ersten Jahr der deutschen Herrschaft in Italien» datiert. Doch mehrere Magnaten des Landes, deren Gier nach großen Lehen der König unbefriedigt ließ, stellten sich, trotz eines ihm gerade geleisteten Treueids, gegen ihn. Vor allem aber war sein Heer durch den Anmarsch im strengen Winter, durch Lebensmittelmangel und Krankheiten geschwächt, und so kehrte er im März 894 in Piacenza um. Südlich des Pos herrschte Kaiser Wido, «der Tyrann des italischen Reiches» (Annales Fuldenses), der freilich, gerade im Begriff wieder gegen Bergamo zu ziehen, noch im Herbst desselben Jahres am Fluß Taro bei Parma jäh einem Blutsturz erlag, worauf ihm sein Sohn Lambert, seit 891 schon Mitkönig, in der Herrschaft folgte.

Papst Formosus hatte Lambert an Ostern 892 in Ravenna zum Mitkaiser gesalbt und viel später noch beteuert, daß er sich von seinem «teuersten Sohn», für den er väterliche Gefühle hege, durch nichts trennen lasse. Tatsächlich wollte er sich um fast jeden Preis aus dem Griff der Widonen befreien. So schickte er auch alsbald, was die spoletinische Partei bis zur Weißglut entfachte, König Arnulf eine Gesandtschaft, die diesen erneut münd-

The Holy Father's help, as his predecessor Stephan had wanted nothing more than to remove the Spoletinians from power."

ARHULF BEARS RciM, FIGHTS THERE AND BECOMES THE FIRST FRENCH-German COUNTER EMPEROR

After consulting with the bishops, Arnulf decided to make a new visit to Rome.

In December 8q he conquered Lombardy. Then, after an extremely arduous march t h r o u g h Tuscany, accompanied by violent storms, rains and terrible horse deaths - now initially with oxen, "saddled in the manner of horses" - he arrived before Rome in February 8p6. There, however, the Spoletines, Hatre Wido's courageous widow, the Empress Ageltrude (daughter of Duke Adelchis of Benevento, who had once captured Louis II in a coup d'état: p. **7), had unexpectedly closed the gates and put the city in a state of defense.

This led to the first siege of Rome by a Frankish-German king. And again the Lord was there. According to the East Franconian chroniclers, everyone celebrated Holy Mass, confessed their sins, fasted, swore allegiance to Arnulf "with tears" and stormed Rome at the first attempt with the help, as Arnulf believed, of St. Pancratius (to whom he then built two chapels in Roding and Ranshofen). St. Pancratius (to whom he then built two chapels, in Roding and Ranshofen), the holy city from which Agel-trude quietly disappeared. Indeed, they conquered Rome "by the providence of God, without any of the king's army falling". On the other side, however, heads were still rolling during the invasion. In any case, Bishop Liut- prand reports t h a t Arnulf, "in order to make amends for the injustice done to the Pope

rächen, eine Menge vornehmer Römer, die ihm entgegeneilten, enthaupten».

Gleichwohl: Kreuze, Fahnen, Jubelgesänge. In festlicher Prozession ging's nach St. Peter, und dort krönte Papst Formosus unter Verleugnung Lamberts, den er selbst zum Kaiser gekrönt, Arnulf, den «Bastard», zum Kaiser, zum ersten fränkisch-deutschen Gegenkaiser.

Arnulf blieb nur zwei Wochen in Rom. Dann brach er Anfang März zur Eroberung Spoletos auf – nach mancherlei Gunsterweisen und seinerseits versehen mit vielen Reliquien, den kostbarsten Schätzen des Papstes, der auch andere damit eingedeckt hatte. (Den einflußreichen Hatto von Mainz zum Beispiel mit dem angeblichen Haupt und einem Glied des hl. Georg, denen Hatto auf der Reichenau eine eigene Kirche errichtete. Besaß man doch dort auch eine vom Konstanzer Bischof öffentlich anerkannte Reliquie des Evangelisten Markus! Und dies, obwohl sie durch Bischof Ratold von Verona 830 unter dem Namen «Valens» ins Kloster gelangt war. Beiläufig noch: Georg, einer der christlichen «Soldatengötter», trat allem Anschein nach an die Stelle eines arabischen Gottes, des kriegerischen Theandrites; zudem war der «hl. Georg» wahrscheinlich ein «Ketzer», nämlich Arianer, der erst in der Legende zum Katholiken wurde.)

Doch trotz des ganzen Reliquiensegens befiel Arnulf noch vor Erreichung seines Zieles eine schwere Lähmung. Wie sein Vater Karlmann (S. 251, 260) erlitt er einen Schlaganfall, die Erbkrankheit der Familie, und der so siegreich begonnene Feldzug wurde fluchtähnlich abgebrochen.[35]

Kaiser Arnulf und Papst Formosus sterben

Während die spoletinische Partei rasch wieder über Rom zu herrschen begann, kehrte der König verstört nach Regensburg zurück, wo er in fortschreitendem Siechtum noch vier Jahre lebte. Und bis zuletzt, noch im Jahr vor seinem Tod, wurde er, der doch

selbst so manchen «Bastard» in die Welt gesetzt, offenbar von Eifersucht gequält, verbreitete sich das Gerücht, «von einem seit vielen Zeiten unerhörten Verbrechen der Königin Uta», hieß es, sie gebe «ihren Körper in buhlerischer und unedler Verbindung preis». Erst 72 Eideshelfer konnten den ungeheuerlichen Verdacht vor Gericht als unbegründet erweisen.

Es war übrigens nicht der einzige Argwohn, der den todkranken, und, kaum Mitte fünfzig, am 8. Dezember 899 sterbenden Herrscher beschlich: – seine Ärzte sollten ihn gelähmt haben. Einer von ihnen floh und verbarg sich in Italien; ein anderer, ein gewisser Graman, wurde deswegen zu Ötting geköpft. Und «ein Weib, Namens Rudpurc, die als Anstifterin dieses Verbrechens durch sichere Untersuchung überführt wurde, starb in Aibling am Galgen» (Annales Fuldenses), anscheinend auf dem Königshof Aibling bei Rosenheim, wo Arnulf gelegentlich «den Geburtstag des Herrn» gefeiert hatte, bevor er nun «an der schmählichsten Krankheit» starb, weiß Liutprand von Cremona. «Von kleinen Würmern nämlich, Läusen, wie man sie nennt, wurde er aufs äußerste gequält, bis er seinen Geist aufgab. Man behauptet aber, dieses Ungeziefer habe bei ihm so überhandgenommen, daß kein ärztliches Mittel Abhilfe schaffen konnte.»[36]

Nach Arnulfs Rückzug beherrschte Lambert mit Hilfe seiner energischen Mutter, der Kaiserin Ageltrude, wieder große Teile Italiens, das er im Herbst 896 mit Berengar vertraglich geteilt. Es war jenes Jahr, in dem Lambert auch den reichen Grafen Meginfred von Mailand hinrichten, einen Sohn und Schwiegersohn desselben blenden ließ. Und sicher hätte es jetzt auch Papst Formosus, nach seinem Verrat der Spoletiner, schwer gehabt, wäre er nicht schon wenige Wochen nach Arnulfs Abzug aus Rom, am 4. April 896 einer Krankheit erlegen oder Gift.

Sein Nachfolger, Bonifatius VI. (April 896), Sohn eines Bischofs namens Hadrian, war ein Mann, so munkelte man, mit dunkler Vergangenheit und als Kleriker bereits zweimal von Johann VIII. abgesetzt worden. Ein Pöbelaufruhr soll ihn tumultuarisch auf den Heiligen Stuhl gebracht haben, allerdings nur 15 Tage, dann starb er, «wie man hört», an Podagra (bekanntlich

Gout of the foot, "especially of the big toe" (Duden). And Boniface's successor lasted a good year after all, actually a bad one, in any case an extremely curious one, as the sworn enemy of Formosus soon adorned his pontificate with a singular act, with which he probably went down in history for a long time, which is indeed all acts of infidelity, but preferably criminal ones."

THE SYNOD OF CORPSES -
A MACABRE ÑCHMIERENSTÜCE PAPALEN GBS

Stephen VI (896-897), a priest's son, initially recognized Emperor Arnulf, but when Emperor Lambert of Spoleto once again took control of Rome, he went over to him, which the great synod of Ravenna once again expressly confirmed in May 8q8. Although he had once been consecrated bishop by Formosus himself, although he himself had moved to the Roman see uncanonically, he now formally put the dead pope on trial.

The man who had been buried for nine months was now, already badly rotten, torn out of his grave by the followers of the Widons, put into pontifical vestments and probably placed on the so-called "Apostle's pyre" in St. Peter's before the "funeral synod" in **İnn JãRUa£ 97**.

stolic Smhl. The three plaintiffs, the bishops Peter of Albano, Silvester of Pono and Paschalis (with an unknown diocese) as well as a deacon, who answered in a shaky voice and of course unsatisfactorily for six.

Some pretexts were found; the half-dead man was accused of breaking his oath, although Marinus I had already absolved him of this. He was accused of ambitious ambition for the papal office, of which countless popes (and other prelates) were accused.

could also have visited. And he was accused of transferring from Porto to Rome, from one bishopric to another, which was generally forbidden at the time according to ancient tradition, but occasionally permitted. After all, his terrible judge, Pope Stephen VI, had carried out such a translation in person, namely swapping his episcopal see of Agnani for the Roman one. (But if all of Formosus' consecrations were invalid, so was Stephen's consecration as bishop of Agnani, since Formosus performed it, which of course meant that there was no longer a translation, so Stephen VI was right to s i t on the papal throne).

Perhaps it's not even the event itself, the idea of a Holy Father with a barely credible hatred, that is the most astonishing thing about something that seems like a scenario from a mental hospital, a nightmare, but the fact that an entire bishops' assembly attended this spiritual chamber of horrors for three days - whether reverently or not. In this context, it makes no difference whether Formosus was a Ga- nove or not! You can really offer humanity anything - especially the faithful ...

At the end of the macabre smear play - soon called the "shocking spectacle, the -spectator synod" (hor- renda synodus) by the sources - Formosus was declared deposed, the ordinations he had conferred were declared invalid, a decree to this effect was signed, he was cursed and orders were given to re-consecrate all those he had ordained. In keeping with protocol, the papal vestments were removed from the corpse down to a shirt, it was wrapped in lay clothes, a few fingers of the right hand, the fingers of the oath or blessing, were cut off and the body was dragged to the church. In the end, she was first thrown into a pit, where nameless strangers were buried, and then, after she had been dug up again, she was thrown naked into the Tiber - just at the time when the old basilica of the Lateran was collapsing, after which the Romans spent years rummaging through the precious pile of rubble for treasures.

Pope Stephen did not survive the procedure for long either. Still

im selben Jahr, im Juli 897, wurde er bei einer Volkserhebung, hinter der wohl die ostfränkische Partei Roms und der Anhang des Formosus standen (nicht zuletzt auch etliche Wunder, die dessen elende Leiche bewirkt haben soll), abgesetzt, seiner Insignien beraubt, in einen Klosterkerker geworfen, erwürgt – und später durch ein prächtiges Epitaph geehrt.[38]

Formosianer und Antiformosianer

Fortan bekämpften sich Formosianer und Antiformosianer in Rom, auch literarisch, in Attacken und Apologien, jahrzehntelang.

Noch im Todesjahr des ermordeten Papstes gingen die sehr kurzen Pontifikate seiner Nachfolger Romanus und Theodor II. zu Ende. Sie konnten in diesen turbulenten Tagen gerade noch Formosus rehabilitieren, ehe sie starben. Romanus, ein Bruder von Papst Marinus und Anhänger des Formosus, erklärte alle Beschlüsse des Leichenspektakels für nichtig. Doch amtierte er nur vier Monate, und über seine Amtszeit wissen wir fast nichts. Trifft eine revidierte Fassung des Liber Pontificalis zu, wurde er «hinterher zum Mönch gemacht», das heißt in einem Kloster verwahrt.

Und Theodor II., der im Spätherbst 897 bloß zwanzig Tage regierte, annulierte auf einer römischen Kirchenversammlung abermals alle Verfügungen des Kadaverkonzils, erkannte die Weihen des Formosus an, ließ die Absetzungsurkunden Stephans VI. verbrennen und bestattete aufs feierlichste die von Tiberfischern (oder von Mönchen) aufgefundenen Reste des Formosus, vor denen sich, als sie im Sarg lagen, sogar einige Heiligenbilder in St. Peter «ehrfurchtsvoll verneigten. Dieses habe ich von den gottesfürchtigsten Einwohnern der Stadt Rom oftmals gehört», versichert der Bischof Liutprand, ohne mit der Wimper zu zucken. Weder der genaue Tag von Theodors II. Amtsantritt noch der seines Todes sind bekannt, noch der Grund für seinen frühen Tod.[39]

Nun machten die Gegner des Formosus den Bischof Sergius von Caëre (heute Cerveteri), einen Grafen von Tusculum, zum Papst. Doch noch vor seiner Weihe brachte ein Straßenkampf – mit Hilfe Lamberts von Spoleto, den Formosus 892 zum Kaiser gekrönt – den Kandidaten der Formosianer, Johann, auf den begehrten Thron, den Gegenpapst Sergius erst 904 besteigen konnte. Während dieser samt seinen verjagten Gewalthorden in Tuszien unter dem Schutz des dortigen Markgrafen Adalbert stand, bereit bei jeder Gelegenheit über Rom herzufallen, exkommunizierte Johann IX. (898–900), ein von Formosus zum Priester geweihter Benediktinerabt aus Tivoli, die Sergianer inzwischen.

Johann IX. ließ auch nochmals durch ein Konzil in Ravenna die Leichensynode verdammen. Einerseits wurden die von Formosus geweihten, durch Stephan VI. aber gefeuerten Geistlichen wieder in ihre sogenannten Würden eingesetzt, andererseits Stephans VI. Handlanger bei Formosus' Leichenschändung aus der Kirche ausgeschlossen. Exkommuniziert und depossediert wurde auch Presbyter Sergius, der im Dezember 897 Gegenpapst zu Johann IX. war, 904 jedoch rechtmäßiger Papst geworden ist (S. 478 ff.).

Leider verfügte Kapitel 7 der Synode von Ravenna, die Akten der Leichensynode zu verbrennen. Aber diese Kirche hat stets gern verbrannt, Menschen, Gotteshäuser, Schriften; vor allem systematisch und von früh an Traktate der «Ketzer», doch auch Texte der Heiden und Juden; sogar aktenmäßig dokumentierte eigene Schandtaten, die Akten des Konzils von Rimini 359 etwa (I 393 ff.), des Konzils von Ephesus 449 (II 220 ff.), des Konzils von Konstantinopel 867 (S. 223). Und Verbrennen wurde in der Gemeinschaft der Heiligen selbstverständlich nie verboten. Dagegen verbot man, was für sich spricht, gleich durch Kapitel 1 der ravennatischen Versammlung, für alle Zukunft das Zitieren von Toten vor Gericht.[40]

Kaiser Lambert und Kaiser Arnulf sterben, die Ungarn überfluten Norditalien

Johann IX. kollaborierte im übrigen mit dem jungen Lambert von Spoleto, als dessen Schützling er auch Papst geworden war. Somit erklärte er Lamberts Kaiserkrönung als rechtskräftig «für ewige Zeit», während er die Arnulfs als «barbarische», vom Papst «durch Betrug erpreßte» ganz verwarf. Und er arbeitete ihm desto lieber in die Hand, als Lambert nicht nur unbestritten dem größten Teil Italiens gebot, sondern auch Arnulf ohnmächtig und todkrank in Deutschland dahinsiechte. Denn vom 4. bis ins 20. Jahrhundert, vom hl. Konstantin I., «Signatur von siebzehn Jahrhunderten Kirchengeschichte» (I 5. Kapitel), bis zu Hitler (s. dazu Bd. II der «Politik der Päpste im 20. Jahrhundert»), schreitet die Heilsgeschichte gern im Gleichschritt mit der Heil-und-Sieg-Geschichte.

Dasselbe Konzil, das die Akten der Leichensynode kassierte, erklärte so auch die Kaiserkrönung des «Barbaren» Arnulf für nichtig. Dagegen machte man, anscheinend ebenfalls in Ravenna, dem vermutlich selbst anwesenden Kaiser Lambert einige Zugeständnisse, wofür dieser allerdings Roms Privilegien, zumal seinen Territorialbesitz, garantieren mußte. In nicht weniger als einem halben Dutzend Kanones fordert der Papst die Rückgabe der seinem Stuhl entfremdeten Liegenschaften, seine Rechte, und versäumte auch nicht, allen die Exkommunikation anzudrohen, welche die Zehntleistung verweigern. Hab und Gut sind den Hierarchen heilig, gewöhnlich das Allerheiligste (indes «Zynikern» wie unsereinem natürlich nichts heilig ist).[41]

Kaiser Lambert aber, jung, begabt, schön, starb jäh Mitte Oktober auf der Eberjagd in der Gegend des oberen Po; angeblich durch einen Sturz vom Pferd. Doch Bischof Liutprand von Cremona verrät uns, was auch andere alte Quellen bestätigen, daß der Unfall fingiert gewesen, der Kaiser in Wahrheit ermordet worden sei. Im Marengo, in einem Wald «von ungewöhnlicher Größe und Schönheit, besonders für die Jagd geeignet», habe ihn während eines kurzen Schlummers sein Begleiter Hugo umge-

the son of Count Maginfred of Milan, who was killed by Lambert, to avenge his father's death and later confessed to it. "He did not fear eternal damnation," writes Bishop Liutprand, "but with all his strength he broke the sleeper's neck with the help of a strong branch. For he shied away from killing him with the sword, lest the obvious findings prove him guilty of the crime.

As Emperor Arnulf had also succumbed to his illness in Regensburg at the end of the]ahr 8qq, Berengar of Friuli, Lambert's old opponent, now attempted to seize the Italic crown. However, at the end of September 39s he suffered a bloody defeat at the hands of the Un- gar at the Brenta, where many prelates also fell. And Bishop Liutward of Vercelli, Charles III the Great's powerful archchancellor (p. z87 f.), was killed on the run at the time along with his treasures, these "incomparable damages, whose abundance was beyond all measure" (Regino von Prüm), and
which he naturally wanted to save from the Hungarians.
beat.

It was the first invasion of the Magyars in the unfortunate Italy, according to Liutprand, who describes the offensive broadly, repeatedly emphasizes the huge, immense army of the invaders, but then surprisingly says that Berengar had opposed them with an army three times as strong. So the fleeing Hungarians made the - admittedly futile - decision to offer the Christians the return of all their booty and compensation in return for their return home. And soon, hard pressed across the wide expanses around Verona, chasing the Brenta, tormented by the great fatigue of their horses and fear, they made a new offer: to hand over all their belongings, prisoners, weapons and horses¡ they only wanted to keep their bare lives, never to enter Italy again, even to give up their sons as hostages - but received another rebuff "on the spot", a very Christian one:
-When we, especially from people who are in our power and already
are as much as dead dogs, accept as a gift what is already given to us, and want to enter into a contract with them.

the insane Orestes would swear that we had lost our minds.

In fact, they had lost it. If they were not only puffed up, but also divided, some apparently preferred the downfall of certain Christians to that of the pagans, so that after their death they could then "rule alone, so to speak, without restraint".

The Ungnrn, however, ambushed the Christians on three sides, crossed the river with the courage of desperation, chased right into the midst of Berengar's surprised troops - "and the pagans abandoned themselves to their lust for murder … - All but a pitiful remnant of the Christian army perished¡ the Po Valley was flooded by the victors.

THE LUDWIG **III BY** DBiSCHOF OF **RONA** ÜUDWIG DER **Bi.INDE WURDE**

Pope's successor Benedict IV (3) crowned the young Louis III of Provence (89o-9z8) emperor in February por. The son of the Burgundian king Boso and Irm(ngard, the grandson of Emperor Louis II, had been summoned to the country by supporters of the late Emperor Lambert in 8q8 against Berengar I in 9oo, elevated to rex ltaliae in Pavia and then immediately crowned by

Benedict IV was kindly received and crowned in Rome. A considerable part of the nobility and the bishops begrudged Berengar the crown and were obviously disappointed by his defeat against the Hungarians and his pacts with them.

However, Emperor Louis III was unable to defy Berengar, as he was soon favored again by the northern Italian grandees. By swearing never to return to Italy, Louis bought his departure across the Alps as early as 9oz, but three years later he accepted a new invitation and went after Berengar, who had initially fled to Bavarian territory.

müssen, dann auch mit bayerischer militärischer Hilfe durch einen Handstreich 905 auf Verona ins Netz, allem Anschein nach nicht ohne Zutun des Ortsbischofs.

Der siegreiche Ludwig hatte sein Heer bereits entlassen und begab sich, berichtet Abt Regino, «in Folge einer Aufforderung des Bischofs Adalhard von Verona mit sehr geringer Begleitung in die besagte Stadt. Die Bürger aber taten dies in größter Eile dem Berengar kund, der zu jener Zeit in Baiern als Vertriebener lebte. Dieser zog ohne Zaudern mit Truppen, die er von allen Seiten zusammenraffte, nach Verona, fing den unvorsichtigen Mann mit List und beraubte ihn in der Gefangenschaft des Augenlichtes.»

Man hatte Berengar «zur Nachtzeit» die Stadttore geöffnet, Ludwig III. geblendet, den fast noch ein Vierteljahrhundert blind Lebenden und nun auch «der Blinde» Genannten als praktisch regierungsunfähig in die Provence zurückgeschickt, einen Priester Johannes Kurzhose als Mitschuldigen geköpft. 915 wurde Berengar selber Kaiser – damals jedoch nur noch ein Ehrentitel in Italien, das Amt eine Farce.[42]

All die hier mehr angedeuteten Kämpfe um das «regnum Italicum» spiegeln den Zusammenbruch der karolingischen Dynastie. All diese Feldzüge, Handstreiche, Verschwörungen werden von Repräsentanten großer fränkischer Familien, werden von bekennenden Katholiken unternommen, von Arnulf, Wido, Lambert, Berengar, Ludwig dem Blinden. Und dieser ganze Niedergang des karolingischen Königtums hatte eine stetige Steigerung der bischöflichen Macht zur Folge – wie schon zuvor der Aufstieg der karolingischen Könige, und wie schon davor der Aufstieg und das Fiasko der Merowingerkönige! (Vgl. dazu IV.)

Alle überlebte das perpetuelle Parasitentum der Kirche. Wo andere zugrunde gingen, gedieh sie, wie stets, so auch in dieser Epoche: durch Verleihung von Immunitäten, durch Übertragung der missatischen Gewalt (unter Karl dem Kahlen), durch Anhäufung des Besitzes. So war, zum Beispiel, schon unter Wido der Bischof von Modena zum tatsächlichen Herrn der Stadt geworden. Ebenso schalteten die Oberhirten von Cremona, Parma, Piacenza, Mantua faktisch selbständig; sie geboten über die Gra-

fengewalt und das Steuereinkommen. Berengar, dessen Erzkanzler die Bischöfe Adalhard von Verona und Arding von Brescia waren, machte den Kirchen aus Liebe zu den Heiligen (und seinem Seelenheil) mancherlei Konzessionen. Und unter Lambert nahmen die großen Schenkungen an den Klerus noch zu. Gerade die Bischöfsstädte waren wirtschaftlich und verwaltungsmäßig dem Einfluß des Königtums fast entzogen, dessen Macht sich auch dadurch entsprechend verminderte. «Anarchie, Rechtlosigkeit und Rechtsunsicherheit sind das Merkmal der Zeit, erwachsen auf dem Boden des feudalen Aufbaus der Gesellschaft, begünstigt durch die Schwäche und den beständigen Wechsel der Zentralgewalt . . .» (L. M. Hartmann).[43]

War aber die Zentralgewalt stark, profitierte die ewig opportunistische Ecclesia ebenfalls davon. Und war die Zentralgewalt schwach, profitierte der ewig machtgierige Klerus davon erst recht, wie die Geschichte auch unter dem Sohn und Nachfolger Kaiser Arnulfs lehrt.

7- CHAPTER

KING LUDWIG IV. THE CHILD
(poo-pII)

-However, the child, who had always been a criminal, was not able to establish his own government. Rule passed to the nobility and the episcopate. Enischcide "de advisors were Archbishop Hsxo of Msinz and Bishop Salomo of Constance - Alois Schmid'

-Of the activity of the laicnftirsten in the R.eichsrc$ifocnc the annalists report nothing. Schur'

-In this iibcraus corrupt time many shameful deeds have been committed and are still being committed in the church .... Abbot Regino of Prüm*

After the death of Emperor Amulf, his only legitimate son, the six-year-old Louis, became one of the East Frankish-German kings: Louis IV (8q3-9i i). ° 4 February qm in Forchheim, he was officially elevated to the rank of king - the first confirmed kingship.
s coronation as king in East Frankish-German history. Arnulf had called the greats of the empire (without the magnates, who had been independent since 8p
Lotharingia) had already *97 sworn to succeed Louis, whose reign, however, could only be nominal. And in the following month, the Lotharingian aristocracy also paid homage to him.
stocracy, admittedly only in the hope of achieving the greatest possible autonomy.

However, others also hoped for this, especially as the increasing activity of a more self-confident Adele, its wild feuds and rivalry battles, was more conducive to fishing in the doldrums. However, in the struggle for leadership in favor of a few even more ascendant noble families, notable others were wiped out, especially in Franconia and Lotharingia.

LUDWIG . THE CHILD
THE ARIO1'4ETTE OF THE KLERUS

While Louis IV's father, the king and emperor, had already cooperated closely with the Church (p. zpy ff.) and both had consolidated their power in the struggle with the high nobility, Louis, who was still a young priest, was now governed almost

exclusively by prelates. They

waren im Lauf des 9. Jahrhunderts immer mächtiger geworden und nahmen nun, durch kein starkes Königtum mehr eingeengt, das Steuer des Reiches begierig in die Hand.

Zwar bildete der kleine König, der schon bald in der Geschichtsschreibung den Beinamen «das Kind» (infans, puer, adolescens) bekam, rein äußerlich den Mittelpunkt, gruppierte sich das staatliche Leben um ihn, zelebrierte man in seinem Namen auch das tradierte Ritual der Reichsversammlungen: 901 in Regensburg, 903 in Forchheim, 906 in Tribur; wie Ludwig bei Beurkundungen auch eigenhändig den Vollziehungsstrich in das Königsmonogramm setzte. Aber zum selbständigen Regieren gelangte der überdies Kränkelnde nie. Und gab es auch einige «königsnahe» Magnaten, wie die Konradiner, Verwandte der mütterlichen Seite des jungen Königs, oder den bayerischen Markgrafen Liutpold, einen weitläufigeren väterlichen Verwandten, die Reichspolitik bestimmten vor allem Vertreter des Klerus. Es war «eine rein bischöfliche Regierung» (Nitzsch). «Von der Tätigkeit der Laienfürsten im Reichsregiment melden die Annalisten nichts» (Schur). Und auch unter den «Intervenienten», den «Fürsprechern», das heißt jenen Hochgestellten, auf deren Rat, Empfehlung, Einflüsterung das königliche Kind Rechte verleiht, Güter schenkt, Krongüter tauscht, standen an erster Stelle Geistliche.

Selbstverständlich verkehrten auch die weltlichen Großen am Hof, nicht zuletzt gerade Graf Konrad der Ältere vom Lahngau (der Vater Konrads des Jüngeren, des späteren Königs Konrad I.) und sein Bruder Gebhard. Wuchs ja überhaupt ein potenteres Adelsregiment heran, häufiger konkurrierende Partikulargewalten, aus denen Herzöge und Herzogtümer hervorgingen; doch eben jetzt eine Prälatenregentschaft darüber. Die Bischöfe begleiteten den jungen Regenten – nicht mehr als ihre Marionette – auf Schritt und Tritt. Und anders als manch weltliche Magnaten waren sie auch auf allen seinen Zügen dabei. So blieb Ludwig das Kind wohl bis zu seinem frühen Tod völlig unselbständig, abhängig von den führenden Männern, hohen Klerikern mit nicht geringen Eigeninteressen.[5]

Einen maßgeblichen Regierungsanteil hatte freilich kaum

mehr als ein halbes Dutzend von ihnen; allen voran der schon von Arnulf eingesetzte Erzbischof Hatto und Bischof Salomo III.

Hatto I. von Mainz (891–913), sehr aktiv, intelligent, verschlagen, damals eine Art «Papst für Deutschland», wie Wolfgang Menzel einst schrieb, war unentwegt politisch tätig, ohne dabei den Nutzen seiner Kirche und seiner selbst zu vergessen; das hängt ohnedies gewöhnlich eng, fast untrennbar zusammen. Schwäbischem Adel entstammend, stützte der um 850 Geborene zuerst mit seiner Sippe Karl den Dicken, nach dessen Sturz sofort Arnulf von Kärnten, was sich auch schnell auszahlen sollte: noch 888 und 889 wird Hatto mit den äußerst begüterten Abteien Reichenau und Ellwangen begabt und erhält zwei Jahre danach das Erzbistum Mainz, eine Kirchenprovinz, die sich als größte des ostfränkischen Reiches von Sachsen bis Schwaben, von der Elbe bis zu den Alpen erstreckte. So kam den Mainzer Bischöfen (die auch, erstmals seit 870, dauernd seit 965, das Erzkanzleramt, die königliche Kanzlei leiteten) eine Spitzenstellung im Staat zu; sie galten als «Königsmacher».

Bald nach Ludwigs Regierungsantritt versteht es Hatto, noch das reiche Kloster Lorsch (Lauresham) zu bekommen, obwohl Arnulf die Selbständigkeit des von Karl I. zum Königskloster erhobenen, von Ludwig dem Deutschen mit wertvollem Reichsbesitz beschenkten Lorsch garantiert hatte; eines Klosters, das von der Nordsee bis zum Bodensee begütert war und ab 766 rund 100 Schenkungen pro Jahr erhielt! Schließlich verdankt Hatto auch das Kloster Weißenburg der Fürstengunst.

Der Mainzer Erzbischof bewegte sich mit Vorliebe in Herrschernähe. Er wurde 893 einer der beiden Taufpaten des jungen Königs, begleitete Arnulf auch auf seinen Italienzügen 894 sowie 896 zur Kaiserkrönung, war maßgeblich beteiligt 899 bei dem hinterhältigen Treffen mit Zwentibold in St. Goar (S. 319) und der Wahl Ludwigs im folgenden Jahr; nicht zu vergessen seinen Vorsitz auf der wichtigen Synode 895 während der großen Reichsversammlung in der Königspfalz Tribur bei Mainz (S. 298 ff.). Kurz, Erzbischof Hatto, schon zu Arnulfs Zeiten «das Herz des Königs» genannt, erscheint jetzt als der faktische Regent.[6]

Von kaum viel minderer Bedeutung für das Regierungsgeschäft unter Ludwig dem Kind wurde Bischof Salomo III. von Konstanz (890–919), in den letzten Jahren des Königs der eigentliche Leiter der Kanzlei, seit 909 auch mit dem Titel des Kanzlers. Salomo war ein enger Freund des einflußreichen Hatto und bemerkenswert skrupellos. In Schwaben schaltete er als der mächtigste Feudalherr des Landes zweimal brutal die Herzogsprätendenten aus (S. 366 ff.).

Beide Bischöfe repräsentierten ihren Stand auch insofern würdig, hochwürdig, als sie die da sehr entwickelte Kunst beherrschten, vor allem den eigenen materiellen Vorteil wahrzunehmen, und zwar ganz gleich, ob es Schenkungen aus Kriegsgut betraf oder weniger blutig erworbene Vergabungen oder sonstige lukrative Geschäfte, etwa gewinnbringenden Tausch von Klostergut gegen Krongut. «St. Gallen ist damals so zu manchem schönen Stück Kronland gekommen. Auch ihre Bistümer mögen sie bedacht haben, doch aus Mainz und Konstanz ist keine einzige ältere Urkunde erhalten. Man hat unwillkürlich den Eindruck, daß die Herren diese Geschäfte unter sich selbst abmachten, denn das Kind auf dem Thron verstand nicht einmal, um was es sich handelte. Und peinlich berührt es noch zu sehen, wie eifrig diese Hände auch nach dem Wittum der durch den Ehebruchprozeß allerdings bloßgestellten Königin-Mutter Uta langten: so ließ man den kleinen König aus dem Wittum seiner Mutter auf ‹Fürsprache› von fünf Bischöfen und Liutpolds der Kirche von Seben den Hof Brixen, wohin das Bistum dann verlegt wurde, dann wieder mit ‹Zustimmung› mehrerer Bischöfe und einiger Grafen und, wie gesagt wird, auf ‹Fürsprache› Utas selbst der Kirche von Regensburg den Hof Velden, der Kirche von Freising den Hof Föhring schenken. Man müsse, heißt es in einer derartigen Schenkungsurkunde, den königlichen Dienst durch Fürsorge für die Kirche ermöglichen» (Mühlbacher)[7]

Einfluß auf die Regierung des ostfränkischen Reiches übte aber auch der zunächst noch als Erzkapellan und Erzkanzler amtierende Erzbischof Thietmar von Salzburg aus; ferner Erzbischof Pilgrim I. von Salzburg (907–923), der durch Ludwig IV. im Jahr

908 den Königshof Salzburghofen (im heutigen Freilassing) erhält samt reichem Zubehör, Zöllen und Bedeutung für die wichtige Saline Reichenhall, im folgenden Jahr (zusammen mit dem Markgrafen Aribo) auch die Abtei Traunsee (Altmünster), bis er unter Konrad I. 912 dessen Erzkapellan wird. Weiter spielten eine beachtliche Rolle Erzbischof Rutbod von Trier, der Erzkanzler für Lotharingien, die Bischöfe Waldo von Freising, Erchanbald von Eichstätt, Tuto von Regensburg, Rudolf von Würzburg, Thietelah von Worms.

Von besonderer Bedeutung endlich war Bischof Adalbero von Augsburg, der Erzieher des Königs und ein weiterer Pate, hatte er das Kind doch gemeinsam mit Hatto in «der heiligen Quelle der Taufe» gewaschen (Annales Fuldenses) und ihm den Namen seines Großvaters gegeben. Gerieten die Taufpaten ja überhaupt häufig tief in die Politik, falls sie nicht schon tief darin steckten und eben auch darum Taufpaten wurden. Bereits Adalberos Vorgänger, Bischof Witgar, war ganz in Reichsgeschäfte verstrickt und wirkte vornehmlich in den Hofkreisen Ludwigs des Deutschen und Karls des Dicken. Und Adalbero selbst hatte schon als steter Ratgeber und Begleiter Arnulfs agiert, ehe er anscheinend sogar leitender Minister des jungen Königs wurde, der ihn seinen getreuesten Erzieher, geliebten Lehrer, geistlichen Vater nannte. So hat ihn das Volk denn auch bald als Seligen verehrt, wahre Wunder geschahen an seinem Grab – nur aus Adalberos Tätigkeit für sein Bistum ist nicht das geringste bekannt.[8]

Zwei Ereignisse belasteten das ostfränkische Reich zur Zeit Ludwigs des Kindes besonders, eine langanhaltende, von außen kommende Katastrophe und ein verhältnismäßig kürzeres innenpolitisches Desaster, der Ungarnsturm und die sogenannte Babenberger Fehde.

Der Ungarnsturm beginnt

Nach dem Tod Arnulfs griffen die Ungarn an.

«Sein Sterbetag war für sie fröhlicher als alle Festtage, erwünschter als alle Schätze», behauptet wohl kaum ganz zu Unrecht Bischof Liutprand. Ihr Vorstoß geschah unerwartet. Mit ungeheurer Wucht und arger Not im Gefolge verheerten sie weite Teile West-, doch auch Südeuropas, besonders aber das ostfränkische Reich, wohin sie freilich einst Arnulf selbst als Bundesgenossen gerufen hatte.

Auch waren die Ungarnkriege zwar hauptsächlich, doch keinesfalls ausschließlich Verteidigungskriege, und nicht nur 907 (S. 350). Seit dem Sieg des Bayernherzogs Berthold – er war der jüngere Sohn des 907 bei Preßburg gefallenen Markgrafen Liutpold – am 12. August 943 bei Wels, dem bis dahin größten deutschen Erfolg gegen die Ungarn, ergriffen die Bayern die Offensive. Einen weiteren Vorteil errangen sie 948. Bereits im nächsten Jahr schlugen sie sich mit den Magyaren offenbar in Ungarn selbst. Und auch 950 ging der Bruder Ottos I., der bayrische Herzog Heinrich, einer der ungestümsten Draufgänger unter den ostfränkischen Fürsten, wieder offensiv in Ungarn vor. Er siegte zweimal jenseits der Theiß, erbeutete reiche Schätze, viele Gefangene und kehrte «wohlbehalten in das Vaterland zurück» (Widukind).[9]

Die Ungarn oder Magyaren, wie sie sich selbst nannten, waren ein in Zelten oder Schilfrohrhütten lebendes berittenes Nomadenvolk, teils finnisch-ugrischer, teils turkstämmischer Abkunft; die lateinischen Quellen setzen diese schnellen, wendigen Reiter und trefflichen Bogenschützen häufig mit Hunnen und Awaren gleich. Von den Pečenegen, einem besonders kriegerischem reiternomadischem Turkvolk, schwer bedrängt und im Bündnis mit den Bulgaren 895 aus ihren Sitzen zwischen Wolga und Donau am Schwarzen Meer vertrieben, überfielen, verwüsteten, beraubten sie von der Theißebene aus immer wieder Pannonien, Böhmen und das Mährerreich, das König Arnulf 892 noch Seite an Seite mit ihnen bekämpft hatte und das sie bis 906 völlig vernichteten,

literally disappeared. From 829, they also raided Upper Italy, even pillaging southern France, attacking Bavaria, Saxony, Alemannia, Alsace and Lothacingia in annual raids at the beginning of the xo. In the early xth century, they attacked Bavaria, Saxony, Alemannia, Alsace and Lothacingia in annual raids. And for more than half a century they continued their raids - a worse plague than the Normans, who meanwhile concentrated more on eastern Jjiand.

Anno domini 9oo the Hungarians first appeared on what was once Bavarian and is now Austrian soil,

They broke into Thraungau via the Enns, "on o Mei- len in length and breadth with fire and sword, murdering and plundering everything". However, in the late fall, a Bavarian army under Count Liutpold of Carinthia and Bishop Richar of Passau defeated a small Hungarian rearguard near Linz, fighting with glory, says the annalist, and triumphing even more gloriously. For it is said that, by the "grace of God", pagans were found among the fallen and drowned in the Danube, but "hardly a single Christian" (Annales Fulden-

por, the Hungarians were defeated on the way back along the Fischa, east of Vienna, after an invasion of Carinthia, 9oz in Moravia together with the Moravians, whose kingdom the Bavarians had plundered two years earlier, as they had already done in 89o and 8qq. There were also battles with the Magyars in 9o3, this time
with an unknown outcome. And M4 the Bavarians invited a Hungarian garrison under their commander Chussal, first organized a banquet, then a massacre with them, killed them completely, and obviously again by the command of God.

«DEUTSCHE CHRISTLICHE AUFBAUARBEIT IM OSTEN» UND DER «GARSTIGSTE HUND . . .«

Doch dann scheint der Herr sie verlassen zu haben, kamen die Ungarn fast Jahr für Jahr wieder, erledigten diese am 5. Juli 907 in einem ostfränkischen Offensivkrieg – von bayerischen Bischöfen, Äbten und Adeligen mit König Ludwig dem Kind am 17. Juni 907 beschlossen – den bayrischen Heerbann bei Preßburg total. Eine «gewaltige Schlacht», melden lakonisch die Annales Alamannici und fügen knapp hinzu: «und ihr abergläubischer Hochmut ist vernichtet worden». Auf dem Mordfeld lagen nicht nur mehrere Grafen nebst viel sonstig Edlem, sondern auch drei Äbte und drei Bischöfe, der Erzbischof Thietmar von Salzburg sowie die Bischöfe Udo von Freising und Zacharias von Seben-Brixen – «die Blüte des bayerischen Adels und Episkopats . . . und die Aufbauarbeit (!) blieb unterbrochen» (Bosl); in einem Land, das man zwar gern als alten Besitz ansah, das aber erst Karl «der Große» in vielen jahrelangen Kriegen von den Awaren geraubt hatte, deren gesamter Adel dabei zugrunde gegangen, ja, deren ganzes Volk damals aus der Geschichte verschwunden ist (IV 485 ff.) – «Aufbauarbeit»!

Erzbischof Thietmar von Salzburg, dessen «Reliquien» man 1602 wieder gefunden haben will, was für ein Glück, wurde in Salzburg zu den Heiligen bzw. Seligen gezählt; Bischof Zacharias von Seben und Bischof Udo von Freising erkannte man immerhin die «palma martyrii» zu, hatten sie doch ihr Leben «fuer den Glauben Christi auffgeopffert» (Meichelbeck). In der Ungarnschlacht in Thüringen vom 3. August 908 fiel auch Bischof Rudolf von Würzburg, offenbar der Initiator der blutigen Babenberger Fehde (S. 354 ff.). Dagegen ignoriert die Überlieferung das innerkirchliche Wirken dieses Oberhirten «fast völlig». Auch sein Nachfolger, Bischof Thioto, anscheinend gleichfalls eine Kreatur der Konradiner, geht ganz im «Reichsdienst» auf; über eine kirchliche Tätigkeit in der Diözese Würzburg, der er fast ein Vierteljahrhundert vorsteht, hört man «praktisch nichts» (Störmer).[10]

909, 910, 913 liquidierten die Bayern zwar ungarische Streifscharen, doch verwüsteten die Invasoren von den Alpen bis zur

Nordsee weiter das Land, setzten sie ihre Züge nach Deutschland unentwegt fort – nicht weniger als zwanzig zwischen 900 und 955. Bischof Michael von Regensburg verlor im Ungarnkrieg ein Ohr, streckte aber gleichwohl noch einen Gegner nieder und erwarb viel Beifall dafür. Was half's! Die «deutsche christliche Aufbauarbeit im Osten» war «neuerdings zusammengebrochen» (Heuwieser).

Dabei ist zweierlei bezeichnend: erstens, daß die Ungarn, ebenso wie die Normannen, sich gut über die inneren Zwiste des katholischen Abendlands zu informieren und diese zu nutzen verstanden; zweitens, daß die katholischen Fürsten auch gegenüber den Ungarn, wie gegenüber den Normannen oder Arabern, oft wenig Solidarität zeigten und meist lieber ihre Erbhändel ausfochten, als ihre Untertanen vor dem Feind zu schützen – was immerhin Herzog Arnulf «dem Bösen» (S. 364 f.) gelang, der die Ungarn durch einen Vertrag auf Jahrzehnte von Bayern fast gänzlich abhalten konnte. Vielmehr sind alle drei, Sarazenen, Normannen, Ungarn, «in zahllosen Fällen den Gegnern im eigenen Land auf den Hals gehetzt worden. Man trug kein Bedenken, sich mit ihnen zu verbünden. Emigranten gingen zwecks Wiedergewinnung der eigenen Stellung zu ihnen, um sie zum Eingreifen aufzumuntern.» Andererseits freilich hat die abendländische Christenheit «eine Fülle von ergreifenden Gebeten gegen die Heidennot gerade im 9. und 10. Jahrhundert geformt» (Tellenbach).[11]

Ja, war das nicht wunderbar, wahrhaftig wie von Gott geschaffen, wenn die Heidennot zu einer Fülle ergreifender Gebete führte? Wenn sie – Not lehrt beten – zu Gott hinführte? Ja, konnte da die Not überhaupt groß genug sein? Je größer die Not, desto größer doch der Pfaffengewinn, mochten auch Kirchen und Klöster vorerst in Feuer aufgehen, Rauch, man baut sie wieder auf, meist imposanter, schöner (– und läßt, wie heute noch, die «Laien» alles zahlen).

So machten die frommen geistlichen Herren die Ungarneinfälle noch schrecklicher als sie schon waren; machten sie die Ungarn schlechthin zu «Werkzeugen des Teufels», zu «Gog und Magog» und erklärten, der Jüngste Tag stehe bevor.

According to Bishop Liutprand, these spirits of hell have no God and no conscience. Not only do they ruin castles and churches, not only do they kill people, but to spread more and more terror they drink the blood of the slain". Bishop Solomon III of Constance (p. 3Ö6 ff.) has been 'terrifying' in all variations since the Bible and the Church Fathers (also towards Christians). highly popular animal comparisons (3 chap.): -now the gantest dog himself invades the **house of** Christ". And Rcgino, Abbot of Prüm (until 8qq) and of Trier (until qzy), produces downright -(Heinrich) about the barbarians, whereby he makes use of the rich ethnographic topoi of antiquity, apparently for the sake of greater authenticity, and lists a series of bad characteristics of the (new) Huns, above all -bloodthirsty savagery (cruentam ferocitatem), "vieiiic rage" (bcluino furori); they do not live "after the manner of men, but like cattle" - "like wild beasts", Widukind also says -, indeed, they are "like wild animals". -devour the hearts of their prisoners in pieces as a remedy-'.[2]

OF "UHSTRTE1' 4UBERN AND THE EUROPEAN1"1 FAMILY OF PEOPLES*

This disdain, especially German disdain, for the other-worldly, the pre-Middle Eastern, the Asiatic, runs through all the centuries. And no matter how much even a deserving historian like Albert Hauck (- 45--9*) insists that these -nomads- in their -culturlessness" for "the seßhahen Germanen- -nur repulsive be", that the Seßhahe -nothing uglier could see" than these savages- and nothing more hideous could hear than their -miB- sounding Gcgrunze", Hauck may justifiably call the Hungarians "gangs of robbers", he may call the former hunters and shepherds, a people of warriors equally against their will, a "nation that practiced robbery as a national profession" - he is not very much mistaken in his assessment.

hauptung: «es gab überhaupt keinen Berührungspunkt zwischen diesen unsteten Räubern und der europäischen Völkerfamilie»?

Kein Zweifel, so ähnlich sahen auch die «Großdeutschen» unter Hitler die östlichen, slawischen, asiatischen «Untermenschen» (und wie sitzt das noch jetzt in jenen Teutonen, deren Zahl Legion ist!). Doch verrät sich Hauck nicht, fügt er im letzten Zitat seinen «Räubern» das schlichte, unscheinbare «unstet» bei, als erinnerte zumindest sein Unbewußtes sich noch an andere, weniger unstete, an stete Räuber, an Räuber, die gleich, wo immer möglich, auf ihrem Raub hocken blieben, die nicht nur das bißchen Beutegut behielten, sondern das ganze erbeutete Land dazu!

Der protestantische Theologe schreibt: «Weil das deutsche Reich des zehnten Jahrhunderts erobernd war, deshalb wurde die deutsche Kirche zur Missionskirche Europas.» Eben. Deshalb konnte Europa am deutschen Wesen genesen. Doch was heißt hier «erobernd» anders als raubend?!

Hauck selbst wieder erinnert daran: «noch am Ende des neunten Jahrhunderts ist Slavenland eine ganz gewöhnliche Bezeichnung für Kärnten.» Aber schon im 10. Jahrhundert wird es besser, geht es aufwärts, vorwärts: – «nun hat deutscher Adel großen Grundbesitz im Lande erworben»; erworben, wie schön. «Auch die deutschen Stifter nennen weit ausgedehnte Flächen ihr eigen» – ihr eigen, klingt auch nicht schlecht. Auch die Bistümer Freising und Seben bekommen jetzt im Südosten «großen Grundbesitz». Ebenso ist nun erst recht der Salzburger Sprengel «weit nach Osten hin ausgedehnt» – ausgedehnt, weit ausgedehnt, mächtig ausgedehnt etc., Hauck nimmt sich nicht einmal die Mühe, sein Vokabular etwas zu variieren. Die Sache selbst ist zu schön und treibt ihn, als könne er nicht schnell genug den ganzen Erwerb, diese ausgedehnte Aneignung literarisch nachvollziehen, sodaß er natürlich gar keine Zeit findet darüber nachzudenken, ob es denn wirklich «überhaupt keinen Berührungspunkt zwischen diesen unsteten Räubern und der europäischen Völkerfamilie» gab, zwischen diesen wüsten Ungeheuern, wie sie Bischof Pilgrim von Passau, der berüchtigte Fälscher (S. 441 ff.), nennt, und dem deutschen Volkstum, das in «seinem» Osten, nun mit

Hauck zu sprechen, «festen Fuß zu fassen» beginnt. Ja: «Es ist als ob man einen Eindruck davon gehabt hätte, wie viel für Deutschland die Ausbreitung nach Osten bedeutete . . .»[13]

Aber auch für die Slawen bedeutete sie viel – auch wenn es natürlich etwas ganz andres ist, wenn Christen dort die «Untermenschen» massakrieren und expropriieren, als wenn «der garstigste Hund selbst in das Haus Christi» eindringt – – das ja auch nicht immer so sehr friedlich war (und ist). Und voller Nächstenliebe. Und Froher Botschaft. Entbrannte doch gerade seinerzeit, während des Pfaffenregiments, ein brutaler Bürgerkrieg im Reich, die sogenannte Babenberger-Fehde (897–906), deren Anfänge allerdings noch in die letzten Regierungsjahre Arnulfs fallen.

DIE BABENBERGER-FEHDE (897–906)

Franken, das ursprünglich die meisten alten Adelsfamilien aufwies, hatte dann auch die größten Fehden und die schlimmsten Verluste. Am Ende des 9. und zu Beginn des 10. Jahrhunderts rangen nur noch die beiden führenden fränkischen Geschlechter um die Vorherrschaft im Mainraum und zugleich um eine optimale Ausgangsposition für die Jahre nach der nominellen Regentschaft des Kinderkönigs: die Popponen-Babenberger – benannt nach dem Grafen Poppo im Grabfeld und ihrer Burg Babenberg (Bamberg) – und die Konradiner.

Die Babenberger, Adalbert, Adalhard und Heinrich (II.), die über Grafschaften um Fulda, im Grabfeld, im oberen Maingebiet geboten, die sie schließlich alle verloren, waren die Söhne Heinrichs, des 886 vor Paris gegen die Normannen gefallenen Separatkillers und Truppenführers (S. 282) Karls des Dicken, und wohl schon insofern, wie der Vater, Gegner Arnulfs, der ihre Entmachtung betrieb, wo immer er konnte. Dazu bediente er sich der aus dem Moselraum stammenden, im Rhein-Main-Gebiet, im Niederlahngau, in Hessen und der Wetterau begüterten Konradiner, der Brüder Konrad, Gebhard, Eberhard und Rudolf.

König Arnulf, dessen Hof die Babenberger mieden, war mit der Konradinerin Uta verheiratet und förderte das Vorrücken von deren Familie auf Babenberger Terrain, begünstigte sie durch Schenkungen, ja er machte 892, nach dem Schlachtentod des Würzburger Bischofs Arn, den Konradiner Rudolf zum Bischof am Main (892–908). Damit ist die blutige Auseinandersetzung programmiert – «ein gewaltiger Hader der Zwietracht und ein Streit voll unversöhnlichen Hasses», schreibt Regino von Prüm «im Jahr der göttlichen Menschwerdung 897», indem er die «gegenseitigen Metzeleien» mit einer «ungeheueren Feuersbrunst» vergleicht, die sich von Tag zu Tag ins Unermeßliche vergrößere. «Unzählige gehen auf beiden Seiten durch das Schwert zu Grunde, Verstümmelungen an Händen und Füßen werden verübt; die ihnen untertänigen Landschaften werden durch Raub und Brand von Grund aus verwüstet.»[14]

Die Konradiner, die unter ihrem Verwandten, König Arnulf, mit Gütern und Grafschaften nach Osten ausgriffen, die unter ihm und seinem unmündigen Sohn zu Herzogswürden aufstiegen, wurden nun nicht nur in Franken, sondern auch in Lotharingen bevorzugt, wo Gebhard, der Konradiner, als Amtsherzog eingesetzt, in einer Urkunde geradezu als «Herzog von Lothringen» erscheint. Die Babenberger dagegen sahen sich immer mehr zurückgedrängt, ließen 897 nahe Würzburg, vermutlich infolge Gebietsabtretungen, den königlichen Diener Trageboto ermorden, so daß die Fehde zunächst, noch ohne direktes Zutun des Königs, mit dem Bischof von Würzburg begann, zu dem später, schon unter Ludwig dem Kind, seine Brüder Eberhard und Gebhard stießen.

Es kam zu einem Treffen. Der Babenberger Heinrich II. fiel, der Konradiner Eberhard wurde schwer verwundet, und als er starb, ließ sein Bruder Gebhard den in Gefangenschaft geratenen Babenberger Adalhard 902/903 kurzerhand köpfen. Darauf trat das Pfaffenregiment in Aktion. Ludwig das Kind ergriff die Partei der siegreichen Konradiner und ließ den Besitz der getöteten Babenberger Heinrich und Adalhard konfiszieren und zwar, zumindest teilweise, zugunsten des Bischofs von Würzburg. «Nachdem die

Babenberger im Kampfe unterlegen und ihre Güter confiscirt waren, schenkte zu Tarassa (Theres) den 9. Juli 903 K. Ludwig das Kind dem Bischofe Rudolf von Würzburg ‹einige Güter unsers Eigenthums (juris nostri), welche des Adalhart und Heinrich gewesen und wegen der Größe der Bosheit dieser ... für unser Eigenthum erklärt worden sind›.»[15]

Im Jahr 906 operierte der Sohn des Grafen Konrad, der spätere König Konrad I., mit einer beträchtlichen Truppe in Lotharingien. Nach bewährtem Brauch verheerte er «mit Raub und Feuer» die Besitzungen seiner gutkatholischen Gegner, der uns schon bekannten Grafen von Metz, der Brüder Gerhard und Matfrid (S. 318 f.). Und diese günstige Gelegenheit nützte natürlich Adalbert, der letzte Babenberger, und rückte mit seinen Leuten in die Wetterau ein. Es kam zu mehreren Gefechten, wobei zuletzt Graf Konrad der Ältere bei Fritzlar fiel, der Babenberger sich behauptete. Das heißt: erst verfolgte der Sieger «mit seinen Gefährten die Fliehenden und streckte eine zahllose Menge, hauptsächlich solche zu Fuß, mit dem Schwerte nieder ...» – gelernt ist schließlich gelernt. Und nach Beendigung dieser Aufgabe widmete sich Adalbert der ganzen Gegend, das heißt: er durchstreifte sie mit seinen Spießgesellen und richtete «durch Mord und Plünderung alles zu Grunde. Als dies vollbracht war, kehrte er mit seinen Genossen, die mit Kriegsbeute und unermeßlichem Raube beladen waren, in die Feste Bamberg zurück» (Regino von Prüm).

Soweit, so gut, mochte der letzte Babenberger denken. Doch noch im Sommer desselben Jahres lud ihn die Reichsregierung, der faktisch der mit den Konradinern eng befreundete Erzbischof Hatto von Mainz vorstand, auf eine Reichsversammlung nach Tribur. Und als er dort nicht erschien, schlossen ihn Hatto und der 13jährige König mit einem Reichsheer in seiner Burg Theres (bei Schweinfurt) ein; dreimal ist hier Ludwig das Kind im Zusammenhang mit der Babenberger Fehde bezeugt.

Nach langem Widerstand lockte man den letzten Popponen-Babenberger durch «honigsüße Reden», einen schmutzigen Trick Hattos aus der Burg. Er wurde heimtückisch in Haft genommen, «vom Bischof dem König Ludwig überantwortet» (Widukind),

bound in front of the entire army and beheaded on q. The sentence was also carried out at the instigation of Conrad the Younger, the later King Conrad I. He had fought his way to kingship with his actions. With his actions, he had fought his way to kingship ..." (W. Hartmann). However, Margrave Liutpold, Bavaria's first man after the king, was also "decisively involved" in the war against Adalbert as well as in his "treacherous capture and execution" (Reindel). His fortune and his possessions were made a crown estate and then distributed by the king - among men of noble birth (Reginonischronica). That is, to the Babenberger's opponents, including Archbishop Hatto of Mainz, the greatest villain of this whole piece¡ a hierarch whose deceitfulness even Duke Henry of Saxony, the later king, feared so much that he justified his refusal to go to a Mainz court meeting with the threat of an assassination attempt by the chief shepherd there.

Theres Castle was turned into a Benedictine abbey, Adalbert's Babenberg Castle and the entire county were seized by King Ludwig, resulting in the bishopric of Bamberg. And even in the High Middle Ages, people still sang about the betrayal of Archbishop Hatto, who was particularly unpopular with the people. Of course, the man was no exception. Abbot Regino of Prüm wrote in his book "De synodalibus causis et disciplinis ecclesiasticis", which was dedicated to Hatto, the imperial regent of the time: -In this extremely corrupt time, many shameful deeds have been and are still being committed in the church that were unheard of in the old days (Praefatio)."

When Louis IV died, just eighteen years old and heedless, on September qi I, the East Frankish line of Louis the German and the Carolingians died out. In the previous year, the long-suffering king had personally suffered a heavy defeat against the Hungarians on the Lechfeld with an imperial army, but was otherwise so uninvolved that no contemporary source even mentions his place of death or burial.

Kurz nach Ludwigs Tod wurde zwischen dem 7. und 10. November auf einem Fürstentag in Forchheim von den Großen der Franken, Sachsen, Alemannen und Bayern die Krone des ostfränkischen Reiches zuerst dem Sachsenherzog Otto dem Erlauchten angetragen. Doch da er, der über Sachsen fast unabhängig herrschte und allzeit Höchstgewalt (summum imperium) ausübte, aus Altersgründen oder welchen Erwägungen immer, sich verweigerte (er starb auch schon ein Jahr darauf), wählte der Adel, so jedenfalls Widukind von Corvey (was man indes oft bezweifelt), nach Ottos Rat, einhellig den fränkischen Grafen Konrad den Jüngeren zum König, das Haupt der Konradiner, seit der Babenberger-Ausrottung der Mächtigste des Frankenstammes.

Es war die erste «freie» Wahl, freilich nur der Großen, in der deutschen Geschichte und im Ostfrankenreich, ein definitiver Bruch mit der Tradition, nämlich die endgültige Lösung von der Karolingerdynastie. Dafür hatte Erzbischof Hattos Bündnis mit den Konradinern, das den Untergang der Babenberger ebenso bedeutete wie zuvor bereits den Zwentibolds, den Weg geebnet – dynastisch zwar ein epochales Ereignis, änderte sich faktisch für die Völker nichts.

Lotharingien allerdings, wo der neue Herr verhaßt war, schloß sich, vor allem unter dem Einfluß der Reginare, dem Westfrankenreich an. Bei ihm verblieb es bis 925 und wählte noch im selben Jahr (911) Karl den Einfältigen zum König, den posthum geborenen Sohn Ludwigs des Stammlers, der seit 893 als Nachfolger des Nichtkarolingers Odo bis 923 regierte. So ließ sich die Trennung Lotharingiens von Ostfranken auch karolingisch-legitimistisch motivieren.[17]

8. KAPITEL

KÖNIG KONRAD I. (911–918)

«Gestützt auf seine Berater, vor allem die Erzbischöfe von Mainz und den Kanzler Bischof Salomon III. von Konstanz, verfolgte Konrad anfangs eine . . . entschlossen an der karolingischen Tradition festhaltende Politik, konnte in drei Kriegszügen (912/913) aber nicht verhindern, daß Lothringen zum Westreich abfiel.» Hans-Werner Goetz[1]

«Beraten von den bisher einflußreichsten geistlichen Würdenträgern der Zeit Ludwigs des Kindes – Erzbischof Hatto von Mainz und Bischof Salomo von Konstanz – suchte er in der hohen Geistlichkeit eine Stütze gegen die . . . weltlichen Spitzenpolitiker.» Eduard Hlawitschka[2]

THE ROCK MINING OF LOTHARINGIA FAILS

Konrad I (qZI-QI8), who preferred to reside in Frankfurt, Weilburg an der Lahn and Forchheim, had led the Konradines since the death of his father Konrad the Elder of Oberlahngau in the Babenberg Feud (qod} and his uncle Gebhard. The clan had enormously expanded its own position of power in Main Franconia through the ten-year war against the Babenbergs and their complete eradication; in 9o6, Konrad decisively destroyed Adalbert of Babcnberg and in the same year also defeated the Lotharingian brothers Gerhard and Matfried, whereupon he assumed a ducal position in East Franconia.

Initially, your new king was concerned with winning back Lotharingia. For after the death of the last East Frankish Carolingian, Louis the Child, the West Frankish king
Charles III the Simple {8q3/8q M*3). a son of Louis the Stemler and grandson of Charles the Bald, became Lord of Lotharingia in the year qiI. Charles the Simple (Charles le Simple,
simplex, hebetus, stultus¡ French sot is a later term) had already made an attempt on Lotharingia in 8q8. Summoned by an ally, the powerful Count Reginar, who had incurred Zwentibold's disfavor, Charles had quickly advanced as f a r as Aachen and Nymwegen. But then Zwentibold intervened with a number of magnates, above all Bishop Franco of Liège, and with the support of Duke Otto of Saxony, Zwentibold's father-in-law. In 8qq peace was concluded in St. Goar on the Rhine (p. 3iq).

$I I, however, Charles succeeded in annexation. The Lotharingian nobility

expected greater independence from it, the bishops hoped for new goods and rights. In fact, Charles **III**'s first document dated zo. December was already issued for the canons of Kammerich: -after obtaining the rich inheritance". As early as January, Bishop Drogo voti Toul received his favor in a document, as did the monastery of the monks of St. Maximin near Trier. Bishop Ratbod of Trier became Charles' arch-chaplain and was now as firmly attached to the West Franconian kingdom as Archbishop Hermann I of Cologne, once arch-chaplain to King Zwentibold (and husband of Gerberga, perhaps a conrad) or Count Reginar, who now possessed at least six abbeys in addition to his counties.[3]

In the winter of qn/qia, Conrad I ousted Charlemagne from Alsace, where he was only temporarily recognized, as in Friesland. However, three campaigns against Lotharingia failed piNqI3. The king had little success, apart from the fact that Strasbourg was occupied twice, devastated and set on fire. And after qi3 he renounced any recovery. However, Charles the Simple, the only Carolingian king since the death of Louis the Child, immediately after Conrad's election no longer called himself by the hitherto customary title of "-rex", without any further area designation, but, in a deliberate recourse to the Frankish-Carolingian tradition, like the early Carolingians, "-rex Franco- rum". He also preferred to reside in Metz, Diedenhofen, Her- stat, Aachen, but failed with all his arnbitious, but no longer contemporary expectations and died qzq in captivity.'

Since Conrad I had already completed his ascent, especially the elimination of the Ba-

benberger owed the crown to the decisive assistance of the imperial rulers and the imperial church, i.e. the leading East Franconian prelates, he also had to prove himself obedient to them. Although he also owed the crown to the dukes, he would not have been crowned at all without their election or consent. However, he unwisely used his kingship to subjugate the tribal dukes, from whose ranks he himself came, and who were initially

usually maintained good relations with the court. However, he had the high clergy at his side,especially his
"episcopal friends" (Hlawitschka), Archbishop Hatto of Mainz, who had already died qI3, and his chancellor, Bishop Solomon III of Constance.

Conrad 1st, although not militarily incompetent, was politically uninstinctive and soon took action against the dukes (diices), especially against their growing power in Bavaria and Swabia. In addition to the fight against the regional powers, there was also the fight against the constant invasions of the Hungarians, who raided the empire almost year after year, preferably Bavaria and Swabia, but also Franconia, Thuringia, Saxony, Alsace and even Lotharingia. And against the Hungarians, Conrad I failed completely, while the greats here and there, such as Amulf "the Wicked" of Bavaria and his Swabian uncles, the Bavarian couple Erehanger and Berthold and Count Udalrich, profited from their victory qi 3 on the Inn, after Arniilf "the Wicked" had already defeated the Hungarians q on the Rott and qxo at Neuching. The conflict with the "middle powers", who were gaining more respect and prestige, was thus intensified.

The king sought and found support from the church. The lay abbot of Kaiserswerth, the count in the Wormsfeld, in the Hesse, in the
Keldachgau, who also had himself anointed by a bishop
- This royal anointing is explicitly attested for the first time in the Eastern Empire - relied in particular on Bishop Solomon III of Constance in the south and Archbishop Hatto of Mainz in the north, who ruled the empire for a quarter of a century. And these leading statesmen under Louis the Child were also among Conrad's preferred advisors.

Wie aus «Arnulf von Gottes Gnaden», «dem Gerechten», Arnulf «der Böse» wurde

Weniger gut mit kirchlichen Kreisen harmonierte dagegen «Arnulf von Gottes Gnaden Herzog der Bayern und auch der angrenzenden Gebiete». Er übte in seinem Bereich die Kirchenhoheit aus, besetzte Bistümer und Reichsabteien, verlangte Anteil an ihren Einkünften und sprang auch, wie einst Karl Martell, etwas eigenmächtig mit ihrem Besitz um. So zog er, etwa zwischen 907 und 914, ihre Güter ein, weshalb der Klerus ihm, der den zusätzlichen Namen «der Gerechte» bekam, den Beinamen «der Böse» gab. Seitdem hängt dem «Zerstörer der Kirchen», dem «Feind der Kirche», die böse Benennung an, auch wenn Arnulf durch die umfangreiche Konfiskation kirchlicher Liegenschaften nicht nur seine militärische Schlagkraft gestärkt, sondern auf Jahrzehnte auch den Frieden mit den Ungarn erkauft, freilich zugleich seiner Vasallen Besitzgier befriedigt hat.[6]

Arnulf von Bayern hatte schon früh den Herzogstitel angenommen, betont eigenständig Politik gemacht, auch gegenüber dem König deutlich Distanz bewahrt. Um den Aufmüpfigen mehr an sich zu binden, heiratete Konrad 913 die aus Schwaben stammende Mutter Arnulfs, Kunigunde, die Witwe Liutpolds von Bayern und Schwester der Grafenbrüder Erchanger und Berthold. Doch als Erchanger 914 Konrads Kanzler, Bischof Salomo, gefangennahm und Arnulf für seine schwäbischen Onkel Partei ergriff, vertrieb ihn der König mit Hilfe von bayerischen Bischöfen und Äbten: dem Erzbischof Pilgrim von Salzburg, seit 912 Konrads Erzkaplan, den Bischöfen Tuto von Regensburg, Dracholf von Freising, Udalfried von Eichstätt, Meginbert von Seben. Kurz, die bayerische Kirche stand in diesem Krieg «durchweg auf der Seite des Königs» (Handbuch der Europäischen Geschichte).

Herzog Arnulf suchte und fand darauf Zuflucht beim Landesfeind, bei den Ungarn. Und als er 916 wieder kam, verjagte ihn der König abermals, beraten jetzt und begleitet sogar von dem sächsischen Bischof Adalward von Verden, einem «Slawenmissio-

nar". Invading Bavaria at the spine of numerous troops, King Konrad - -eiri always a mild and wise man and lover of divine teaching" (Archbishop Adalbert)
- as if in enemy territory. He defeated Arnulf, conquered his capital Regensburg, which partially went up in flames and whose bishop Toto was apparently one of Arnulf's most determined opponents. (Toto also became blessed by his church.) Conrad appointed his brother and fellow fighter Eberhard as governor in Bavaria. And while the temporal greats disappeared more and more from the king's surroundings, the Bavarian episcopate naturally stood by the victor.

Arnulf was able to reconquer his duchy and expel Conrad's brother Eberhard. Yes, he now also regained his bishops, especially as he very seldom used them, but rather their
and g a v e the bishops a share of the spoils, i.e. rigorously secularized the monasteries "together with the prelates" (Prinz). At his death, however, on Id. July q3y, heaven repented, and this, as usual, with the help of hell. Arnulf's body was taken by the devil in the middle of a feast in Regensburg and thrown into a watery grave, a lake near Scheyern. At least this is what the chronicler of the Tegernsee monastery knows, which already owned ry parish churches in the late 8th century and whose lands, already spread as far as Tyrol and Lower Austria at the time, were confiscated by Arßiilf, apparently also for the benefit of the diocese of Passau.

But when Duke Arnulf "the Evil" had the worst reputation among the monks, King Könrad I was strongly attracted to them. He often visited monasteries, St. Gall and Lorsch, Korvei and St. Em- meram, Fulda and Hersfeld, and usually increased their possessions by granting them.

MORDERBISCHOF ALOMO TRIUMPHS

The chief shepherd on whom King Conrad primarily relied in the south of his empire, Solomon III of Constance, also came from the monastery.

-appointment" to their family. Nepotism, a form of feudal clan politics, is particularly "famous and notorious among the popes throughout almost all centuries, reaching its peak in the I, IO, Z7" (Schwaiger). Of course, the phenomenon can also be found among other princes of the church, cathedral chapters and large monasteries. -Again and again we read how bishops, abbots and abbesses let their relatives succeed them in office. Indeed, entire dioceses have been in the possession of noble families for generations (Angenendt).

Between 838 and qiq, three bishops of the same noble Alemannic family reigned in Constance: Solomon I died 7-ı four years later and was succeeded by his nephew Solomon II (8y5-88p); he was followed by his nephew Solomon III (8po-qxq). A catholic

dissertation names the three -the most important bishops of the century." The world owes them to the nepotism that has flourished in Christianity from the very beginning, since the days of the biblical Jesus; there is indeed once an apostolic tradition here -

until the zo. Century (cf. III dqq ff.).'

Solomon **III,** born around 86o, grew up in the monastery school of St. Gall and was, at least at the time, keen on women. He took advantage of the hospitality of a nobleman by giving his virgin daughter a child and later making the seduced woman abbess in Zurich, whereupon she did all sorts of things for him and her (Casus s. Galli). Solomon became notary in 88d and chancellor to Charles the Fat in 88y. After his overthrow, he switched to the victor, becoming Arnulf's chaplain as early as 888, and two years later abbot of St. Gall and bishop of Constance. He has been chancellor under Louis IV the Child since poq, and since qE I behind Conrad I, who favors him greatly and makes many an endowment "at the behest of our most faithful bishop Solomon",

not least at the expense of the Alemannic count brothers Erchanger and Berthold.

When Margrave Burchard of Raetia, the princcps Alamannorum, was the first to openly aspire to the dukedom in Swabia, he immediately had the "royal" Solomon decidedly against him - thanks to a colorful band of warriors strongly over1egen- (Casus s. Galli). Burchard I was murdered in the fall of pzi at the instigation of Bischoff Hinterlisńg, thus thwarting the first attempt to found a Swabian duchy. But not content with this, the bishop (in alliance with other spiritual greats, especially the abbots of St. Gall and Reichenau) wanted to destroy the entire family. Burchard's widow was thus deprived of all her possessions. Burchard's sons, Burchard II, later Duke of Swabia, and Udalrich, were exiled and their lands were also given to their opponents. Burchard's first brother Adalbert, Count of Thurgau, very popular among the people, lost his life, also at the instigation of Solomon, presumably with the understanding of the other East Franconian chief shepherds. Even the younger Burchard's mother-in-law, Gisla, was stripped of all her possessions and distributed while on pilgrimage to Rome.

Soon afterwards, Bishop Solomon 111 fought with equal vigor against the Swabian Count Palatine Erchanger rind his brother Bert- hold, the other pretenders to the dukedom¡ related to the Upper Rhine count family of Erchangare, from which Richgard, the wife of Emperor Charles III, descended.

King Conrad had initially tried to mediate and prevent the conflict, and after a brilliant victory by Erchanger over the Hungarians who were ravaging the Swabians, he had

He married his sister Kunigunde, the widow of the Bavarian Margrave Liutpold, who died at Pressbuzg in œ7. After all, Erchanger and his allies had been defeated by this new battle of Hungary.

became the lords of Swabia, which is why Biscliof Salomo k e p t stirring up feuds against them.

Year after year, the land was devastated. But for the time being, the brothers, with Burchard II, the son of the murdered margrave whose family had been exiled for eternity, fighting alongside them, remained successful. Erchanger captured 9*4 Bishop Solomon, but in return was arrested by the king and deprived of

the

Landes verwiesen. Doch nach seiner Rückkehr schlug er, zusammen mit Bruder Berthold und dem jüngeren Burchard, 915 bei Wahlwies, unweit Stockach, die Anhänger des Königs. Der suchte darauf, indes Erchanger sich zum Herzog ausrufen ließ, bei der Kirche Hilfe und fand auch die Unterstützung Papst Johanns X.

Bischof Salomo triumphierte schließlich auf einer von Konrad am 20. September 916 mit dem fränkischen, schwäbischen und bayerischen Episkopat abgehaltenen Synode zu Hohenaltheim (bei Nördlingen am Ries). Es war die erste allgemeine Kirchenversammlung in Deutschland in nachkarolingischer Zeit, wobei allerdings die sächsischen Prälaten – es wurde scharf gerügt – durch Abwesenheit glänzten.

Die Synodalen stellten sich entschieden auf die Seite des Königs, des «Gesalbten des Herrn», der offenbar teilnahm. Sie schärften aufs strengste Treuepflicht gegen ihn ein und drohten seinen Widersachern, voran den namentlich genannten Arnulf und Erchanger, mit Kirchenstrafen. Den Vorsitz führte der Legat Johanns X., Bischof Petrus von Orte, einer der nächsten päpstlichen Vertrauten, eigens abgesandt, wie es hieß, «daß er das in unseren Landen aufgegangene teuflische Unkraut ausrotte». Tagte die Synode ja auch, so steht es in den Akten, um «die gottlose Empörung einiger Verruchter zu beendigen und niederzuschlagen».

Nach dem Begleitbrief des Papstes (der seinerzeit ein fünfjähriges Kind zum Erzbischof von Reims machte) sollte man über kirchliche Mißstände beraten! So trat man, neben Selbstermahnungen, nicht zuletzt wieder für die eigene Macht ein, kräftig gestützt auf die pseudoisidorischen Fälschungen, forderte die Zehnten, Schutz des Kirchengutes, das Privileg, daß Geistliche nie von weltlichen Richtern verurteilt werden dürften: wer einen Bischof oder Priester verklage, verklage die göttliche Weltordnung («nahezu alle Bestimmungen über die Sicherung der Bischöfe vor weltlichen Gewalten sind wörtliche Zitate aus der Dekretalensammlung des Fälschers»: Hellmann). Während es den Prälaten jedoch freistand – nach dem berüchtigten Vorbild von Papst Leo III. anno 800 (IV 448 f.), der freilich nur «dem

Beispiel seiner Vorgänger» folgte –, sich von einer Anklage durch einen Reinigungseid zu befreien, suchte man die Strafen der Kirche gegen andere noch zu schärfen kraft der gerade erschwindelten pseudoisidorischen Dekretalen, deren Geist die Synodalbeschlüsse «voll und ganz» atmen (Hellmann).

So wurden die beiden Grafenbrüder Erchanger und Berthold sowie ihr Neffe, die sich, allzu vertrauensvoll offenbar auf eine Beilegung des Verwandtenstreits hoffend, der Synode überantwortet hatten, von ihr zu lebenslänglicher Klosterhaft verurteilt (während der bayerische Herzog Arnulf nebst Bruder Berthold, Konrads Stiefsöhne, trotz Aufforderung, vorsichtigerweise die Synode mieden). Noch härter aber war der König, dem sich die Synodalen übrigens gleichgestellt. Nur drei Monate nach ihrer Zusammenkunft, am 21. Januar 917 – es erinnert fatal an das Ende des Babenbergers Adalbert –, ließ Konrad I. den Pfalzgrafen Erchanger und dessen Bruder Berthold, seine Schwäger, sowie ihren Neffen Liutfried als «Hochverräter» köpfen; «doch hinter ihm steht Salomo, der Schuldige wohl auch dieser Tat» (Lüdtke).[9]

Es nutzte dem König nicht. Noch 917 erhob sich in Schwaben der Sohn des durch Bischof Salomo ermordeten rätischen Markgrafen (S. 367), der Hunfridinger Burchard II., der Rivale der Hingerichteten, und setzte sich an deren Stelle. Er okkupierte ihren Besitz und gewann rasch die Anerkennung der schwäbischen Großen als Herzog (dux). Im gleichen Jahr kehrte Arnulf nach Bayern zurück, rebellierte gegen den König und jagte dessen Bruder Eberhard aus seiner «Hauptstadt». Schließlich stoben 917 auch wieder die Ungarn heran und verheerten besonders schwer Schwaben, das Elsaß samt Lotharingien, ohne daß irgend eine vom König organisierte Abwehr erkennbar wäre. Doch zog dieser im Herbst 918 noch einmal gegen Regensburg und wieder ohne Erfolg.[10]

Von Konrads letzter Regierungszeit wissen wir wenig. Kinderlos verschied er am 23. Dezember 918 an einem uns unbekannten Ort und fand in Fulda seine letzte Ruhe. Er hatte weder die aufstrebenden Herzöge bändigen noch die eigene Macht festigen können, ja er starb an einer Wunde, die er eben auf dem schei-

ternden Bayernfeldzug erhalten. Als Nachfolger aber schlug er, so heißt es, seinen einstigen Gegner, den Sachsenherzog Heinrich vor. Um den Frieden wieder herzustellen, jedem Zwiespalt vorzubeugen, die Reichseinheit zu wahren, beschwor er noch auf dem Sterbebett seinen aus Bayern vertriebenen Bruder Eberhard, dem sächsischen Herzog Heinrich, dem Mann mit der wahren königlichen Macht, dem echten Königs-Charisma, die Königsinsignien zu schicken und mit ihm Freundschaft zu schließen – falls die Meldung des Corveyer Mönchs zutrifft.

Denn ob diese edle, seitdem so viele alte und neue Federn in Bewegung setzende, so ungezählte Leser rührende Geste historisch, ob die oft bestaunte Designation des Sachsen durch den Franken wirklich geschehen ist, müßte offen bleiben, auch wenn Widukinds Bericht nicht zweifellos topische Bestandteile und mancherlei suspekte Ausschmückungen enthielte. Der hochadlige Mönchs-Chronist war stolz auf seinen Stamm, war durchdrungen von sächsischem Volksbewußtsein und auch sonst darauf aus, die Legitimität der liudolfingischen Dynastie zu betonen, die hier vielleicht nachträglich eine politische Legende in die Welt setzen ließ, sei es um der Sache eine höhere Weihe zu geben, sei es um eine Usurpation zu vertuschen.[11]

Schließlich haben auch die Merowinger ihre Kronen geraubt. Und die Karolinger. Und viele andere davor und danach. Denn gewöhnlich wird die Geschichte, die politische Geschichte, durch nichts mehr als durch brutales Nehmen geprägt, durch Gewalt: die Basis des Staates, die von allen, wohl oder übel, akzeptierte Integrationsinstanz; Gewalt: spätestens sobald die Interessen, sobald der Besitz, sobald das Potential und Prestige der Herrschenden impliziert sind – und sie sind es, offen oder verdeckt, immer; Gewalt: etwas zutiefst Barbarisches, Vernichtendes, auch wenn sie, je verheuchelter die Gesellschaft, desto mehr, mit Vorliebe im Gewand von Recht und Ordnung daherkommt, als «Rechtsstaat». Denn jeder Staat beruht auf Macht, jede Macht auf Gewalt, und Gewalt, sagt Albert Einstein, zieht stets moralisch Minderwertige an. Noch heute gilt so die primitive Gleichung: Macht gleich Recht. Noch heute gibt, gerade im zwischenstaat-

power is the yardstick for determining who is in the right.
"A successful coup or revolution will sooner or later be followed by recognition of the new government by other nations. Whoever wins a war determines the new course of borderlines and the content of new constitutions - it is he who lays down the new rules" (Esther Goody)." Even if Henry I's election was thus entirely -lega1", the prerequisite for it, the taking away, the accumulation of power, of violence by him, his fathers, his forefathers, could only be achieved through continued rivalry, overreaching, oppression, bloodshed.

And that's exactly how it should continue.

p. CHAPTER

HEINRICH I, THE FIRST GERMAN KING

-He could not read or write, so he was no match for the medieval kings. Nor did he do **much for** the education of his sons - Ellie-Marits Eib1'

-In the winter of *9z8l9z9* . . Henry invaded the territory of the Elbsiawen and conquered Brandenburg. From there, the king turned south, where he conquered the territory of the Daleminzier
verwiiatete ... Further wartimeziigc in the years$_{n}$ 93$_{s}$ °
qjq extended the German 'Machtbtrcich.- Dietrich Claude'

-Heinrith's successes are astonishing ... The success rests solely on the sharpness of the sword - the conquering troops were followed, even before the priest, by the slave trader on the full - johannes Fried'

-King Henry, the great promoter of peace and zealous defender of the pagans, died on July 10th, after he had fought many victories bravely and manfully and had everywhere proved the borders of his realm - Adalberti continuatio Reginonis-

So sorgt man für die Seinen

Nach dem Tod seines Vaters, des Sachsenherzogs Otto des Erlauchten (912), war Heinrich von den Großen zum Herzog gewählt worden. Und mit seiner Königswahl ging die Herrschaft im ostfränkischen Staat von den Franken auf die Sachsen über. Gleichzeitig markiert der Regierungsbeginn – so jedenfalls im Rückblick auf eine schon im 12. Jahrhundert umstrittene Frage – den endgültigen Übergang vom ostfränkischen zum «deutschen» Reich, auch wenn einerseits dessen Wurzeln zweifellos weiter zurückführen, andererseits das ottonische Reich noch niemand im 10. Jahrhundert als «deutsches» Reich betrachtet hat.

Das mächtige, zumal in Ostsachsen, zwischen Leine und Harz, reich begüterte Adelshaus der – mit den Karolingern mehrfach verschwägerten – Liudolfinger-Ottonen, dem Heinrich I. entstammte, dies illustre Geschlecht (benannt einerseits nach seinem ältesten, andererseits nach seinem berühmtesten Repräsentanten) zeigt einmal mehr, wie sehr sich Machtsucht und «Frömmigkeit» in der Geschichte verbinden und wie sehr sie gedeihen können. Der Ahnherr, der erste uns sicher bekannte Vorfahre, der im Harzvorland und im thüringischen Eichsfeld begüterte Sachsengraf Liudolf (gest. 866), der Großvater Heinrichs I., profitierte beträchtlich an der Sachsenschlachtung Karls I. durch Landzuweisungen. Er heiratete die Fränkin Oda, die Gott mit einem Alter von 107 Jahren segnete (gest. 913), pilgerte mit ihr 845/846 nach Rom und erwarb vom Heiligen Vater Sergius II., der Bischofsstühle und andere Kirchengüter gegen Höchstangebote vergab, die Reliquien verschiedener weiterer heiliger Vorgänger im Amt. Schließlich schuf er mit

His wife 8yz founded a canonry in Brunshausen, which was moved to Gan- dersheim in 881, one of the first monasteries founded by Saxon nobility. Like so many others, it served to provide for several daughters - and at the same time, the pious family business demonstrated a Christian attitude.

The sons, the elder Brun, Henry's 1st uncle, who died in 88o at the head of a Saxon army against the Danes, and Otto the Er1aucht#, Henry I's father, secured the marriage of their aunt, Liudolft's daughter Liutgard, to King Louis the

The younger (5th Iss f.) was granted various privileges, including the guarantee of abbesshood for the daughters of the House of Liudolfing. As a result, one daughter after the other succeeded to the regency.

giment. And until the introduction of the Reformation, until I y8q, the imperial princely status of the Gandersheim abbesses was preserved. Indeed, until the early I9th century, Gandersheim was still a convent of the high nobility. This is how one provides for one's own ...

That such a pious creation was no exception is shown parenthetically by the Frauenstift Essen (8Jz-i8o3), which also existed until its secularization, almost a millennium later.

Founded around 8ya by Bishop Altfrid of Hildesheim, the santimonials came from the most noble families of the empire. At the time of Emperor Henry IV (gcst. z io6), the abbey owned over a hundred Herxenhöle and more than three thousand peasant Hufenl The estates were farmed by dependent peasants, (semi-free) serfs; it was customary for them to perform numerous manual labor, mowing and gardening services. The abbesses of the founder, who acquired estate after estate and sovereignty right after sovereignty right, were eventually elevated to the status of imperial princes. After the dissolution of the vita communis in the zo. After the dissolution of the vita communis in the tenth century, the abbess of the Essener Frauenstih ran her own household with four court offices, numerous servants and her own cook, undercook, baker and brewer. Every evening, the head cook asked the abbess what she wanted to eat the next day and then gave orders to the head

cook and the rentmaster. Droste (head cook) and Schenk served her during the meal.

PROFITEURE DER SACHSENABSCHLACHTUNG

Liudolfs des Ahnherrn jüngerer Sohn Otto der Erlauchte herrschte als Herzog bereits über ganz Sachsen, besaß aber ausgedehnte Liegenschaften auch in Thüringen, im Eichsfeld, einer Landschaft zwischen Harz und Thüringerwald, im Südthüringgau sowie in Hessen, wo er als Laienabt des Klosters Hersfeld über dessen reichen Zehntbesitz auch links der Saale gebot. Da zwei von Ottos Söhnen, Thankmar und Liudolf, schon vor ihm starben, folgte ihm der Jüngste, Heinrich (I.), nach. Doch begann damit eben nicht bloß das sächsische Regiment im ostfränkischen Reich, sondern zugleich der Schritt vom ostfränkischen zum deutschen.

Nur wenig mehr als ein Jahrhundert nach der überaus blutigen, 33 Jahre dauernden Unterwerfung der Sachsen, dieser begnadeten Predigt «mit eiserner Zunge», durch ihren Schlächter, den «Sachsenapostel», den hl. Karl I. (IV 455 ff.), wurde ein Sachse der eigentliche erste deutsche König. Dabei sei freilich nachhaltig daran erinnert, daß sich gerade der sächsische Adel früh mit dem fränkischen versippte, daß seine Mehrheit zu den neuen Herren überlief und man die Kollaboration oft mit konfisziertem Land belohnt hat. So waren auch die Liudolfinger während Karls Sachsengemetzel «als Parteigänger der Franken hervorgetreten» (Struve) und zum Dank für den Verrat, der Sachsens Überführung auch in feudale Fron beschleunigte, noch während der Sachsenkriege auf sequestriertem Grund im Leinegebiet mit Gütern bedacht worden. Dort und anderwärts breiteten sie sich aus, u. a. durch die gewaltsame Wegnahme von Mainzer Besitz, was wieder zum Konflikt mit den Konradinern führte, zumal Otto der Erlauchte die Babenbergerin Hadwig geheiratet hatte.[5]

Aus Heinrichs I. Zeit sind so wenig Quellen (insgesamt 41 Urkunden, davon 22 Originale) erhalten, daß man sagen konnte, über kaum einen andren mittelalterlichen König «wissen wir so wenig» (Eibl). Und die von ihm erzählenden Geschichtsschreiber, der Mönch Widukind (gest. nach 973), die Bischöfe Liutprand von Cremona (gest. 970/972), Adalbert von Magdeburg (gest.

981), Thietmar von Merseburg (gest. 1018), gehören nicht nur, wie üblich, dem geistlichen Stand an, sie sind auch zum Teil dem sächsischen Stamm, sind fast alle dem sächsischen Fürstenhaus besonders verbunden. Und sie berichten sämtlich aus einer späteren Zeit.

DER UNGESALBTE KÖNIG TRITT AN

Heinrich I., um 876 geboren, wurde Mitte Mai 919, im Alter von fast 45 Jahren, in Fritzlar (Nordhessen), einst Stützpunkt der Mission des Bonifatius, von Sachsen und Franken zum König gewählt. Auf fränkischem Boden, doch nah dem Sachsenland, überantworteten sie dem neuen Herrn «unter Tränen vor Christus und der ganzen Kirche als unverbrüchlichen Zeugen, was ihnen anvertraut war» (Thietmar von Merseburg). Die fränkischen Großen sollen, wie neuerdings vermutet, ihn gar schon vorher zu ihrem König erkoren und ihm gehuldigt haben. Schwaben und Bayern fehlten; erst recht die Lotharingier. Die Schwaben standen gerade gegen Rudolf II. von Hochburgund (912–937) im Kampf, der offenbar nach Nordosten expandieren wollte. Die Bayern hatten seinerzeit König Konrad geschlagen, ja, in den Tod geschickt (S. 369 f.) und ihren Herzog Arnulf «den Bösen», vermutlich zusammen mit einigen Mainfranken, zum König gemacht – wann, ob vor oder nach Konrads Erwählung, ist offen und somit auch, wer wessen «Gegenkönig» war.

Jedenfalls verging bis zu Heinrichs Erhebung fast ein halbes Jahr nach Konrads Tod, was Probleme indiziert. Schließlich hatte der neue Herrscher als Nichtkarolinger, sogar Nichtfranke gleich ein doppeltes Legitimationsdefizit. Umso erstaunlicher, daß er, was allein Widukind berichtet, der «ungesalbte König» wurde, und zwar aus eigenem, ganz persönlichen Entschluß. War er vielleicht, trotz neuerer Abschwächungsversuche, zunächst doch etwas weniger klerushörig als sein Vorgänger, der die Kirche zum Kampf gegen die Herzöge und Prätendenten genutzt, was den

Bischöfen wiederum mehr Einfluß verschafft hatte? Wie auch immer, Heinrich, angeblich solcher Ehre unwert, ließ sich nicht salben, was ihm der Mainzer Metropolit Heriger (913–927) angeboten, natürlich aus Prestigegründen, Machtkalkül. War ja die kirchliche Benediktion des Königs seit der Zeit des besonders klerusergebenen Ludwig IV. auch in Ostfranken üblich geworden.

Heinrich aber wollte nicht als Gegner der Herzöge erscheinen, als Fortsetzer von Konrads gescheiterter Politik, kurz gesagt als Mann des Episkopats. So stützte er sich, ohne im geringsten antiklerikal, auch nur antiepiskopal zu sein, zunächst bloß auf einen einzigen, gleichsam von seinem Vorgänger übernommenen Notarius (Simon), statt auf die traditionelle geistliche Kanzlei, mit deren Aufbau er zögerte. Und während Konrad mit dem Klerus eng kooperiert hatte, erstrebte Heinrich, mehr als primus inter pares, ganz allgemein die Zusammenarbeit mit den weltlichen «maiores» des Reichs, natürlich zugunsten von dessen Einheit und Schlagkraft.

Diese Integrierung gelang ihm zuerst 919 mit dem schwäbischen Herzog Burchard, der das jüngste und noch am wenigsten gefestigte Herzogtum anführte und sich überdies gerade in einem ernsten Konflikt mit dem benachbarten Burgunderkönig Rudolf II. befand (der über die von ihm eroberte Pfalz Zürich in den Bodenseeraum vorzustoßen begann; mit großen Königsgütern, der Pfalz Bodmann, der Abtei Reichenau, der Bischofsstadt Konstanz, das damalige Herz Schwabens). Und mit dem Bayernfürsten Arnulf, der wohl mehr ein bloß bayerisches Königtum beabsichtigte, arrangierte er sich 921 – nach einem ersten mißglückten, einem zweiten unentschiedenen Kriegszug.

Heinrich war bis vor Regensburg gezogen, vermied jedoch eine Entscheidungsschlacht. Denn anders als sein Vorgänger Konrad I. suchte das «Genie entschlossenen Zauderns» in der Regel nicht den offenen Schlagabtausch. «Er droht, hochgerüstet, aber er schlägt nur ungern zu» (Fried). Das gilt freilich mehr für seine Innen-, gewiß nicht für seine Ostpolitik. Gegenüber den Herzögen seines Reiches indes verhandelt er lieber, macht Kompromis-

se. In this way, he granted both southern German princes the fiscal property lying within their territory, he allowed them to rule the church, to dispose of the bishoprics and imperial monasteries, and perhaps even granted them some foreign policy powers; of course, all this solely because he lacked the power to completely subjugate them; but he was recognized. And when he was more powerful, his position more stable, he also took up the problem of ecclesiastical rule and became ever more closely associated with the clergy (p. 38s ff.).

LuxmvivE BnAUTE AND Elf'l GEFtlGIGER BiSCHOF

The reign of the first German king once again shows the pivotal point of politics. -But the king grew and increased in power from year to year," Widukind von Corvey boasts. Power - and the more powerful a powerful person, the lower the historians bow before him, at least as a rule, which is always the point here.

Henry 1 initially strengthened his position with a rich wife. At the age of around zy, he courted Hathe- burg, the heiress daughter of the sonless Count Erwin von Merseburg. Of course, the church (in the form of Hatros 1) was also keen on her politically significant property - a gateway to the east, with extensive lands in that area - and the widowed Hatheburg had evidently taken the veil under its influence. And as selfishly as the clergy may have brought her into the monastery, Henry - "because of her beauty and the usefulness of her rich inheritance" - brought her out again, married her and fathered his son Thankmar with her.

But, reveals Thietmar of Merseburg again, "the king's love for his wife waned". And so it was a good thing that the -wackere-, -smart-, the -so rcchtschaffene- Bishop Siegmund von Halberstadt (94M*4), this -Gipfe1 voll-

the legality of the marriage. The "man glowing with zeal for Christ", who moreover -with his wide-ranging knowledge of spiritual and secular science was superior to all his contemporaries at the time-, established that Hatheburg's earlier vows had ruled out Henry's marriage. He therefore promptly forbade both of them to continue their marriage by virtue of the "power of banishment of apostolic authorization". Whereupon the subsequent Catholic prince had no choice but to cast out the non-Catholic half of the marriage.

Once again, it was fortunate that Henry was already enamored of the young Mathilde because of her beauty and her fortune. So he soon imprisoned his first wife in a convent again, naturally retaining her rich bridal treasure, large estates in eastern Saxony - a foundation of the considerable Ottonian royal estate around Merseburg. And just as Henry had thus increased his power to the east, he now extended it to the west through a second marriage. In the year 9oq, he married the daughter of Count Thiederich, the young Mathilde, "famous for her beauty and her wealth" (Thietmar), and also famous for her descent (albeit not in the male line) from the Saxon hero and opponent of Charles in the Saxon War, Widukind. Mathilde was his great-granddaughter and, according to her biographer,

"worthy of the highest praise", naturally also highly wealthy again, thanks to the Westphalian heritage of the Widukinde. And of course she was also very devoted to the church, in short: -valuable in religious as well as in worldly matters" (in divinis quam in humanis profuit: Thietmar).

Once again, Henry, now apparently with the help of his father, Duke Otto, lay abbot in Hersfeld, fetched her from a nunnery, this time from Herford, where she raised a grandmotherly abbess of the same name, allegedly without being destined for the clerical state. -She emerged, her snowy cheeks covered in a flaming blush, as if white lilies were united with red roses (Vita Mathildis). Just one day after his arrival at the holy house, Henry is said to have left with his booty.

davongezwitschert sein. Und ihre Morgengabe brachte ihm nun einen Einflußgewinn in Ostfalen und Engern.[7]

Daß dieser Mann, dem die Sage dann durch die Zeiten als «Heinrich dem Vogler», als «König am Vogelherd», eine gewisse unhöfische Haltung, eine beinah bäuerliche Bescheidenheit zusprach, auch als König nicht zu kurz kam, versteht sich von selbst. Sogar Bischof Thietmar, der doch Heinrichs «Tüchtigkeit», «große Leistungen» rühmt, «die ewiger Erinnerungen würdigen Taten unseres Königs», räumt ein: «Wenn er sich während seines Königtums, wie viele behaupten, bereichert hat, möge es ihm der barmherzige Gott verzeihen.»[8]

«VERBRÜDERUNGSBEWEGUNGEN» UND PFAFFENNÄHE

Daß Heinrich nach seiner Wahl die Salbung verweigerte, hat den Klerus anscheinend befremdet, zumal das Einsetzen des Königs stets Rechte des Königsmachers erzeugte. Also raunte dem hl. Ulrich – Heinrich gab ihm 923 das Bistum Augsburg – der Apostelfürst Petrus persönlich ins Ohr: «Melde dem König Heinrich, daß jenes Schwert ohne Handgriff einen König darstellt, der ohne bischöflichen Segen (sine benedictione pontificali) sein Reich regiert, das Schwert mit dem Knauf aber einen König, der das Steuer des Reiches mit göttlichem Segen hält» (Vita Oudalrici). Woraus sich für Heinrich der Name «ensis sine capulo» (Schwert ohne Griff) entwickelte.

Diese Prälatenlehre durfte Heinrich nicht allzu lange mißachten. Um so weniger, als die Bischöfe im Lauf des 9. und 10. Jahrhunderts immer mehr Rechte erhalten hatten und erhielten, sogar solche, die ursprünglich dem König eigneten, bis selbst die Grafschaften an sie kamen – all dies vermutlich weit wichtiger für den Monarchen als der Rat des hl. Petrus und dessen Auftreten vor einer ganzen Synode!

Dabei war Heinrich keineswegs grundsätzlich antiklerikal. Vielmehr wandte er sich nach wenigen Jahren, nach dem vergeb-

lichen Versuch, die bischöfliche Macht in Deutschland zu beschneiden – Albert Hauck behauptete einst geradezu: «am Hofe keines anderen Königs waren die Bischöfe so einflußlos wie an dem Heinrichs» –, immer mehr der Kirche zu. Die geistlichen Chronisten rühmen ihn deshalb. Heinrich erbaute Gotteshäuser in Sachsen, wo er offenbar mit den Landesbischöfen «in bestem Einvernehmen stand» (Eibl). Er trat samt Familie auch der Gebetsgemeinschaft wichtiger Klöster bei, in Fulda, St. Gallen, auf der Reichenau, im südlotharingischen Vogesenkloster Remiremont. Überschwemmte doch seinerzeit – Zeiten der Not! – eine ganze Verbrüderungsflut des Adels mit den Klöstern das Land, letztlich nichts anderes als eine vertragliche Vereinbarung von laikalen und geistlichen Personen zwecks gegenseitigen Beistandes, selbstverständlich auch in der Fehde. Bezeichnenderweise kam es zu regelrechten «Verbrüderungsbewegungen» besonders bei der Mission und Ausbreitung der Kirche in den christianisierten Ländern.

Ganz ähnlich verhielt es sich mit den florierenden Freundschaftsbündnissen. Zumal Heinrichs Amicitia-Pakte mit den Herzögen, mit «gemachten Freunden», wodurch er seine Herrschaft wesentlich zu sichern suchte, entsprangen einem rein opportunistischen Kalkül, waren offensichtlich Integrationsbestrebungen, «Bündnispolitik zu Herrschaftssicherung» (Beumann), im Grunde nur eine eigensüchtige Kumpanei der Fürsten und des Hochadels. Derartige Partnerschaften mit den Großen des Reichs – die dann Otto I. verweigerte – schloß Heinrich mit den Herzögen Eberhard von Franken, Arnulf von Bayern, Giselbert von Lotharingien, auch mit seinem Vorgänger Konrad, mit König Rudolf von Hochburgund und mehreren westfränkischen Königen. Schließlich war «Rat und Hilfe» auch eine Formel der «konstruierten» Freundschaft gegenüber der «geborenen», der Blutsverwandtschaft, mit der es im Christentum, wie schon oft gezeigt, nicht weit her war.

Im übrigen verband sich Heinrich I. immer enger mit der Reichskirche, ja, er soll bald nichts ohne die Befragung von Bischöfen unternommen haben, die bei ihm «fortwährend eine

hervorragende Stellung» einnahmen (Waitz). Schon 921, als ihm Karl der Einfältige die Hand des hl. Dionysius gab (den man zwar im Mittelalter für eine Person hielt, der aber, wie wir heute wissen, aus der Mixtur von drei verschiedenen Personen entstand), hatte er, auf Rat eines bayerischen Prälaten, einen längeren Feldzug gegen den Bayernherzog Arnulf geführt, den die Kirche als den Bösen, als Tyrannen und Sohn der Verderbnis verschrie, dessen große Säkularisationen aber zum Teil bereits Herzog Berthold, Arnulfs Bruder, wieder rückgängig machte. Schon 922 ernannte Heinrich den Erzbischof Heriger von Mainz, dessen Salbungsofferte er doch abgewiesen, offiziell zu seinem Erzkapellan und umgab sich immer mehr mit Oberhirten und Äbten, die in den Königsurkunden ebenfalls stark überwogen. Auch übergab er (929) seinen vierjährigen Sohn Brun dem Bischof Balderich I. von Utrecht zur Erziehung und bestimmte ihn für die bischöfliche Laufbahn.

DIE «HEILIGE LANZE»

Schließlich erwarb Heinrich nach monatelangem Ersuchen, Fordern, Drohen von König Rudolf II. von Hochburgund 926 für Gold, Silber sowie, als weitere Gegengabe, einen «nicht geringen Teil des Schwabenlandes», Basel, die mit einem vermeintlichen Nagel vom Kreuz Christi ausgestattete, siegverheißende Heilige Lanze, angeblich ein Symbol für den Anspruch auf Italien.

Das kostbare Stück nahm unter den «Reichsinsignien» (deren Besitz die Rechtmäßigkeit der Herrschaft auswies) «lange den vornehmsten Platz» ein (Althoff/Keller). Allerdings wurde diese Heilige Lanze mal als Konstantinlanze ausgegeben, mal als Lanze des Longinus, der in der Passionsgeschichte die Seite des Gekreuzigten einstach, später, so erzählte man, (samt dem von ihm bekehrten Kerkermeister) selbst Märtyrer wird, und den man darum sinnigerweise beim «Blutsegen» anruft, beim Besprechen von Blutungen und Wunden. Endlich gilt die Heilige Lanze seit

the n. The lance of St. Maurice, a prominent martyr revered by the Franks as a "warrior saint" and made a "saint of the realm", who - in Christian heroic legend! - under Diocletian in Switzerland as the leader of the Theban Legion along with no less than 66oo other
martyrs had died gloriously (p. 460): - one scam follows another in this history of the church, saints and martyrs, and often one is bigger than the other.

The holy rarity in which, so to speak, three Holy Lances were in one Holy Lance (as in the one Dionysius three complete saints - yes, or as in the one divine person three divine persons ...).), this "priceless gift from heaven", alongside which there were of course other (but less effective) holy lances carried on crusades (ioq8, i too), has since been part of the crown treasure of German kings and is said to have been brought from Vienna to the "city of the imperial party rallies" of Nuremberg in iq38. Today, however, it is once again resting in Vienna's treasury, but would hardly be w o r t h a "not insignificant part of Swabia" or even the city of Basel. At that time, however, the "jewel", the
"Bearer of a most precious relic ... as a symbol of reign for the king, who was a firm believer in his rule" (Kämpf) - above all his triumph, whereby it was attributed to the
Henry led his army over the Hungarians in the yearC 93s. March, the day of St. Longinus ...'

But whether King Henry I saw himself more, according to Widukind, guided by the -grace of God- or by the -geopolitical Cesefz *of the Elbe"* (Lüdtke), he finally threw himself on the heathens with true rage and delight by undertaking a series of devastating campaigns against the Elbe Slavs, celebrated by Archbishop Adalbert of Magdeburg as a -supporter of peace".

VOM HÖLLENFRIEDEN DER CHRISTEN UND VON IHREN «GRUNDWERTEN»

Der Friede bekam (nicht nur damals!) ein ganz bestimmtes Gesicht für gewisse Kreise, besonders für die kirchlichen – «eine pax, die nicht in der bloßen Abwesenheit von Krieg und Zerstörung bestand, sondern das irdische Gegenstück zur civitas celestis bildete, in welcher *iustitia*, die ‹rechte Ordnung›, überall herrschte und nirgendwo entstellt oder gestört wurde» (Bullough). Es kann also sehr wohl in so verstandener «pax» durch Kampf und Grauen drunter und drüber gehn, ja, es muß geradezu Krieg geben, wird «iustitia», die «rechte Ordnung» verletzt, eben die christliche.

Das ist, unschwer zu zeigen, noch heute so.

Frieden um jeden Preis kennt die christliche Geschichte nicht. «Freiheit», «Ordnung», die «christlichen Grundwerte» müssen gewahrt, müssen verteidigt werden – notfalls bis aufs Blut, bis zum totalen Ruin selbst des zu Verteidigenden. Gegen «gewissenlose Verbrecher» erlaubte Papst Pius XII. sogar den Atom-, ja den ABC-Krieg. Und dies, so damals sein Interpret Jesuit Gundlach, Professor (und zeitweilig Rektor) der päpstlichen Gregoriana in Rom: bis zum «Untergang eines Volkes» – ging doch schon mehr als ein Volk mit intensiver kirchlicher Beihilfe unter (II 415 ff., 424 ff., IV 485 ff.) – ja bis zum Untergang der ganzen Welt, da für das von ihnen dann erlaubte Weltende Gott «auch die Verantwortung übernimmt». – Glücklicherweise kennen wir um das Jahr 2000 gar keine Kriege mehr, leben wir in einer ganz und gar friedlichen Zeit: es gibt nur noch «friedenschaffende» und «friedenerhaltende» Maßnahmen ...

Doch schon seinerzeit, als man schlicht und frei heraus Krieg führte, nahezu Dauerkrieg, ging es eigentlich stets um den «Frieden», wurde die pax immer mehr, besonders unter Otto I., zu einem Standardbegriff christlicher Politik, angebliches Ziel jeder (defensiven oder offensiven) Heidenabschlachtung.[10]

HISTORIKER GESTERN ...

Im Nordosten aber hatte nicht einmal Karl «der Große» sonderlich ausgreifende Absichten gehegt. Altmeister Hauck meint sogar, der Kaiser habe dort nur an die Behauptung der «natürlichen Grenzen» gedacht. «An der Elbe hatte der große Eroberer keine Eroberungspläne ... Karl ließ sich nicht dazu verleiten, wendisches Gebiet dem fränkischen Staatswesen einzuverleiben ... Der Beweis liegt vor allem darin, daß nicht das Geringste geschah, um die Wenden zum Christentum zu bekehren.»

Mag dies schon ein etwas kühner Schluß des Verfassers der gewiß noch immer gewichtigen «Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands» sein, so ist noch bemerkenswerter seine Meinung, auch die späteren Karolinger, Ludwig der Fromme, Ludwig der Deutsche, dessen Söhne und deren Nachfolger hätten an dieser «Defensive» Karls im Osten festgehalten, die ostfränkischen Fürsten seien durch das ganze 9. Jahrhundert über diese «defensive Politik», über die fortgesetzte kraftlose, nie weiterführende Folge von Abfall und Unterwerfung, Verweigerung des Tributs und Nötigung zum Tribut, nicht hinausgekommen (vgl. dazu bes. S. 157 ff.).

Dagegen erscheint Albert Hauck im 10. Jahrhundert das liudolfingische Engagement als wahres «Glück». «Denn mochten auch die sächsischen Herzoge zunächst nur um Sieg und Beute kämpfen, so führte doch ihre Überlegenheit im Felde von selbst dazu, daß an Stelle des Raubkriegs der Eroberungskrieg trat. Es ist das Verdienst des Herzogs Otto, wendisches Gebiet zuerst wirklich der deutschen Herrschaft unterworfen, wendische Stämme zuerst an die Botmäßigkeit unter deutschen Fürsten gewöhnt zu haben. Mit Kraft und Erfolg setzte Heinrich I. das von ihm begonnene Werk fort: an die Stelle der defensiven Politik trat an der ganzen langgezogenen wendischen Grenze jetzt die Offensive.» «In diesem Gebiet haben Herzog Otto und König Heinrich die Grundlage der deutschen Herrschaft und damit der deutschen Nationalität gelegt.»

«Seit der Besiegung der Dänen im Jahre 934 war vollends das deutsche Übergewicht über die Slaven gesichert. Auf der ganzen

line from the Erzgebirge to the Eider, German rule was extended over the Wendish lands ... A very loose dependence was replaced by a more or less definite incorporation. One realizes the significance of this achievement when one realizes that the territory thus linked to the empire was larger in extent than that of any German tribe. The Wendish conquests are the world-historical deed of Henry 1. Through them he led the German people into the area to which, after almost a millennium, the center of gravity of German power was to shift.""

Well, wonderful. We will follow in the footsteps of this "German power", from band to band, the German essence that the East was supposed to recover from ...

Of course, we are not talking about sacrifices here, neither our own nor the sacrifices of others. Blood? Not a drop, so to speak. After all, this is a clean affair, glorious all round. You win. You conquer because you are stronger. You conquer, you coerce, you conquer again, you subjugate, you subjugate anew, you assert yourself, you break the power of a tribe, you force them to recognize you, above all to recognize the obligation to pay tribute again and again, you get used to being a bully, you extend German rule further. Ah, a really beautiful thing! And there is no bloodshed. And there is no injustice. Not flight either, expulsion, enslavement, not misery and death. Only - the "German power", the "German rule", "the world-historical deed"! And of course, the theologian and church historian Hauck, who writes his magnum opus in the Wilhelminian era, devotes several pages to it - long before Heinrich Himmler and Alfred Rosenberg "declared their love for the 'Ur-Germanic' Heinrich, which gave rise to a literature of a corresponding level …- (Brühl).

... U1'4D **HISTORIANS TODAY**

However, since the overall political situation is now different and the historical constellation has shifted somewhat, a slightly different view of history is being conveyed. Henry's "world-historical deed", which of course no longer figures as such, is now often played down, treated as briefly as possible, almost escapistically and of course accentuated in a completely different way. The medievalist Eduard Hlawitschka, for example, devotes just under zi pages to Henry I in a "study book", but not even half a page to Henry's offensive (even less than to the "acquisition of the Holy Lance"). Moreover, it is only about: -preventive border security", -prevention", the -Training of an ßeitertruppe-, with which the "small Slavic neighboring tribes ... defeated and made subject to tribute". However, this was more incidental, in fact merely to be able to use the new cavalry contingent against the Hungarians in a "tried and tested" manner and to prevent the "Slavic neighbors" from supporting them.

In an anthology, the same scholar offers us a ten-page article on King Henry I., but a single sentence about his "world-historical deed", which merely mentions border battles with the Slavic neighbors on the Elbe and Saale - the Hevellians, Daleminci, Witzen, Abodrites and Redari, and also Bohemia - in order to test the new cavalry triumphs and at the same time to warn the Slavic neighbors against supporting the Hungarians. The "territory robbed and bloodily conquered by Henry", which Hauck calls "larger than that o f any German tribe" with unmistakable admiration, is described by Hlawitschka, writing a hundred years later, as merely a kind of troop training ground, conveniently neighboring, whereupon one can see the highly respectable war against the Hungarians."

More recent historians generally speak as little of the battles themselves as Hauck does. No, blood? Usually hardly - it would simply be inadequate, less relevant than relevant,

below any (ordinariate) level. The -Handbook of European History- (iqqz) mentions 'On the battles in general a single publication - and that from the year iq38.[3]

Historiography, especially that of the "future", is not nearly as "objective" as most of its representatives still pretend. -The assessments were always influenced by the political problems of the respective present.- This judgment by Gerd Althoff and Hagen Keller in their two-volume study -Heinrich I and Otto the Great- (Iqq¢) is only applied to the historiography applicable to the first two Ottonians, but more or less characterizes it in general. The two historians would perhaps dispute this. Equally, Henry's "world-historical deed" requires only two sentences from them in their entire book about this king. And here, too, his "campaigns against the Slavs" (which were, after all, carried out with great cruelty) - with reference to Wilfried - again appear merely as preparation for the defense against Hungary, above all as a test for the netie cavalry."

This is one motive - possibly - as stated in the handbook just mentioned. But another motive is that Henry needed new royal lands, new opportunities to expand and new tribes that he could fleece - "the royal treasury filled up again" (Fried). -The following lands", Thietmar praises (mentioning "only very little" of his hero's "glorious life"), "he made himself liable to tribute: Bohemia, Daleminia, the Obodrites, the Wilzes, the Hevellians and the Redarians". The prelate writes immediately afterwards: "Of course, they immediately rebelled again ..." But then they attacked them again straight away and, as Bishop Thietmar concludes in good Christian fashion, "took revenge". However, especially with many German historians, one can of course also assume a *"preventive and tributary border* protection" (Reindel), one can speak of "border protection", of Henry's efforts to "lay a militarily secured protective belt in front of the interior" (Fleckenstein).

However: Albert Hauck is right. Henry I was offensive in the east. The more reserved he remained in the west, the more cautious, indeed

The more lenient he was in his tactics there, the more recklessly he attacked in the East.

HEINRICH'S "BORDER SECURITY" OR "NONE OF THE ABOVE".

With this king, where the slave trade flourished even in times of peace, pagan warfare - especially with armored cavalry - gradually took on the character of terror against some West Slavic and Baltic peoples that it retained for centuries. The mission was always associated with the violent fight against the Bohemians, Elbe Slavs and Danes. As the German population steadily increased, the Elbe Slavs (the Abodrites, Wilzes, Redarians, Ukrians, Hevellians, Sorbs, Milzenians, Daleminzians) were decimated with unusual severity, their villages destroyed by the hundred, their people murdered, expelled and deported. -Foreign domination is the greatest misery, lamented Bishop Thietmar, but, as befits a Christian chief pastor, he was of course only thinking of the oppression of his own people. (-Thietmar's chronicle demands, dear reader", he himself says in Prologue I, "some generosity . . .-)

Henry I had already marched against the north-west Slavic tribe of the Daleminzians in death on behalf of his father. He then proved his "ability as a warrior" and returned "successfully" (Thietmar) after severe devastation and pillaging, which incidentally led to the first Hungarian invasion of Saxony. Of course, Henry, like every Saxon, hated the Wends and knew no injustice towards them: he permitted any crime against the Wends by a troop of bandits, thieves and robbers recruited and settled in Merseburg, the "Merseburg Legion" (which went into battle after "Otto the Great" until it was destroyed by Boleslav I of Bohemia). And he constantly added

his gangster's commandment. Whenever he saw "that a thief or robber was a brave man and capable of war, he gave him due punishment and transferred him to the suburb of Merseburg, gave him fields and weapons and ordered him to spare his fellow citizens, but to raid the barbarians as much as they dared. The crowd gathered from such people thus formed a complete army for the march of war." And Merseburg, situated directly on the border to the Slavic lands, was naturally a good base for the raids. The king used seven years of his iy-year reign to fight against the Elbe Slavic peoples, deeply unjust wars aimed solely at subjugation and exploitation - "one of the great leaders … as fate gives our people only once in a millennium" (Lüdtke).

qa8, Henry was already in the Hz. At the age of 18 - according to some historians now a fully mature genius - he opened the German-Havelian battles, -many battles, as Widukind points out, which lasted until the beginning of the 1940s. In doing so, the king took advantage of a peace concluded with the Hungarians and suddenly in winter, very unusually at the time, left the Hevelians, a sub-tribe of the Wilzes, on the other side of the Elbe, on the middle Havel. {From this river, from its Germanic name Habula, the original tribal name of the Hevelians, Habelli, is derived; as it is also assumed that after the Slavic immigration in the eighth century, the remaining Germanic population mixed with the Slavs and formed the Hevelian tribe; a root of the later Mark Braildenburg).

Henry's son Otto had accompanied him on his attack on the Hevellers - a good school for life. Otherwise the offspring could neither read nor write at the time, like his crowned father throughout his life, whose mighty physique, according to Tidukind, only lent the ruler's dignity the right adornment! The prince was also a hard drinker. And a great hunter, whose end, however, was announced even on the hunt (p. oq), on which he sometimes "rode forty or more hounds in one ride".

killed more game" (Widukind; cf. p. y8y note i3!)¡ if it is not hunter's Latin. (Otto did not understand Latin either.) But the slaughter of men. Father and son practiced it with virtuosity. And descendants like ancestors. The Christians as a whole, especially their nobles.

After many battles, the water-protected main base of the Hevellers, the strategically located Brennabor Castle (Brandenburg), was taken in severe frost - it was later to change hands ten more times (and, according to an allegedly well-founded mutiny, was already the target of Karl's -dcs Grofien" during his Wilzenzug of 7 s). q 8 the oldest episcopal church is established in the outer bailey. And the middle Havel area around the Brandenburg then formed the bishopric Otto 1. under the control of Margrave Gero (- 4§Off.).

Immediately after the conquest of Brandenburg, the king conquered the Daleminzians, who lived southwards in the area around Meissen and Dresden and had already been conquered by Charles -the

The main castle of Gana (named after Jahna, a left tributary of the Elbe near Riesa) was only conquered after a twenty-day siege, after which it was razed to the ground. All the men, perhaps also women and children, were slain - according to Widukind, all adults (puberes) were put down, boys and girls were dragged into slavery. To secure his rule, the German king built MeiBen Castle (Misni) on a hill o m above the Elbe, a fortress of considerable strategic importance. And of ecclesiastical importance, as the later bishopric was linked to it. The political role of the Daleminzier was thus over.

In the same year, on September 4 pzp, a Saxon army slaughtered the rebellious Slavs near Lenzen on the right bank of the Lower Rhine, mainly due to the superiority of its pan- riders. Elbe, a stronghold in the Priegnitz. Sources report, very exaggeratedly, iao ooo, even aoo ooo fallen Wends¡ mostly fugitives and prisoners who were killed, stabbed or imprisoned.

einen See trieb und ertränkte. Jedenfalls: man «schlug sie so, daß nur wenige entkamen» (Bischof Thietmar). «Von dem Fußvolk kam keiner davon, von der Reiterei nur sehr wenige, und so endete die Schlacht mit dem Untergang aller Gegner» (Mönch Widukind). Nach ihm fechten bei Lenzen die Barbaren, wie die Slawen immer wieder heißen, schlicht gegen das «Volk Gottes», dessen Angesicht «Helle und Heiterkeit» umstrahlt – das gute Gewissen, das der Klerus in allen Kriegen zu seinen Gunsten seiner Soldateska attestiert. Am nächsten Tag fiel Lenzen – «durch Gottes Huld und Gnade ein herrlicher Sieg». Sämtliche Einwohner wurden versklavt, Frauen und Kinder nackt weggetrieben. Die Besatzung der Burg, der an dem einzigen, strategisch wichtigen Elbübergang zwischen Bardowieck und Magdeburg gelegenen Hauptburg der slawischen Linonen, wurde, trotz Zusicherung freien Abzugs, geköpft – «man kannte keine Schonung, nur Vernichtung oder Knechtschaft» (Waitz).

Eine «Großtat der Kriegsgeschichte», so ein Historiker der Nazizeit; geleistet durch den «Größten unter den Königen Europas» (regum maximus Europae), wie sich schon Mönch Widukind vernehmen ließ. Feierte doch auch Bischof Thietmar den Schlächter als einen, «der die Seinen klug zu behandeln wußte, Feinde aber schlau und mannhaft zu überwinden verstand». Ja, es waren die gloriosen Jahre 928 und 929, in denen «die gewaltige, wahrhaft heroische Gestalt», «die revolutionäre, schicksalgestaltende Größe Heinrichs I.», «der Schöpfer des Reiches, der große deutsche König und Mensch» «seine schöpferische Ostpolitik begann» und jenen Boden gewann, «den nun der deutsche Mensch gestalten, den das lebendige Blut unzähliger Geschlechter arthaft und heimatlich formen durfte» (Lüdtke). Aber auch Richard Wagner rühmte Heinrich I. im «Lohengrin»: «Ruhmreich und groß dein Name soll / von dieser Erde nie vergehn!»[16]

«... WEIL DER SOLDAT NACH VERWESUNG STINKT» – BISCHOF THIETMAR «AUF DER HÖHE DER BILDUNG SEINER ZEIT»

Stolz meldet der Chronist auch den Schlachtentod «zwei meiner Urgroßväter namens Liuthar» bei Lenzen, des Liuthar von Stade und Liuthar von Walbeck; «treffliche Ritter von hoher Abkunft, Zierde und Trost des Vaterlandes ...» Dieselben Phrasen – durch die Jahrtausende: vom alten Rom (hier präsent durch dessen «Nationalepos», Vergils Aeneis 10, 858 f.) bis zur entsprechenden Weltkriegspropaganda (man vgl. «Die Politik der Päpste im 20. Jahrhundert» I 236 ff.!, II 112 ff.) – semper idem. Das Entscheidende jedenfalls, das Geschichts-Notorische, -Normierende: die kolossale Verdummungs-, Unterjochungs-, die Kriminal- und Katastrophenhistorie, besonders auch das völkerverblödende Glorifizieren und Sanktifizieren all der unsäglichen Schlacht- und Abstechungsorgien, das wiederholt sich immer wieder – selten so drastisch und gut gegeißelt wie in Brechts «Ballade vom toten Soldaten»:

> «Und weil der Soldat nach Verwesung stinkt,
> drum hinkt ein Pfaffe voran,
> der über ihn ein Weihrauchfaß schwingt,
> daß er nicht stinken kann.»

Eben dies Weihrauchfaß schwingt auch Bischof Thietmar von Merseburg, indem er unmittelbar nach der Erinnerung an seine Urgroßväter, die «Zierde und Trost des Vaterlandes», mehrere Beispiele, «Beweise» auftischt, damit ja «kein Christgläubiger mehr an der künftigen Auferstehung der Toten zweifle ...» Denn das christliche Dauermassaker viribus unitis von Thron und Altar seit dem frühen 4. Jahrhundert (I 247 ff.) wird traditionell innig mit dem christlichen Glauben verwoben. Je mehr Blut fließt, desto nötiger der «liebe» Gott, besonders aber die Predigt von der Auferstehung – die Weiterlebenslüge.

So präsentiert Thietmar gleich «eine jüngst aus dieser Welt

account

A "deceased woman" who, having picked herself up again, converses quite normally with a priest, which of course guarantees "reliable news". **Something** very similar," the bishop continues, "was seen and heard by guards in Magdeburg in my time. They saw and heard two dead mice singing in a church. And the "most respected citizens" who were brought here also experienced this truly marvelous pleasure, for which there was once again
-believing witnesses- exist. Just as in Deventer, dead people sacrificed and sang in a church and unceremoniously threw out a priest who was looking at them, even burning him to dust and ashes in front of the altar the next night, which even Thietmar's sick base Brigida (probably the daughter of his uncle, Margrave Liuthar of the Saxon Nordmark) testifies to, who moreover assures us: -If my weakness did not hinder me, dear son, I could still tell you much of all this."

And Bishop Thietmar us!

He - who himself once "clearly overheard a conversation with the dead", as a "companion" of h i s could now confirm - is only interested in preaching "to all believers", and "clearly", as he emphasizes again, "the certainty of resurrection and future retribution according to their merits"; to make everyone believe that in war one can proudly be the "ornament and consolation of the fatherland", that one can "fall with peace of mind" b e c a u s e one will rise again, rise again, like his two great-grandfathers at Lenzen ... And even to the "unbeliever" he makes this completely indisputable through the words of the prophets: -Lord, your dead will live!" Or: "And the dead in the tombs will rise, hear the voice of the Son of God and rejoice ..." Yes, what moron would still doubt that! Since everything is so simple, believable and above all so true, especially for a Christian bishop, Thietmar literally feeds us with miracles, dream visions, revelations, apparitions, visions, signs and wonders, healing miracles, punitive wounds, miraculous solar eclipses, etc. in his historical work. Is this the work of a

A man, as research assures us, who "emerged from one of the best schools", "who stood at the height of education of his time", who "had far-reaching knowledge (meet me) - Ergo, the Magdeburg dean Hepo xwar, who had been struck by the blow, can "barely whisper", but can still "sing the psalms beautifully with the brothers". Somewhere, wine that has run out is renewed all by itself, so that not only the nuns of a monastery drink it "for a long time", but also many other residents and guests to the praise of the Lord. And somewhere a holy corpse does not stink, but simply smells as strong as it is sweet - according to the testimony of highly credible men even more than three miles away.

Of course, historians and theologians alike teach us that we must not judge all of this and other shocking things from today's perspective, but only from the perspective of a time that believed and thought differently. That sounds wise. But aside from the fact that millions still believe and think this way today - why did people think and believe this whole immortal nonsense so doggedly throughout the ages* Because thousands and thousands of fooled fools and deceivers have drummed it into them, because they have ruined the classical ideals of Greek antiquity for centuries, -made the wisdom of this world into foolishness" (i. Cor. i,zo), because they have plunged the West and the East into this whole darkly fatal swamp of ignorance and superstition, of the fraud of relics, miracles and pilgrimages, and have virtually buried the nations spiritually in it (vgi. especially III. and q. chapter!); because they banished universal education from the schools, subordinated and sacrificed all education to Christianization, because they made their theological delusion of spirits the teaching par excellence, so that even Thomas Aquinas could call the striving for knowledge "sin" if it did not aim at "the knowledge of God" (cf. also I aö ff.).

In this way, any madness, even the most monstrous, could be effortlessly spread and internalized, the more fantastic, the better! Not just the big bunch: illiterati et idiotae. "A mad people," sneers Voltaire, "who run after a few swindlers,

genügt; mit der Ansteckung mehren sich die Wunder – und nun ist die ganze Welt verrückt.»

Bis tief in die Neuzeit vegetieren die christlichen Massen im Zustand völligen Analphabetentums. Ja, warum denn! Doch auch die Aristokratie, die Mehrheit der Fürsten: bis in die Stauferzeit nicht schreibkundig. Nur eines hatte dieser Christenadel besser als alles gelernt, nicht die Nächsten-, nicht die Feindesliebe, nicht die Frohe Botschaft, nein: schlachten, schlachten, schlachten![17]

931 zieht Heinrich gegen die Obodriten. 932 wird das 10 000 Einwohner zählende Liubusua, Zentrum des Slavenstammes der Lusici (nach neuesten Forschungen im Kreis Luckau gelegen), erobert und niedergebrannt, achtzig Jahre später die durch eine deutsche Besatzung gesicherte Burg von Boleslaw Chrobry, dem Polenfürsten, genommen. (Es geschah im zweiten der drei Kriege, die Kaiser Heinrich der Heilige, mit Heiden im Bunde, gegen den Polen führte, den man seinerseits immerhin als Ideal des christlichen Herrschers feierte, als rex Christianissimus und athleta Christi; Rühmungen, deren sich Boleslaw u. v. a. auch dadurch würdig erwies, daß er am 20. August 1012 bei der Einnahme von Liubusua ein «jammervolles Blutbad» veranstaltete [Bischof Thietmar] und die Burg abermals niederbrannte.) Heinrich I. machte seinerzeit die Lausitz tributpflichtig, ebenfalls, durch einen Feldzug 934, die Uckermark. «Kein Wunder, daß solche Taten auch die Kirche begeisterten», schwärmt man noch im 20. Jahrhundert. «Mitgerissen von dem Strom des Lebens, der mit Heinrich aufquillt, kommt auch das kirchliche Leben in Fluß . . .» (Schöffel).[18]

Das gilt sogar noch für den Norden. Im selben Jahr nämlich, 934, besiegt Heinrich in einem blutigen Krieg gegen die als fast unüberwindbar geltenden, in ganz Westeuropa gefürchteten Dänen deren Unterkönig Gnuba, den Beherrscher von Haithabu, macht ihn zinspflichtig und zu seinem Vasallen. Nicht zuletzt aber schuf der König dadurch auch im Norden eine neue Basis für die Ausbreitung des Gottesreiches auf Erden. Brachte er so doch die Heiden «von ihrem alten Irrglauben ab und lehrte sie das Joch Christi tragen» (Thietmar). Denn getreu der alten Strategie: erst

das Schwert, dann die Mission, begann gleich nach dieser Niederlage Erzbischof Unno von Hamburg-Bremen in Dänemark und Birka die Bekehrungsarbeit. Bald danach fiel Gnuba im Kampf gegen den nordjütischen König Gorm, unter dessen Sohn König Harald Blauzahn die Dänen Christen werden.[19]

Im Osten freilich hatte man jetzt die wildesten Teufel vor sich und noch längst nicht im «Joch Christi».

«... JAHRELANGE ERZIEHUNGSARBEIT»

Die Ungarn, «fürchterlich an Tracht und Körperbau», wie Mönch Widukind, «das sehr wilde und alle Raubtiere an Grausamkeit übertreffende Volk», wie Abt Regino von Prüm seinerzeit schreibt, Männer mit «greulichem Grunzen», mit «hundeartigem Geheul», so Ekkehard IV. von St. Gallen, kurz, die «Kinder des Teufels» (filii Belial, Annales Palidenses), waren erstmals 894 über die Donau in die Pannonische Mark, anno 900 erstmals in Bayern eingefallen. Seitdem verwüsteten sie häufig süddeutsche Gegenden, und die Kirche hatte große – vordem freilich selbst geraubte – Gebiete verloren. Die Bistumsgrenzen von Passau und Salzburg waren schon zu Beginn des 10. Jahrhunderts bis an die Enns und den Alpenabhang zurückgeschoben – wie blutig auch immer sogar die Seelenhirten sich wehrten: nach der Schlacht bei Preßburg am 4. Juli 907 lagen mit dem ganzen bayerischen Heer auch die Bischöfe von Salzburg, Freising und Seben tot auf dem Schlachtfeld.

Nach Sachsen und damit in den Norden stießen die Eindringlinge erstmals 906 vor, als der junge Heinrich auf Befehl seines Vaters den Kriegszug gegen die Daleminzier geführt und diese schwer gebrandschatzt hatte. Von ihnen zu Hilfe gerufen, verheerten die Ungarn darauf fürchterlich das Land. Sie töteten viele Sachsen, schleppten andere gefangen mit sich und kamen während Heinrichs Regierung 919, 924 wieder, 926 erneut, jetzt auch jenseits des Rheins; überfluteten ihre Reiterhorden doch nun

gnnz Western Europe - "... et vastaverunt omnia", a typical phrase of the yearbooks.

As the king waited for further developments in the protection of his palace of Werla, a Hungarian leader fell into his hands by chance. Henry took the opportunity to conclude a nine-year truce (with the assurance of annual tribute payments) and used the period to create a defensive belt, build new castles and renovate old ones, especially on the Slavic border, whereby the people living there had to help build day and night and also provide provisions in the event of an emergency. The castles had evidently defended themselves since Carolingian times, and in Ottonian times the entire political life rested on them, "with certain restrictions also the church" (Schlesinger). Henry built castles for the salvation of the land and churches for the Lord for the salvation of his soul", notes Bishop Thietmar, beautifully reducing real Christianity to its (in both senses of the word) practical core values: church and war.

Furthermore, a wealth of monasteries and abbeys were massively fortified, such as Hersfeld, Corvey, St. Gall, and of course many a palatinate, Werla or Merseburg, and not least the Saxon cavalry was modernized, armoured and east of the Elbe and Saale rivers in constant Slavic massacres for the Hungarian War
-trained; scholars also speak of a "rehearsal" (Beumann). After six years, the king felt strong enough to break the truce thanks to the "years of educational work, the fortification of his people" (Lüdtke), with the church eagerly assisting him. After all, it had also had to help pay the Hungarian tribute; perhaps the reason why it immediately decided to introduce a poll tax in its own favor when it revoked it q3z in Erfurt at the first imperial synod attested at the time of Henry I.

In connection with this imperial synod in June, presided over by Archbishop Hildebert of Mainz and attended by the king and numerous German bishops, the concurrent assembly of the people and the army also decreed the Hungarian War.

Denn nun glaubte man, wie gesagt, sich gerüstet genug, um den Kampf aufzunehmen. So sprach der König zum «Volk»: «Von welchen Gefahren euer Reich, das früher gänzlich in Verwirrung war, jetzt befreit ist, das wißt ihr selbst nur zu gut, die ihr durch innere Fehden und auswärtige Kämpfe so oft schwer zu leiden hattet. Doch nun seht ihr es durch die Gnade des Höchsten, durch unsere Bemühung, durch euere Tapferkeit befriedet und geeinigt, die Barbaren besiegt und unterworfen. Was wir jetzt noch tun müssen, ist uns gegen unsere gemeinsamen Feinde, die Awaren, vereint zu erheben.»

Ein Feind bleibt immer, durch die Jahrtausende. Wohin auch käme man ohne ihn! Ja, alles verarmt, schien es, heruntergekommen, pleite. Nur nicht, versteht sich, Mutter Kirche. Ihr Reichtum war offenbar noch so ungeschmälert wie der der räuberischen Ungarn. «Bisher habe ich, um ihre Schatzkammern zu füllen, euch, euere Söhne und Töchter ausgeplündert, nunmehr müßte ich die Kirche und Kirchendiener plündern, da uns kein Geld mehr, nur das nackte Leben geblieben ist. Geht daher mit euch zu Rate und entscheidet euch, was wir in dieser Angelegenheit tun sollen. Soll ich den Schatz, der dem Dienst Gottes geweiht ist, nehmen und als Lösegeld für uns den Feinden Gottes geben? Oder soll ich nicht eher mit dem Gelde die Würde des Gottesdienstes erhöhen, damit uns vielmehr Gott erlöst, der wahrhaft sowohl unser Schöpfer als Erlöser ist?»[20]

Rhetorische Fragen. Selbstverständlich wollten sie den Kirchenschatz erhalten, wollten alle «durchaus von dem lebendigen und wahren Gott erlöst werden, weil er treu sei und gerecht in allen seinen Wegen und heilig in allen seinen Werken». Und so streckten sie denn, erlösungshungrig, «die Rechte zum Himmel» und schwuren dem König Beistand.

«BEWÄHRUNGSPROBE»

Nun hat durch das ganze mittelalterliche Jahrtausend wohl niemand Tribute regelmäßiger erpreßt als Franken und Deutsche! Aber selbst entrichtete man sie natürlich höchst ungern. Und so schickte man 932 die den Jahressold fordernden Gesandten aus dem Osten mit leeren Händen nach Hause – und hatte schon im nächsten Jahr die Ungarn da. In Thüringen teilten sich ihre Haufen. Das westwärts gegen Sachsen stürmende Korps nahmen zunächst sächsische und thüringische Truppen in Empfang – «die Führer der Ungarn fallen», jubelt Widukind, «ihr Heer wird zersprengt, durch das Land hin verfolgt, ein Teil wird durch Hunger und Kälte aufgerieben, andere sterben niedergehauen oder gefangen, wie sie es verdienten, allesamt eines jämmerlichen Todes».[21]

Eine wahrhaft christliche Sicht der Sache. Man sprach auch von einem Gottesgericht. Und ein zweites folgte sogleich am 15. März 933 durch das Reichsheer, durch ein Aufgebot aller Stämme unter Heinrich bei Riade (wahrscheinlich Kalbsrieth am Zusammenfluß von Helme und Unstrut). Bischof Liutprand von Cremona preist dabei «den löblichen und nachahmenswerten Brauch» der Sachsen, «daß kein waffenfähiger Mann, der über dreizehn Jahre zählt, dem Heerbann sich entziehen darf». Man rückte also mit Kindern in die Schlacht und drohte Kriegsdienstverweigerern die Todesstrafe an.

«Noch durch Krankheit geschwächt», berichtet der Bischof weiter, besteigt der König, «so gut er kann, sein Roß, schart seine Krieger um sich, begeistert sie durch Worte zur Kampfeswut . . .» Wobei er, «von göttlichem Anhauch beseelt», hinzufügt: «Das Beispiel der Könige der Vorzeit und die Schriften der heiligen Väter (!) lehren uns, was wir zu tun haben.» Nun sprengen die Kinder Gottes unter dem Feldzeichen des Erzengels Michael – in der Bibel (Apk. 12,7 ff.) Anführer der Engel im endzeitlichen Kampf – mit einem markigen und selbstverständlich gottgefälligen, überdies wunderkräftigen «Kyrie eleison!» dem höllischen «Hui! Hui!» der «Kinder des Teufels» entgegen, der König selbst «bald vorn, bald in der Mitte, bald in den letzten Reihen» (Wi-

dukind), und schlagen die Reichsfeinde, als Heiden ja zugleich Feinde der Kirche, ganz famos aufs Haupt «durch die Gnade der göttlichen Barmherzigkeit» (Liutprand). Nach Flodoard, dem sicher mächtig (doch noch nicht am mächtigsten) übertreibenden Kanonikus der Reimser Kathedrale, 36 000 Tote, ungerechnet die angeblich zahllosen im Fluß Ertrunkenen.

Immerhin: danach kommen die Ungarn zu Lebzeiten Heinrichs nicht wieder – eine schöne «Bewährungsprobe», ein Zeugnis der «geschichtlichen Lebensfähigkeit» des deutschen Reiches (Flekkenstein). Der erste Ungarnsieg eines deutschen Königs, der danach von seinen Streitern als «Vater des Vaterlandes, Herr der Welt und Imperator» gefeiert wird, auch in der Merseburger Pfalz seinen Triumph im Bild «verewigen» läßt, doch «auf alle Weise der Ehre Gottes, wie es sich gehörte», Dank abstattet, das heißt der Kirche und angeblich sogar den Armen den zuvor dem Feind entrichteten Tribut spendiert.[22]

Ab Mitte des 10. Jahrhunderts erfolgt die Zurückwerfung der Ungarn; wobei man nach dem Sieg 944 auf der Welser Haide unter Herzog Berthold zur Offensive übergeht, sie 948 schlägt, 949 in Ungarn einfällt, u. a. begleitet von dem Bischof Michael von Regensburg (der, selber verwundet, noch einen schwer angeschlagenen Ungarn absticht), bis man 955 vor Augsburg triumphiert.[23]

Etwa gleichzeitig mit seinen Attacken gegen die Elbslawen unternahm Heinrich I. einen Zug nach Böhmen, dessen Stämme erst seit dem 9. Jahrhundert die Aufmerksamkeit der fränkischen Annalisten finden.

DER HL. WENZEL, DIE HL. LUDMILA UND ZWEI FROMME CHRISTLICHE VERWANDTENMÖRDER

Böhmen hatte Karl «der Große» sofort nach seinen Siegen über Sachsen und Awaren bekriegt, bemerkenswerter Weise gleich nach dem Besuch Papst Leos bei ihm 804. Schon 805 und 806 ließ

He attacked it with three armies at a time (1 493 ff.), and since then it has also been Christianized, mainly by missionaries from Regensburg. Thus one could doft *45 *nah ty %hmische Grofie (duces) with their followers (cum hominibus).*

After the collapse of Great Moravia, Bohemia was the most important power among the West Slavic peoples. The Czechs, based around Png, one of the oldest "capitals" in Europe, had probably already united the whole country by the end of the q. century. century. At that time, Duke Bolivoj I (died around 8qq) and, at an unknown location, his wife Ludmila, daughter of a Sorb prince, were "converted", the duke, according to tradition, at t h e court of Svatopluk of Moravia by Archbishop Methodius, although the date of the baptism is not known. In any case, they marked the beginning of a new, Christian line of princes, the Czech dynasty of PiemyG1 (Primizl), which ruled Bohemia until 1306. The sons of this princely couple, Spytihnév (889-qzy) and Vratislav I (qxy-9zi) - Breslaii bears his name - are also Christians. Likewise the latter's sons, the Piemyslid dukes Wenceslas (Vaclav) I. l -*M3s) and his Brother Boleslav I (q-7 Or 9731' rtäCh several sources the younger, according to one source the elder. Both came after the The two sons were placed under the guardianship of their mother Drahomir, daughter of a Hevell lord, who was also a Christian and had the power to govern. And both sons were even raised by a saint, their grandmother, St. Ludmila (86c-9zz).

Later Christian legends, however, turned Drahomir and Boleslav into pagans because the former murdered her mother-in-law, St. Ludmila, and the latter murdered his brother, St. Wenceslas, or had him murdered. And in the second half of the iq. Wetzer/Weite's standard ecclesiastical work describes Draho- mir as a "pagan" who - together with her pagan followers after Henensliist - had been in power since Ludmila's murder.

In the zo. century, however, the Catholic "Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche" also describes Drahomir as "not pagan", but rather

-baptized". And Boleslav is also - *indeed Christa*, namely -certainly from a young age- (Naegle). According to the - Handbook of Church History- Boleslav I and his son Boleslav II (d. *999)* "held firmly to Christianity a n d even contributed to its consolidation".

According to an Old Slavic tradition, the murderer demonstrates his confession on the day of the fratricide by ordering the priest Paul to pray over Wenceslas's corpse. And also Drahomir, who on ry. September qui by her henchmen Tunna and Goiamon to kill St. Ludmila and richly reward the perpetrators, builds a St. Michael's Church over Ludmila's grave (while the murderous duo finally follow her orders and Gommon is killed, Tunna escapes). But centuries later, didn't a bishop in Würzburg burn witches, quite a few of them, and offer masses for their souls? No madness is excluded in this religion, which can pass off madness as reason as well as reason as madness, as the work of the devil."

Boleslav also had the remains of his victim brought from Stara Boleslav (Old Bunzlati), his residence, to the Church of St. Vitus in Prague. The transfer took place with his consent, perhaps even on his orders. He also had this church consecrated by Bishop Michael of Regensburg with the special participation of the people, nobility and clergy. The murderer of Wenceslas also ensured that his second son Strachkvas, later called Christian, grew up as a Benedictine monk in the monastery of St. Emmeram in Regensburg, with which he had close ties. Bo- leslav's daughter Milada became the first abbess of the Prague monastery of St. George, his daughter Dubrawka (Dobrawa) in 965 the wife of the Polish Duke Mieszko 1 of the House of Piast¡ according to Polish sources, on condition that he converted to Christianity, which happened the following year and made Poland Christian (p. q63).^

Of course, pagan remnant groups played a role in the battle for power in Bohemia, but so did inner-German, more precisely Saxon-Bavarian conflicts. Did Henry I.

doch zweifellos in Böhmen Einfluß zu nehmen, wobei er, wie vermutet wurde, Wenzel als Gegenspieler gegen den vom Bayernherzog Arnulf unterstützten Boleslav gewann. Als sich die beiden Deutschen freilich im Sommer 921 überraschend arrangierten, sah Drahomir darin kaum zu Unrecht eine Bedrohung Böhmens, zumal die hl. Ludmila, offenbar von dem in Prag wirkenden Regensburger Archipresbyter Paul bestimmt, zu Arnulf hielt. Deshalb ließ Drahomir 921 ihre Schwiegermutter auf der Burg Tetin erdrosseln und verwies die bayerischen Priester des Landes. Herzog Arnulf marschierte darauf im nächsten Jahr in Böhmen ein und unterwarf Drahomir.

Heinrich fand erst gegen Ende des Jahrzehnts, nach Niederringung der nördlichen Slawen, der Heveller und Daleminzier, wieder Zeit, sich um Böhmen zu kümmern. Gerade im Kampf gegen die Elbslawen von Meißen bis ins Gebiet der Daleminzier an der böhmischen Grenze vorgedrungen, zog er über das Erzgebirge noch nach Prag weiter, während bezeichnenderweise der Bayernherzog gleichzeitig von Westen her vorstieß. Es war ein gemeinsamer Krieg gegen Böhmen, der sicher der Tributerzwingung, der seit Karl I. obligatorischen Zinszahlung, und im übrigen doch wohl eher der Unterwerfung des Boleslav, vielleicht der Erstickung eines Komplotts christlicher Tschechen mit paganen Restverbänden, als dem Wenzel galt, der im selben Jahr noch seinem Bruder zum Opfer fiel.[27]

Über Václav I., den hl. Wenzel, wie ihn dann die katholische Geschichtsschreibung nennt, ist ein Schwall von Legenden im Umlauf, die als historische Quellen meist nicht in Betracht kommen. Vergessen kann man auch vieles, was noch später Theologen und Historiker kolportieren, was zum Beispiel eine katholische Kirchengeschichte – mit Imprimatur und (ent)sprechendem Stil – noch im 20. Jahrhundert verbreitet: «Dieser Fürst pflegte selbst die Hostien zu backen und den Wein zu keltern zum Gebrauche beim hl. Meßopfer, um seine Hochachtung gegen dieses hochheilige Geheimnis dadurch zu bekunden» (Aerssen). Und das elfbändige Kirchenlexikon der katholischen Altmeister Wetzer/Welte weiß sogar, daß der hl. Herzog den für die Hostien-

bäckerei benötigten Weizen nachts auf einem Acker zur Erntezeit (wo und wann sonst) eigenhändig mähte und «auf seinen Schultern nach Hause trug»; räumt aber auch ein, er habe, wiewohl im Trinken «äußerst mäßig», manchmal doch «mehr als gewöhnlich getrunken ...», um von anderem zu schweigen.

Daß Wenzel das Christentum nach Kräften gefördert, darf man umso eher glauben, als er seine Tschechen ganz offensichtlich mit christlicher Hilfe, das heißt der seiner westlichen Nachbarn, zu beherrschen suchte. Von deutschen Priestern ausgebildet, war er bemüht, die böhmische Kirche nach dem Muster der deutschen und im engsten Anschluß an die bayerische einzurichten, hatte er sich offenbar doch selbst dem Regensburger Diözesanheiligen Emmeram geweiht und pflegte dessen Fest zu feiern. Böhmen war unter Wenzel kirchlich vom Regensburger Bistum völlig abhängig, war der Diözese des Bischofs Tuto einverleibt. An ihn wandte sich Wenzel auch, als er auf der Prager Burg, wo seine Vorgänger Spytihněv und Vratislav bereits eine Marien- und Georgskirche errichtet hatten, noch einen neuen und prächtigeren Christentempel zu bauen beschloß.

Der Nationalheilige der Tschechen wollte aber nicht nur deren engen Anschluß an die bayerische Kirche, sondern ebenso sehr die «*dauernde politische Anlehnung an und Unterwerfung unter das Deutsche Reich*», weil dies «allein ihm die Durchführung seines Regierungsprogramms ermöglichte» (Naegle). Gerade damit freilich war man weithin unzufrieden in Böhmen, wo eine mächtige und anscheinend noch wachsende Adelsopposition, offensichtlich von Wenzels thronsüchtigem Bruder Boleslav angeführt, nichts weniger als eine bayerisch-deutsche Orientierung wünschte, eine Unterordnung unter den gefährlichen und gefürchteten großen Nachbarn und dessen Kirche, die man vielfach grundsätzlich verabscheut hat. War doch Arnulf von Bayern schon einmal 922 mit seinem Heerbann in Böhmen einmarschiert, um den damals etwa 15jährigen Wenzel, der seinen Gegnern geradezu als «geisteskranker Herrscher» erschien, vor dieser nationaltschechischen Partei zu schützen, die ihn nun liquidierte. Denn, so das «Martyrologium Germaniens» (auch

sprachlich erhebend): «Um seiner christlichen und deutschen Gesinnung fiel er seinem Bruder und seinen Meuchlern zum Opfer.»[28]

Wenzel, vor dem heimtückischen Anschlag Boleslavs in dessen Residenz Stara Boleslav angeblich gewarnt, schlug dies in den Wind und setzte «all sein Vertrauen auf Gott». Der aber verließ ihn am 28. September 929. Darauf eilte der Brudermörder sofort nach Prag, bemächtigte sich des Thrones und ließ viele Anhänger Wenzels, zumal die diesem besonders ergebenen christlichen Priester, töten oder außer Landes jagen, falls sie sich nicht schon in Sicherheit gebracht. Zwar wollte Boleslav, ja selber Christ, nicht das Christentum in Böhmen beseitigen, doch sicher die von Wenzel gestützte deutsche Oberherrschaft. Er blieb, schreibt Bischof Thietmar, «voller Übermut lange Zeit aufsässig; schließlich warf ihn der König aber mannhaft nieder . . .»[29]

Schon bald nach seiner Ermordung wird Wenzel als Märtyrer verehrt, die offizielle Kanonisation indes erst im 17./18. Jahrhundert betrieben. Immer mehr wächst der Ruf von seiner Heiligkeit und den Wundern kraft seiner «Fürsprache». Auch jenseits der Grenze verbreitet sich der Kult; weithin gibt es Wenzel-Reliquien in deutschen Landen. Die Hauptstücke aber befinden sich bis ins 20. Jahrhundert in Prag, das früh ganze Pilgerscharen heimsuchen, falls die alten Legenden wenigstens darin glaubhaft sind. Wenzel wurde jedenfalls einer der häufigsten Vornamen der Tschechen.

DER HL. KOLLABORATEUR UND MÄRTYRER WIRD ANTIDEUTSCHER KRIEGSHELD, HEINRICH I. «GRÜNDER UND RETTER DES DEUTSCHEN REICHES»

Mittelalterlichen Chronisten gilt der «Märtyrer» Wenzel als großer Kriegsheld. Einen seit dem 13. Jahrhundert bekannten St. Wenzel-Choral schmetterte man nicht nur bei der Krönung böh-

mischer Könige, er war auch «Schlachtgesang der hussitischen Heere» (Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche). Und seit der hussitischen Umwälzung diente er zur antideutschen Propaganda. In einem rein religiösen Wenzellied sang man statt des Verses «Tröste die Betrübten, vertreibe alles Übel»: «Treibe die Deutschen, die Ausländer, aus». Ja, in einem Gesangbuch des späteren 15. Jahrhunderts prangten auf der Fahne des hl. Wenzel die Worte: «Auf die Deutschen, auf die Gottesverräter!» Mal mit den Deutschen, mal gegen sie, ganz nach Bedarf – die (Über-)Lebenskunst dieser Religion.[30]

Zurück zu Heinrich I.

Auf der Jagd bei der Pfalz Bodfeld (nahe Quedlinburg) erlitt der König einen Schlaganfall. Schwerkrank nahm er noch an der letzten, von ihm einberufenen Reichsversammlung in Erfurt 936 teil. Dann traf ihn in der Pfalz Memleben an der Unstrut ein zweiter Schlaganfall, an dessen Folgen er am Morgen des 2. Juli 936, ungefähr sechzigjährig, starb – «der großmächtige Herr und größte unter den Königen Europas, an jeglicher Tugend der Seele wie des Körpers keinem nachstehend, und hinterließ einen Sohn, noch größer als er selbst, und diesem Sohn ein großes, weites Reich, welches er nicht von seinen Vätern ererbt, sondern durch eigene Kraft errungen und Gott allein ihm gegeben hatte».[31]

Heinrich I. wurde in Quedlinburg in der Kirche des hl. Petrus beigesetzt, vor dem Altar, und angeblich «unter dem Jammer und den Tränen vieler Völker» (Widukind). Noch spät haben ihn Hans Sachs besungen, Klopstock («Der Feind ist da. Die Schlacht beginnt. Wohlauf, zum Sieg herbei!») und Richard Wagner. Und, natürlich wissenschaftlich fundiert, Historiker haufenweise. Genau nach tausend Jahren, «am 20. Ostermond 1936», bekennt Franz Lüdtke: «Während mein Buch schon gedruckt wird und ich als letztes dieses Vorwort schreibe, kommt mir ein Aufsatz der Zeitschrift ‹Neues Volk, Blätter des Rassenpolitischen Amtes der NSDAP› vom 1. April (!) 1936 zu Gesicht: ‹Heinrich I., Gründer und Retter des Deutschen Reiches›; in ihm wird in markanten Linien die ragende Gestalt des Königs als deutsche Führerpersön-

and assigned to him 'that plan of honor which he deserves according to our current understanding of the necessities of life of the German people and according to the racial knowledge of our day'.""

10. KAPITEL

OTTO I., «DER GROSSE» (936–973)

«... abgesehen vom Schrecken der königlichen Strafgewalt stets liebenswürdig.» Mönch Widukind von Corvey[1]

«Kaum wird ein Hirte wie er je wieder des Königtums walten! Neue Bistumssitze vermochte er sechs zu errichten. Kraftvoll gewann er den Sieg über Berengars schändlichen Hochmut. Auch der empörten Lombarden Nacken zwang er zu Boden ... Fernste Gestade entrichteten willig ihm ihre Tribute. Immer ein Friedensfürst ...» Bischof Thietmar von Merseburg[2]

«In der Gesinnung des christlichen Imperialismus hat Otto der Große seine Ostkriege geführt. Politik und Religion griffen so ineinander über, daß sie eine ‹unlösliche Einheit› bildeten.» Bünding-Naujoks[3]

«Papst Johannes XIII. hat ihn 967 wegen seiner Leistungen für die römische Kirche in eine Reihe mit Konstantin dem Großen und Karl dem Großen gestellt.» Helmut Beumann[4]

«... von der Gesamtleistung her, die aus klar gesehenen Konzeptionen sowie wohldurchdachten und dann auch konsequent durchgeführten Situationslösungen resultierte, ist er ohne jeden Zweifel unter die Großen der Weltgeschichte einzureihen. Weiterführung und Ausgestaltung der beharrlichen Aufbauarbeit Heinrichs I. ist dabei nur das eine Signum seines Wirkens, das andere und wichtigere ist das aus seiner eigenen neuen Staatsidee sich entfaltende zielsichere Vordringen zu einer europäischen Hegemonie.» «Und er ist der einzige unserer mittelalterlichen deutschen Herrscher, dem die Geschichte den Beinamen ‹der Große› auf Dauer bewahrt hat. Er hat sein Reich zur Hegemoniemacht in Europa erhöht.» Eduard Hlawitschka[5]

Zuerst das Schwert...

Heinrich I., «der Vater seines Landes – größter und bester der Könige» (Widukind), hinterließ aus seiner zweiten Ehe mit Mathilde (S. 381) drei Söhne: Otto, Heinrich und Brun. Noch im Frühjahr hatte er auf der Reichsversammlung in Erfurt den Ältesten, den am 23. November 912 geborenen 24jährigen Otto offiziell zum Nachfolger designiert. Der ältere Thankmar, aus erster – ungültig erklärter – Ehe, war dabei ebenso übergangen worden wie der Zweitgeborene aus zweiter Ehe, Heinrich, Lieblingssohn der Königin Mathilde, den sie anscheinend lieber auf dem Thron gesehen hätte. So wurde – in einer für die deutsche Königskrönung traditionsstiftenden Zeremonie – Otto I. aus dem Sachsengeschlecht der Liudolfinger, der künftige erste deutsche Kaiser, am 7. August 936 in Lotharingien (das Ottos Vater dem Burgunderkönig Rudolf abgenommen) in der karolingischen Pfalz Aachen gesalbt und gekrönt. Danach endete der Tag mit dem rituellen «Krönungsmahl», einer gewaltigen Freß- und Sauforgie («wesentlicher Bestandteil aller Feierlichkeiten, bei denen der König zugegen war»: Bullough).

Zunächst aber hatten sich die drei rheinischen Erzbischöfe von Trier, Köln und Mainz wegen des Vorrangs beim Weihevollzug gestritten. Ruotbert von Trier, bald Erzkanzler/Erzkapellan, ehe er 956 an der Pest starb, insistierte auf dem höheren Alter seines Bischofssitzes sowie dessen Gründung «gleichsam durch den heiligen Petrus» (tamquam a beato Petro apostolo). Doch auch Wilfried von Köln wollte den Krönungsakt vornehmen. Zuletzt einigte man sich auf Hildebert von Mainz unter Assistenz des

Kölner Metropoliten. Dabei übergab dann der Mainzer, «ein Mann von wunderbarer Heiligkeit» (Widukind), im Innern der Kapelle und sozusagen unter dem Krummstab, den er trug, Otto als erstes der Reichsinsignien das Schwert mit den Worten: «Nimm hin dies Schwert, mit dem Du alle Widersacher Christi, Heiden und Ketzer, austreiben sollst auf Grund der Dir verliehenen göttlichen Vollmacht und auf Grund der Macht des ganzen Reiches der Franken, zur Befestigung des Friedens aller Christen». Ein Satz, von dem Pierre Riché sagt, er enthalte «schon das gesamte ottonische Herrschaftsprogramm». Den Heidenkrieg jedenfalls brachte der Gekrönte zur Genüge, den Frieden unter Christen nie, weder diesseits noch jenseits der Alpen.[6]

Nach der Weihe und Salbung in der basilica «Magni Karoli» wurde Otto, der bewußt in fränkischer Tracht, also mit enganliegendem Gewand, erschienen war, im Westchor des Münsters auf den steinernen Thron Karls gesetzt (noch immer auf der Empore der Pfalzkapelle zu bestaunen); und dies ganze, gewiß sorgfältig vorbedachte Zeremoniell zeigt den jungen Monarchen als rex Francorum, als Fortsetzer karolingischer Traditionen. Die Kirche machte ihn zum «rex gratia dei», zum König von Gottes Gnaden, zu dem «von Gott erkorenen» (a Deo electum), und hob ihn damit deutlich über den gesamten Adel.

Ebenso deutlich freilich zeichnete sich bereits jetzt, im eklatanten Unterschied zum Regierungsbeginn seines Vaters und Vorgängers, eine neue Machtposition, eine Schlüsselstellung des Klerus und die klare Unterordnung der Herzöge ab. Sie sind nicht mehr Ranggleiche unter einem Ersten, wie unter Heinrich I., sondern sie sind «Diener» eines Gesalbten, eines Herrn von Gottes Gnaden. Sie, Giselbert von Lotharingien, Eberhard von Franken, Hermann von Schwaben und Arnulf von Bayern, versehen beim Königsmahl in feierlicher Form gegenüber dem neuen Gebieter die Hofdienste des Kämmerers, Truchsessen, Mundschenken und Marschalls, Ämter, die sich schon am Hof der Merowingerfürsten finden und aus denen später die vier Erzämter des Reiches hervorgehen.

Aachen aber wurde zum Krönungsort der deutschen Macht-

rulers of the Middle Ages. In six hundred years, between q36 and ry3i, hiefi 34 kings and i i queens received the crown,[7]

PROTECTION OF THE CHURCH, CR EATING THE HEATHEN

Otto I, who had himself ecclesiastically anointed and consecrated as soon as he ascended the throne, was a devout, thoroughly Catholic prince, so imbued with the sacred character of his lordship and rulership, so imbued with its attribution to the clergy, "that the exercise of royal power became for him a priestly service" (Weitlaufi). From the very beginning, his kingship, which was, so to speak, *made his own by the* act of anointing, manifested "a changed attitude towards the Church" and became "a model, as it were, for the Christian monarchies of the Middle Ages" (Struve). Otto's subjects, if we can believe Widukind, see in him the norm of godly behavior. The king, who incidentally speaks Saxon, has a reddish face and a long beard, is constantly under God's protection, is the pillar and hope of Christianity, the great prince of God, whose rule resembles that of the Lord over the universe.

Like Charlemagne, Otto "the Great" also saw his main task as protecting the Church and, despite many an incident, the papacy. In a well-preserved document, he almost literally renewed the usual promises of the Carolingians to the popes, reaffirmed the old donations and guaranteed the canonical occupation of the Roman see.

In addition to and with the -defensio ecclesiae", however, this prince, who never wears the crown without having fasted beforehand, sees his other main task "in the conversion of the heathens to God" (Brackmann). After all, it is precisely in his case that "a rather long connection between Eastern war and Eastern mission" (Bün- ding-Naujoks) can be seen. And even if the church was not a completely unified block of interests, it naturally leaves no room for Otto and

The prayer for the army in the litanies and Landes has been the rule since the 8th century.

In war, the imperial flag with the image of the angel Michael flies in front of the royal butchers. And of course the "holy lance" goes *with* them. In military distress, Otto throws himself fervently to the ground in prayer before this "holy lance", as in March Q3g 6 south of Xanten. After the battle on October qjj opposite Andernach, he kneels weeping in thanksgiving. At important church meetings, the General Synod in lngelheim 4 , the later National Council in Augsburg, programmatically calls for Christianity and its spread and solemnly promises to to fight for the church. He destroys pagan sanctuaries and establishes Christian missionary bases, he provides missionaries and creates firmly organized dioceses. q 7. At the great imperial and church assembly in Ravenna, the Pope and Synod report on his "missionary activity" among the Slavs.

Otto I thus tightened the traditional alliance between the Carolingians and the Church. He and his successors continued to develop the tendencies that had run over. He, Otto II and Otto III, the Saxon emperors, ruled the Western Church like no one before or since. Oiro 1.liefi passed regulations against clergymen who hunted game or women, and against laymen who robbed priests of their tithes. He chaired synodal assemblies. He moved q¢I to Würzburg and Speyer, q§z to Regensburg to take part in bishop elections. And, of course, the Ottonians decided on the bishoprics - with the Holy Spirit strikingly remembering the royal relatives: Otto made his (illegitimate) son William qJq archbishop in Mainz, his brother Brun qd j eiim archbishop in Cologne, his cousin Henry q$6 archbishop in Trier. The bishops Poppo I and Poppo II of Würzburg, Dietrich I of Meta, Berengar of Verdun, Be- rengar of Cambrai and Liudolf of Osnabrück are further royal relatives. Otto's daughter Mathilde becomes the first abbess of Quedlinburg at the age of eleven.

Auch Päpste setzten die Ottonen ganz nach Gutdünken ein und ab. Otto I. entthronte Johann XII. und Benedikt V., Otto III. den Invasor Johann XVI. Ohne diese Eingriffe wären die kirchlichen Zustände Roms (S. 475 ff.) noch scheußlicher gewesen. Die katholischen Majestäten hatten von den «Stellvertretern Christi» auch keine allzu euphorischen Vorstellungen. Otto III. wies als erster die «Konstantinische Schenkung» (IV 14. Kap.) in aller Schärfe als Fälschung zurück.

Die Bischöfe – ein profitables Herrschaftsinstrument

Vor allem zog Otto I. die Bischöfe sowie Äbte der großen Reichsklöster an sich, um sie für den «Reichsdienst» einzuspannen. Die gewöhnlich dem Hochadel angehörenden maßgeblichen Kleriker kamen oft aus der Kapelle des Königs, wo sie ursprünglich (auch) geistliche Aufgaben wahrnahmen, jetzt aber geradezu für die Interessen des Herrschers herangebildet wurden. Unter Otto stammten die meisten Bischöfe in Sachsen, Franken und Bayern aus seiner Kanzlei und Hofkapelle. In den frühen 950er Jahren wurde die Zahl der Kapellane beträchtlich erhöht; seit den späteren 960er Jahren aber verdoppelte, ja verdreifachte sich der Personalbestand der zentralen Schaltstelle des Reiches. Wir kennen aus Ottos I. Regierungszeit immerhin 45 Hofgeistliche, davon etwas mehr Säkularkleriker als Mönche. Und wie schon unter den Karolingern fungieren sie als seine Berater, seine Diplomaten, Verwaltungsfachleute, Feldherren.

Denn selbstverständlich zogen die zumeist in der Hofkapelle «auf Reichstreue und vertieftes Verständnis des Christentums (!) hin ausgebildeten Bischöfe und Reichsäbte» (Hlawitschka) auch mit in den Krieg. Zum Beispiel befanden sich auf Ottos Zug nach Frankreich im Herbst 946 in seinem Heer, welches das gesamte Gebiet bis zur Loire und die Normandie mit ausgedehnten Plünderungen heimsuchte, die Metropoliten von Mainz, Trier, Reims

nebst weiteren Seelenhirten. Die Trierer Erzbischöfe agieren 946 und 948 als Befehlshaber auch im Süden, sind dort aber zwischen 953 und 965 ebenfalls auf Heereszügen. Bischof Dietrich von Metz – dessen Vorgänger Adalbero, mehrfach an Kriegen beteiligt, vermutlich auch schon in Italien operierte – war dort unter Otto I. fünf Jahre ununterbrochen. Fast ebenso lang Erzbischof Adaldag von Hamburg, der die ottonische Reichs- und Kirchenpolitik stark beeinflußt und später mit Hilfe von Ottos II. dänischem Krieg (974) auch in Skandinavien die Frohe Botschaft verbreitet hat und sein «vertieftes Verständnis des Christentums», das auch er sicher in der Hofkapelle, zeitweise sogar als Kanzler Ottos, erworben haben dürfte. Die vom Kaiser besonders geschätzten Otker von Speyer und Lantward von Minden blieben alles in allem mehr als sieben Jahre im Süden. Insgesamt sind unter Otto I. nicht weniger als 28 deutsche Bischöfe in Italien nachweisbar, und fechten auch vermutlich nicht alle im Heer für den Herrn (welchen Herrn immer man sich da vorstellen mag), so doch gewiß die meisten.

Die Prälaten handeln somit als Vertreter der königlichen Politik nach innen und außen. Sie haben Einfluß auf die Reichsverwaltung, den weltlichen und geistlichen Hofdienst, das Gerichtswesen, den Ausbau von Handel und Verkehr, sie bestimmen die wirtschaftliche Entwicklung ihrer Territorien, die Fronarbeit. Und ihre administrative, ökonomische, militärische Tätigkeit dauert durch das ganze Mittelalter fort, wobei sie auch bei fast allen Königswahlen eine hervorragende Rolle spielen, die Mainzer Erzbischöfe mitunter geradezu als Königsmacher gelten.[9]

Natürlich lohnte sich die Staatshörigkeit des Klerus. Denn wie der König mit seiner Hilfe die Machtkonzentration, die Selbständigkeitsbestrebungen des hohen Adels, zumal der Herzöge, bekämpfte, so erhielt der Klerus mit der immer engeren Zuordnung zum Reich eine Fülle von Herrschafts- und Fiskalrechten, gewann er vor allem den Schutz des Königs gegen die Übergriffe der Aristokratie auf seine großen Güter. Außerdem erlaubte eine starke staatliche Zentralgewalt die Hinzugewinnung ausgedehnter Grundherrschaften durch die Unterwerfung benachbarter Heidenvölker.

Bischöfe und Äbte, ja längst im Erlangen von Immunitäten (vom lat. munus, «Dienst, Amt, Gunst, Geschenk») geübt, wurden so mit reichen Güterschenkungen, mit neuen Immunitätsprivilegien bedacht. Sie erhielten nun erweiterte Rechte, die sie dem Eingriff von Grafen und Herzögen entzogen. Ihnen wurde die volle Gerichtsbarkeit in sogenannten Causae maiores zuerkannt, die Bischofsstadt samt Einwohnern aus der Grafschaft eximiniert, die Kirchenvogtei der Grafschaft gleichgesetzt. Und oft kam zu diesen Immunitäts-, Bann-, Gerichtsbarkeitsprivilegien noch die Verleihung von Markt-, Münz-, Zollrechten dazu – ursprünglich dem König vorbehaltene Rechte. Als Otto beispielsweise 965 dem Erzbischof Adaldag von Bremen-Hamburg die Erlaubnis gab, in Bremen einen Markt zu errichten, übertrug er ihm Bann, Zoll und Münze mit sämtlichen daraus fließenden Einkünften, womit der Erzbischof Stadtherr Bremens wurde. Die Übertragung all solch königlicher oder gräflicher Regalien auf die Bischöfe aber «ging weit über das hinaus, was vorher in Deutschland üblich gewesen» (Bullough). Dagegen gibt es unter den Ottonen «Immunitätsprivilegien an weltliche Herren so gut wie keine mehr . . .» (Schott/Romer).[10]

So sehr freilich die umfassende Heranziehung der Kirche zu den Reichsgeschäften das Königtum stabilisierte, die immer großzügigere Ausstattung von Bischofssitzen und Klöstern und deren stets wachsendes Prestige legten doch zugleich den Grund für die Untergrabung der Königsmacht durch die Kirchenreform des 11. Jahrhunderts. Aber der Monarch hatte nun einmal entschieden auf den Episkopat gesetzt, und zwar zum Nachteil der eigenen Verwandtschaft und hoher Adliger.

Katholische Fürsten- und Familienbande – Bayern und die Königsbrüder rebellieren

Ottos alleinige Machtübernahme im ostfränkisch-deutschen Reich bedeutete einerseits einen Bruch mit der karolingischen Praxis der Herrschaftsteilung bei der Thronfolge zugunsten des Einheitsgedankens, der Unteilbarkeit des Reiches. Andererseits suchte er in Anlehnung an die Karolinger-Tradition die Stellung des Königs gegenüber den Magnaten wieder zu stärken.

So führte der Beginn seines Regiments alsbald zu Destabilisierungen, ersten Unruhen, ja heftigen Kämpfen im Landesinnern, teils durch königliche Verwandte, die sich übergangen, zu kurzgekommen, teils durch Fürsten, die gleichfalls ihre Rechte beschnitten sahen. Nahezu zwanzig Jahre lang wird nun der Regent, der Freundschaftspakte mit der Reichsaristokratie meidet, in Erbschaftsauseinandersetzungen verstrickt und zeitweilig beinah an den Rand des Ruins getrieben, wobei seine Gegner einen starken Rückhalt im Hochadel haben, der mächtig genug ist, noch beim Tod Ottos I. (973) wie Ottos II. (983) sich erneut zu erheben. Fast die Hälfte seiner Regierungszeit muß der erste der Ottonen auf die Klärung der Positionsverhältnisse im Staat verwenden, muß er Kämpfe mit fränkischen Christen, Katholiken führen, von den Kriegen nach außen vorerst zu schweigen.

Selbst in Sachsen und Franken, den eigentlichen Kernlandschaften des ottonischen Imperiums, kam es zu Spannungen.

Als 936, nach Niederwerfung der Elbslawen, der König den Sachsen Hermann Billung zum Markgrafen über gewisse Grenzstriche an der unteren Elbe machte und 937 dem Grafen Gero die Markgrafenschaft an der mittleren Elbe und Saale zuwies, verließ Hermann Billungs älterer Bruder Wichmann, ein Schwager der Königin Mathilde, das Heer. Doch auch Ekkehard, Ottos Vetter, der bald darauf im Kampf gegen die Slawen fiel, sah sich ebenso zurückgesetzt wie Thankmar, Ottos Halbbruder (aus Heinrichs I. erster Ehe mit Hatheburg), der von vornherein auf das Erbe aus dem Privatnachlaß beschränkt worden war. Und Probleme gab es auch mit dem Frankenherzog Eberhard. Noch kurz zuvor füh-

rend an Ottos Königserhebung beteiligt, wurde er nun, nach Lehnsstreitigkeiten im fränkisch-sächsischen Grenzbereich – wobei «das Sengen und Brennen nirgends aufhörte» (Widukind) – und der Maßregelung eines sächsischen Vasallen von Otto, bestraft, nicht ohne daß dieser zuvor zwei Erzbischöfe und acht Bischöfe um Rat gefragt hätte.[11]

Zum offenen Konflikt aber kam es mit Bayern.

Dort nämlich war der gefürchtete Herzog Arnulf «der Böse» (S. 364 f.) am 14. Juli 937 gestorben. Der mehrfache Ungarnbesieger hatte sich gegenüber dem Königtum eigenwillig verhalten und auch den Klerus seines Landes voll im Griff. Otto jedoch verlangte eine stärkere Anpassung und wollte weder Bayerns eigenmächtige Außenpolitik noch seine Kirchenhoheit samt dem damit verbundenen Privileg der Bischofseinsetzung mehr dulden, sondern das Land in ein «Amtsherzogtum» umwandeln. So lehnte Arnulfs ältester Sohn Eberhard (937–938) es ab, Otto zu huldigen, zumal er sich völlig zu Recht als Nachfolger seines Vaters im Herzogtum glaubte, hatte ihn dieser dazu doch 935 designiert.

Eberhard und seine Brüder trotzten einer stärkeren Eingliederung. Sie verweigerten den «comitatus» – ein schon den alten Römern geläufiger politischer Begriff mit freilich breitem Bedeutungsspektrum, den man hier u. a. als militärische Gefolgschaft deutet. Es kam, so Bischof Thietmar, «zu recht erheblichen Unstimmigkeiten unter unseren Landsleuten und Waffengefährten». Der König suchte eine kriegerische Entscheidung und marschierte Anfang 938 nach Bayern, holte sich aber eine Schlappe. Darauf schlugen Graf Wichmann, der ältere Bruder Hermann Billungs (S. 450 ff.), und Ottos älterer Halbbruder Thankmar gemeinsam mit dem Frankenherzog Eberhard im Frühsommer 938 gegen Otto los. Sie nahmen dessen jüngeren Bruder Heinrich als Geisel fest, und während ihn Eberhard in freier Haft mit sich führte, eroberte Thankmar die Eresburg.

Der König zog nun zur Eresburg (bei Obermarsberg an der Diemel), wo die Aufständischen sich ergaben, die Tore öffneten und der eindringende Haufen Thankmar, «den kampfmüden jun-

gen Mann in die St. Petruskirche» trieb (Thietmar); die Sachsen hatten hier einst die Irminsul verehrt, bis sie der «große» Karl zerstörte (IV 460). Doch obwohl Thankmar, ein «staatssymbolischer» Akt, seinen goldenen Halsring und seine Waffen auf den Altar niederlegte, ermordeten ihn – von Otto angeblich laut beweint – seine Verfolger von hinten durch einen Lanzenwurf. «Sie scheuten sich nicht», schreibt Widukind, «mit Gewalt die Türen einzuschlagen, und drangen bewaffnet in das Heiligtum. Thankmar aber stand neben dem Altar und hatte die Waffen samt der goldenen Kette auf demselben niedergelegt... Aber einer der Ritter, Maincia mit Namen, durchbohrte den Thankmar von hinten durch ein Fenster nahe beim Altar mit einer Lanze und tötete ihn so neben dem Altar.» Und dann raubte der Ritter noch das Gold darauf. – Das Asylrecht, das in der römischen Kaiserzeit zunächst den Tempeln vorbehalten war und selbst im merowingischen Franken eine große Rolle spielte, wurde damals praktisch kaum mehr beachtet.

Nach einem neuen Zug Ottos noch im selben Jahr gegen Bayern setzte er dessen Herzog Eberhard ab und verbannte ihn, worauf dieser aus der Geschichte verschwindet. An seine Stelle tritt, weniger frei, weniger machtvoll, der Bruder des verstorbenen Herzogs Arnulf, Berthold von Kärnten, ein Fürst von Ottos Gnaden; über die Nachfolge in Bayern sowie über die Besetzung der Bischofsstühle entschied jetzt der König.[12]

Unzufrieden aber war auch Ottos jüngerer Bruder Heinrich, im Gegensatz zu ihm schon als Königssohn geboren. Unterstützt von ihrer beider Mutter und sächsischen Adligen, beanspruchte er wohl nicht nur eine Mitregierung, sondern den Thron überhaupt, die Übernahme der ganzen Macht, und dies anscheinend gleich bei seines Vaters Tod. Deshalb hatte man Heinrich auch von Ottos Aachener Inthronisation ausgeschlossen. So empörte er sich 939, bald nach seiner Freilassung, mit seinem Schwager Herzog Giselbert von Lotharingien (einem Urenkel Lothars I.), der bei Ottos Krönung noch als Kämmerer fungierte, und mit Herzog Eberhard von Franken, dem die Niedermetzelung aller älteren Babenberger so nützlich war (S. 354 ff.). Eberhard hatte sich nach Abstechung

He was forced to surrender to the king's brother Thankmar, but before he did so, he forged a highly threatening plot with his brother Henry to bring him to power.

The royal troops were able to win a battle against Giselbert's and Henry's superior contingents in MÄ P3s near Birten on the Lower Rhine (south of Xanten). However, this was only possible with luck and apparently due to an ab-

This was, of course, attributed to the prayer of the king, who had remained behind on the right bank of the Rhine with his holy lance. "O God, the author and ruler of all things, look upon your people ..." After all, with God's help, all were either killed or captured or at least driven to flight (Widukind). But the outrage spread even further. The rebels found support from the West Frankish Carolingian Louis lV, while Otto joined forces with his domestic political opponents, the

Duke Hugh of Francia, who had married Otto's sister Hadwig, as well as with the Count Herb II of Vermandois (who had married his five-year-old son **Hugo**

had himself elevated to Archbishop of Reims for at least two decades).

Otto, who wanted to prevent the apostasy of Lotharingia, had it ravaged in the summer of s3s on a campaign to the west. And when his opponents - including some criminal and

God arrested men of the churches (Continuator Reginonis), such as Archbishop Frederick of Mainz, whom Otto had engaged as a mediator - tried to cut off his return route to Saxony and many of his followers had already fled, he was saved from disaster by a Swabian army under the Conradine counts Udo and Konrad Kurzbold, both close relatives not only of the Swabian duke but also of Duke Eberhard. They suddenly overran the rebels at Andernaeh on October z, q3q and defeated them, Eberhard of Franconia was killed in battle, Giselbert von Lotharingjen fled into the waters of the Rhine - and was never found again (Widu- kind).[3]

Nun waren in diese großen Erhebungen gegen den König stets auch hohe Kleriker verstrickt. So bei dem Aufstand 938/939 Bischof Ruthard von Straßburg oder die Bischöfe Bernain von Verdun, Gauzlin von Toul, ein Heiliger (Fest 7. September) und Adalbero I. von Metz, ein eifriger Reformer und Abt des Klosters St. Trond. Metz wurde sogar zum Sammelplatz aller Gegner des deutschen Herrschers. Und während dieser im Westen den Aufruhr bekämpfte und im Osten die heidnischen Ungarn über Thüringen und Sachsen herfielen, zerstörte im Kampf gegen den König Bischof Adalbero, der Promotor der lothringischen Reformbewegung, noch die Kapelle Ludwigs des Frommen in Diedenhofen (Thionville), damit sie kein Bollwerk des Feindes wurde.

Hervorzuheben ist hier der neue Mainzer Kirchenfürst, der, so ein zeitgenössischer Chronist, der Continuator Reginonis, nur darin tadelnswert erschien, «daß er sich, wo immer sich einer als Feind des Königs zu erkennen gab, sofort als zweiter anschloß». Dabei war der Hildesheimer Domherr Friedrich erst Ende Juni von Otto zum Erzbischof, auch, wohl noch im gleichen Jahr, von Leo VII. zum Apostolischen Vikar und päpstlichen Legaten für ganz Deutschland ernannt und, beiläufig, vom Heiligen Vater zugleich aufgehetzt worden, «Juden, welche die Taufe verweigerten, zu vertreiben». (Der Chronist und Priester Flodoard von Reims, im Gefolge der dortigen Seelenhirten auch auf diversen Feldzügen bewährt, speiste 936 während einer politischen Mission in Rom mit dem judenfeindlichen Pontifex und empfing «einen äußerst günstigen Eindruck von seiner ... Warmherzigkeit»: Kelly.) Wie Leo VII., war auch sein – mitunter ganz weltflüchtig unkritisch gestimmter – Vikar Erzbischof Friedrich, dem einst nach einem Abfall vom König die eigenen Diözesanen die Tore verschlossen, der Reform, strenger Zucht der Mönche zugetan. Ihm mißfiel die Behandlung von Kirchengütern in seinem Sprengel ebenso wie die bevorzugte Stellung des Klosters Fulda. Der Potentat seinerseits setzte den Mainzer Oberhirten und päpstlichen Legaten für Gesamtdeutschland, der es, wie sein Vorgänger seit der Babenberger Fehde, mit den Konradinern hielt, 939/940 und 941 in Klosterhaft.

Nach Niederschlagung der Empörer unterstellte Otto das Herzogtum Franken sich selbst – es verlor damit seine Eigenständigkeit für immer. Und Lotharingien gab er (als Nachfolger Giselberts) 940 seinem begnadigten Bruder Heinrich, der sich dort freilich nicht behaupten konnte und schon im selben Herbst aus dem Land gejagt worden ist. Noch immer gierig nach der Krone, auf die er wohl ein gewisses Recht hatte, versuchte nun Heinrich, den Bruder durch ein Mordkomplott auszuschalten, und das ausgerechnet am heiligen Osterfest (941) in Quedlinburg. Die Sache flog jedoch auf. Otto ließ mehrere Verschwörer, meist sächsische Adelige, köpfen. Der ebenfalls verdächtige Mainzer Metropolit, erst im Jahr zuvor aus der Fuldaer Klosterhaft entlassen, «reinigt» sich öffentlich durch ein «Gottesurteil», die Kommunion. Und das immer wieder aufmüpfige Bruderherz, gefangen nach Ingelheim geschleppt, liegt noch an Weihnachten desselben Jahres dem Mächtigeren zu Füßen, wird erneut in Gnaden aufgenommen und nach immerhin drei Erhebungen jetzt nicht einmal mehr rückfällig.[14]

«Verwandtenfürsorge» und die Folgen: der Liudolfinische Aufstand

Um nicht, wie sein Vater, an den Herzogsgewalten zu scheitern, trieb Otto seit 940 eine gewisse «Familienpolitik», versah er mehr oder weniger liebe Angehörige mit Herzogtümern, und zwar mit peripheren, um sie von den Machtzentren Sachsen und Franken fernzuhalten. Oder er verheiratete Verwandte mit ihm ergebenen Personen.

So gab er seinem rebellischen, bei der Erbzuteilung aber offensichtlich vernachlässigten Bruder Heinrich erst das Herzogtum Lotharingien, freilich eine Fehlbesetzung; dann, nach dem Tode Herzog Bertholds 947, das Herzogtum Bayern, allerdings unter Ignorierung des dort von den Luitpoldingern eingeführten Erbrechts. Nun hatte der neue Herr, Heinrich I. (948–955), zwar

schon vor einem Jahrzehnt die Luitpoldingerin Judith, die Tochter des einstigen Herzogs Arnulf, geheiratet. Gleichwohl war längst nicht alles in Bayern mit dieser Besitznahme einverstanden, u. a. der Salzburger Erzbischof Herold (939–958, gest. um 970). Als Parteigänger Liudolfs verließ er während des Aufstands 954 den König und ging offen zu dessen Feinden über. Er wurde jedoch gefangengenommen und als (angeblicher) Kollaborateur der Ungarn durch Heinrich von Bayern nach der Schlacht bei Mühldorf am Inn, vermutlich am 1. Mai 955, geblendet und verbannt, was seinerzeit, da es einen Kirchenfürsten traf, die Gemüter sehr erregt hat. Noch auf dem Totenbett aber wollte der Herzog diese Untat nicht bereuen, obwohl es Bischof Michael von Regensburg verlangte.

Wie Bruder Otto (S. 455 ff.) war auch Heinrich, «der erlauchte Herzog von Bayern», nicht zimperlich, «der Schrecken der Barbaren und aller Nachbarvölker, selbst der Griechen» (Vita Brunonis). Als er zum Beispiel 951 zur Erweiterung seines Einflusses in Italien Aquileia eroberte, ließ er den dortigen Patriarchen Engelfried (um 944–963) entmannen.

Einen Prälaten geblendet, den andern entmannt – persönlich gut katholisch. Als der Herzog bald darauf starb, lebte seine Gattin, Judith von Bayern, «in tiefer Trauer» und «als Witwe enthaltsam», kam aber «bedenklich ins Gerede» wegen ihres Beraters, des Bischofs Abraham von Freising (957–993). Doch erwies sich Bischof Abraham durch ein Gottesurteil, den Kommunionempfang, als «rein an Seele und Leib» (Bischof Thietmar).

Um seine Herrschaft weiter zu konsolidieren, bahnte der König auch dynastische Verbindungen mit den Großen des Reiches an.

So verheiratete er 947 seine sechzehnjährige Tochter Liudgard mit dem ebenfalls noch recht jungen Rheinfranken Konrad dem Roten, der im Worms- und Speyergau reich begütert, seit drei Jahren Herzog von Lotharingien (944–953) und seit längerem einer von Ottos engsten Vertrauten war. Ferner verehelichte er seinen ältesten, doch noch im Jünglingsalter stehenden, 946 zum Thronfolger designierten Sohn Liudolf ein Jahr darauf mit Ita, der Tochter des söhnelosen Hermann I. von Schwaben (926–949),

of the Hanptes of the Frankish Conradines, after whose death q¢9 Liiidolf became duke in Swabia lq o=9y¢) - "a youth of unique fame and reputation", but who "was not quick enough to come to power" (Vita Brunonis).[tS] The single-minded monarch was thus unable to bind the members of the royal clan, who were dependent on his autocracy, more closely to the crown through henogiies or advantageous marriages. Rather, the patrons hungered for more power, and so it came to a new outrage, that of Liudolf qy3, which was repeated from generation to generation in these Christian ruling houses. He believed himself to be endangered by his uncle, the Bavarian Duke Henry, as well as by one of Otto's offspring from his second marriage to Adelheid at the end of qyz, but his son Heinrich had already qy¢ died again.

The uprising, which was very dangerous for the king, was led by Liudolf, Otto's eldest son from his marriage to Edgith, the Duke of Swabia (with close contacts to the monasteries of St. Gall, Reichenau, Pfäfers and Einsiedeln), and by Conrad the Red, Otto's son-in-law, who had been lord of Lotharingia since qq, "until recently the bravest duke, but now the most insolent robber". Both princely rebels fought "with all the means of violence and no less with the means of war, they rested neither day nor night, made their opponents mistrust each other, left nothing untouched and spared nothing. Their main goal was to gain control of the most important and richest cities in the empire in any way they could. From here, they believed, they would easily be able to rule all parts of the empire." Otto called the insurgents, who are said to have been in league with the arsonist Hungarians, -'Laridesfeinde', - Vater- landsverr ter-, - Fahnenflüchtige-, who in their blasphemous insolence would have preferred to have murdered me themselves, I believe by their own hand, or otherwise died the bitterest death. would" (Vita Brunonis).

Almost all of the Luitpoldingers switched to the putschist camp, as did the majority of the Bavarian nobility in general.

Count Palatine Arnulf, the son of Duke Arnulf "the Evil", already among the rebels during the uprising q37 s3, was nevertheless elected Palatine by Otto and only qJ3 by Otto's brother, the Bavarian Duke Henry (when the latter came with his army to support him).

of the king to Mainz), was appointed his deputy. Archbishop Herold of Salzburg and again Archbishop Frederick of Mainz were also on the side of the rebels, whose revolt soon affected the whole of southern Germany and even spread to Saxony. At the Diet of Langenzenn in June q5¢, the Archbishop of Mainz then declared that he had never done **anything** against the loyalty owed to the king, but in fact had done so to many, according to the Rcgent himself,

-has awakened the desire for the madness of civil war'- (Vita Brunonis). He left Mainz to the Aiifständische as a base, which Otto attacked twice in vain, in July and August qy3. As at Easter qqI, the ruler escaped a planned assassination attempt by his Catholic relatives. The civil war that followed, however, with its back and forth of raids, the destruction and storming of various castles and towns, and battles above all around Mainz and Regensburg, was initially unfavorable for Otto, but brought heavy losses of p r o p e r t y and human life, especially to the people,

-The king "raged and burned" in the country (Thietmar). The Bavarian capital Regensburg, which cr besieged unsuccessfully for months at the end of qy3, was also partially engulfed in flames.

However, the rebels held almost all of Bavaria's strongholds and *Otto* stood before closed gates. In addition, in the spring of 9J4, the Hungarians, "that old plague of the fatherland" (Vita Brunonis), invaded

a surprise invasion as far as the Rhine, as far as Lotharingjen. It seemed to them that riots, feuds and civil wars were the most suitable times for a productive raid. The worse the Christians did, the better. So the foreign cavalry now also took advantage of the internal Catholic turmoil to launch their most devastating attack on Germany, especially in the south. Of course, as was so often the case, this time too princes of the empire used the enemy as a

welcome ally.

Thietmar at least claims that Liudolf took Avar archers as allies against his father and king in Sold-. Conrad the Red was also accused of cooperating with the Hungarians.

But this is precisely why the mood turned in Otto's favor. And even if some exponents of the German church, such as the archbishops Frederick and Herold, stood by the rebels, at a decisive moment the ruler was perhaps only saved from the fiasco by the fact that none other than a veritable saint, Ulrich of Augsburg - made bishop on the Feast of the Innocents - switched from carriage to horse and galloped with his warriors to the aid of the beleaguered king. And Ulrich's army (and that of the Bishop of Chur) also played a decisive role in the final stages of the battle."

By generously endowing the episcopate with goods and sovereign rights, Otto I had created an effective support for himself, a counterweight to the power of the princes, which was expressed above all in the servitium regis, the "imperial service" of bishoprics and abbeys. They naturally passed this burden on to their subjects, while it is uncertain whether the high nobility was obliged to perform this service. However, Otto increasingly took the personnel for the aReichsdienst, which was often military service, from his court chapel, to which he paid particular attention (p. Hy).[7]

A dispute has recently arisen over the Ottonian-Salic imperial church system, namely whether this typological concept of order created by older research (L. Santifallcr) is historically justified. In other words, whether Otto I created a new type in the "imperial church system" or whether he merely continued certain older Carolingian traditions and developed certain elements of continuity more emphatically and consistently, as the monasteries also played a decisive role in the Carolingian imperial church and the bishoprics in the Ottonian church. The, so to speak, *spiritual* office of the bishop (which, of course, was based on completely groundless ideas of faith that had also been completely taken over from other religions) was a very important part of the Carolingian church.

gen beruht, von mir systematisch im engen Anschluß an die historisch-kritische Theologie in «Abermals krähte der Hahn» gezeigt) war doch längst von politisch-militärischen Aufgaben durchsetzt, mag auch das «weltliche» Fürstentum und die «nationale» Orientiertheit der Prälaten unter den Ottonen noch offensichtlicher geworden sein. Etwas grundsätzlich Neues liegt hier nicht vor, vielmehr ein seit Jahrhunderten stets augenfälliger werdendes Herrschaftsinstrument, mit dem Bischöfe und Äbte übrigens sehr deutlich auch ihre eigenen Ziele verfolgen, auf die Dauer zum schweren Schaden des Staates.[18]

«CHRISTI BONUS ODOR» (CHRISTI ANGENEHMER WOHLGERUCH) ODER «EIN KÖNIGLICHES PRIESTERTUM»

Eine markante Verkörperung, geradezu der Prototyp eines ottonischen Kirchenfürsten, war Ottos leiblicher Bruder Brun, der im Mai 925 geborene jüngste Sohn König Heinrichs I. und der Königin Mathilde, während der Jahre 953 bis 965 Erzbischof von Köln.

Von früh an zum Kleriker bestimmt, wurde Brun bereits als Vierjähriger von Balderich von Utrecht (918–976), einem mit dem Königshaus verschwägerten Prälaten, an dessen Domschule erzogen. Mit vierzehn Jahren kam Brun auf Wunsch seines Bruders an den Hof, wo er bald beherrschenden Einfluß gewann. Schon 940, im Alter von 15 Jahren, stieg er zum Kanzler, schon 951, noch vor seiner Bischofsernennung, ein sehr ungewöhnlicher Fall, zum Erzkaplan und Erzkanzler auf, womit er die Oberaufsicht über die Hofkanzlei hatte. 953, mit achtundzwanzig Jahren, avancierte er zum Erzbischof von Köln; er gebot schließlich über mehrere Bistümer und Abteien und wurde auf dem Höhepunkt des Liudolfinischen Aufstandes – faktisch – auch Herzog von Lotharingien: «archidux», wie ihn sein erster Biograph, der Mönch Ruotger nennt, mit der Zusammenziehung von archi-

episcopus und dux Bruns Doppelstellung als Kirchen- und Reichsfürst erfassend. Hat der ruhmbedeckte Heilige doch gerade auch in Lotharingien mit «militärischen Mitteln ... alle dem Königtum entgegenstehenden Widerstände des Adels beseitigt» (Pätzold).

Am Hof, wo Brun «inmitten seiner purpurtragenden Diener» selbst nur «in einfacher Kleidung und bäuerlichen Schafpelzen» erschien (Vita Brunonis), auch ohne je ein Bad zu nehmen («Christi bonus odor»), erzog man unter seiner Leitung in der Kapelle und besonders der Kanzlei junge Geistliche zu Bischöfen, Äbten, zu Männern, denen der Gedanke der Heidenbekehrung ebenso vertraut war wie die augustinische Idee (I 514 ff.) des «gerechten Krieges», bellum iustum, auch des Angriffskrieges: gut zur Rechtfertigung des Massenmordes an «Ungläubigen».

So war Erzbischof Brun einerseits ein Vorkämpfer der «Reform», der die mönchischen Prinzipien von Gorze propagierte, der berühmten lotharingischen Benediktinerabtei (das Gründungsdatum von 748 beruht auf gefälschten Diplomen), andererseits aber rückte er – dem es freilich nie darum ging, daß etwas «ihm selbst, sondern daß es Gott gefiel» (Vita Brunonis) – auch mit seiner Soldateska aus, attackierte blutig Grafen und andere Große, Christen doch, Katholiken, erbeutete, zerstörte Burgen, «daheim und im Krieg», wie sein Biograph beteuert, «ein nimmermüder Streiter des Herrn». Mindestens sechsmal focht der Heilige an der Spitze eines Heeres – vita activa nennen das Forscher. Er belagerte (959 und 960) Dijon und Troyes. Er kämpfte mit seinen Haufen in Burgund, in Frankreich und griff besonders in Lotharingien, das wiederholt gegen ihn aufstand, brutal durch. Den Grafen Reginar III. vernichtete er militärisch völlig. Er wurde vom König geächtet, sein Hab und Gut konfisziert; 973 starb er in Böhmen in der Verbannung. (Seine Söhne, Reginar IV. und Lambert, nach Ottos Tod ins Land zurückgekehrt, mußten bereits um 974 beim Anrücken Ottos II. ins Westfrankenreich flüchten.) Dagegen verhalf Brun dem Bischof Berengar von Cambrai (956–962), dessen Untertanen sich während einer seiner Hoffahrten erhoben, zur Rückkehr in die Stadt, worauf Berengar

began a reign of terror, attacked his diocesans when the opportunity arose and had many killed without being able to hold on to Cambrai permanently. (And his successor, Bishop Ansbert [q6d-s7*1› only held his ground there with help from abroad).

In all of this, however, which he was driven to do purely by the need of the people, the holy archbishop was of course always the - Gotresmann Brun- (Vita Brunonis), he had, secretly monkishly and eschatologically minded, directed his mind entirely to the other side. But in the fight for the royal brother, "the light of the world", the "anointed of the Lord", all opponents, regardless of their faith, are

- This has been the case on the Christian side throughout the millennia! - They a r e "driven by the spirit of hatred", "unleashed by Satan", they spread "the poison of their wickedness throughout the whole body of the empire: perjurers, robbers, the "plague of the human race", "rabid wolves who devastate the Church of God" etc. St. Brun, on the other hand, combines "love - everything, highest nobility, high offices, dignities, wisdom - and deepest courage, gentleness, daily progress in virtue. He brings, as Otto himself is said to have expressed it, "a royal priesthood to our kingship. Thus the saint is at once amiable and fearsome, he is, it is in the family, just like his brother: -apart from the terror of the royal power of punishment, he is always amiable". Yes, - among the gentle and humble, no one was gentler and more humble, against the wicked and ill-natured, no one was stricter". For Archbishop Brun, "Christ's pleasant fragrance", did not only, to paraphrase his biographer, "practice politics and deal with the dangerous craft of war". No, he was also the refuge of the oppressed and poor "day after day". But even during the war he did good, salutary things - -even through his campaigns he brought to the cathedral and the other churches the treasures of salvation, the religions of the saints, like hardly any of his predecessors - (Oediger); -lovely pearls and sweet pledges", - 'almost from all countries and ends of the world- (Vita Brunonis)."

"LOVELy PnRlS" AND THREeSsicJ xRIGER CHTKAMPF

The best, most beautiful and most important of all Brun's treasures, however, were the staff and chains of St. Peter. Of course, these relics (like many others), which the bishop acquired with great "love" and "enthusiasm", the staff of St. Peter from Metz and the chains presumably q5y by Pope Agapet II from Rome, were of course faked and lied about. The Pc- trus staff in particular - it was still being used in the zo. Century in Cologne

"Cathedral treasure shown! - a thirty-year power struggle broke out between the metropolitan of Cologne and the metropolitan of Trier. After all, the dignity of an episcopal see and its position of precedence over another diocese - so important in the religion of humility - d e p e n d e d essentially on the extent to which its foundation could be traced back to Peter or a disciple of Peter, of which there can of course be no question (cf. II y6 ff.).

Meta and Trier thus laid claim to the -Petrine discipleship‖ (not fixed in writing until the 4th century). And against the overwhelming control gained by Brun of Cologne, they offered the alleged apostolic succession of the See of Trier and supported it with the Peter's staff tale, in which everything is invented; not least the death revival of Cologne's chief shepherd Mater-nus - he himself is historically attested in the 4th century, but he was not the only one to have been killed.

already sent out on a mission by the apostle Peter! At his

After his sudden death, Peter's staff was brought from Rome, and with its miraculous help Maternus, who had already been buried in Alsace for forty days, came back to life and became Bishop of Trier.

Incidentally, the bishop - who would have thought it - apparently enjoyed living for another nine years at the time of Charlemagne. And if, as Christian chroniclers also know, St. Maternus (good against infections and fevers; FeSt 14 September) was even a relative of Jesus, namely the famous young man of Nain, then Maternus would have died three times and risen again

and again - even if his raising of the dead in the Bible only took place after the death of the bishop.

Luke reports, but all the other evangelists, who mention so many minor miracles of Jesus, remain silent about them. By the way: IOJq also justified the Metropolis of Rheims' right to primacy and royal coronation by invoking the staff of St. Peter, which Pope Hormisdas had once bestowed on Bishop Remigius of Rheims!

Brun of Cologne therefore took possession of the oaiinous staff in Metz Cathedral, presumably qJ3, in order to invalidate the Trier pri- mary aspirations. However, in the sixties of the io. However, in the sixties of the eighteenth century, the clergy of Trier Cathedral forged the so-called Silvester Diploma, according to which Pope Silvester I (i*4'iiil confirmed to the Church of Trier those primacy rights over the Gallic and Germanic dioceses that Peter himself had once conferred on it! And on the basis of this fraud, Pope John XIII then recognized on az. January qöq, Pope John XIII granted Archbishop Theode- rich (q6y-9) of Trier the coveted primacy over Gaul and Germania.

Unfortunately, the all-important "Petrusstab- was now in Cologne. However, the Archbishop of Trier Egbert (qy q3), a highly educated man who had been trained in the royal court chapel and who qy6 became chancellor to Otto II, succeeded in being appointed by the Archbishop of Cologne Warin (975s J) - who was perhaps under the burden of the -historical Trier's "evidence" collapsed - the consent to a partial of the staff. According to the Christian view, every partial relic was as good as a whole one, since the salvific effect of the whole one was also contained in the divided one. Archbishop Egbert, who was just as concerned with the material security of his parish as with Trier's claim to primacy over Gaul and Germania, had an extremely precious pommel made especially for his fragment, which ultimately considerably surpassed the Cologne "original" and made the Trier St. Peter's staff one of the masterpieces of "Ottonian goldsmithing" (Achter).

Not enough A detailed inscription on the precious object recounts the history of the staff, according to which it was once sent by St. Peter himself (Peter) for the resurrection of Maternus, and also mildly criticizes the appropriation of the staff.

old Trier church property by Archbishop Brun of Cologne, who had "demanded" the staff. -The written sources make the struggle that Trier has been waging for primacy and staff since the middle of the century very clear. The more Trier threatened to be pushed out of the ranks of the German archbishoprics, the more intense the efforts to outdo the rivals by demonstrating its own age and apostolic mission" (Achter).

After the subjugation of the Liudolfing rebels, Otto I achieved a further and greater gain in power, the victory over the Hungarians on the Lechfeld. (A defeat would probably have plunged him into renewed internal political conflict).

THE ÜECHFELD BATTLE § y - ONE - GREAT HABIT OF GODLY LOVE"

At Augsburg - its bishops are VOfR4 up to the 8th century (from Zosimus/Dionysius to Marcianus) "legendary, i.e. feigned (source-backed) is only Bishop Wicterp,
died before 7z), near Augsburg the Swabian-Franconian army had already been defeated by the Hungarians qIo under Louis the Child
(p.35s) 9•3 and qz6, the invaders had once again devastated the area around the city. And like qy¢, they had also q5y invaded Bavaria to take advantage of the civil war in German-
land to profit from the Liudolfin uprising. They burned between the Danube and the Iller, robbed fortified towns and began to besiege the episcopal city of Augsburg.

Now, however, the king was no longer hindered by rebels in his own camp. Instead, he quickly mobilized a contingent from almost all the German tribes, including Franconia, Bavaria, Swabia and even Bohemia. Only the army of Lotharingia was missing, along with most of the Saxon army, which was ready to fight the Slavs. On the Christian side, however, a real

Saint, the bishop Ulrich of Augsburg - of course, the murderer, the fratricide of a saint, the Czech Bo- leslav (p. 4°j ff.), was also fighting there, forced by Otto iso to pay fealty through a campaign.

When the German king approached and saw the huge army of the Hungarians, it seemed to him that it could not be conquered by men unless God had mercy and **killed them" (Vita OudaIrici).[2] '**

And God and Otto cooperated¡ whereby Otto was not stingy with promises and threats, but left his warriors especially -reward and grace for their support, -eternal reward if they should fall, but the joys of this world if they were victorious" (Thietmar). So, at least for the individual, nothing could go wrong.

While the Hungarians allegedly threatened to fight their own with the whip (Vita Oudalrici), the Catholic king used the full range of spiritual instruments, doing everything that is usually done in cases of Christian mass murder to bribe heaven and metaphysically prepare the potential battle victims. The day before, he had already ordered a fast in the camp, and now he tearfully vowed to build a bishopric in Merseburg Castle for a victory on that day and to have his recently begun palace extended into a church. "He rose from the ground, celebrated mass and received communion from his brave confessor Mrich; then he immediately seized his shield and holy lance and was the first to break into the ranks of the resisting enemy in front of his warriors ..." (Thietmar)

Even if the chronicler is mistaken, since the "confessor Ulrich", who was included in Augsburg, could not have administered communion to the royal commander, one can still see here how
-The Holy Mass, the Holy Communion, the Holy Lance in the, as the bishop writes immediately afterwards,
-blood work" can be implemented. Very good. (And exactly the s a m e in the great Christian orgies of extermination of the zo. Century - aside from the fact that the "holy lance" in the Mu-

seum and no king or other supreme warlord - unfortunately! - is still there, of which 'one could not lose enough')."

The monk Widukind records a short, quite remarkable speech by Otto I immediately before the general retreat: "That we must be of good courage in this distress, you see for yourselves, my men, who must see the enemy not in the distance (!) but before us. Up to this point I have fought gloriously with your valiant arms and ever-successful weapons, and have been victorious outside (!) my soil and realm; should I now show my back in my own country and realm? ... We, the masters of almost all of Europe, should be ashamed of ourselves if we now submit to our enemies."

Up to this point, the German majesty confesses, her men have always fought the enemy (Otto forgives the many civil wars!) -in the distance, -outside my soil and empire, . ." This clearly states what is certain anyway, the Franks, the Germans did much the same as the God-damned Hungarians; they attacked foreign countries, peoples, burned, murdered, dragged away hostages, successful people, even annexed entire regions. And in *this* very un-Hungarian, bloody and brutal *way*, the Franks, the Germans, as Majesty boasted, became the masters of almost all of Europass. The difference between the two halves is merely of a paper, historiographical nature, consists merely in a colossal hypocrisy, or, to put it more beautifully, repression or, if you like, "patriotic" obsession (still "conditioned by contemporary history"!), consists merely in the fact that Christian historiography always demonizes its (pagan) antagonists - taking the Hungarians here only pars pro toto - and turns them into scum par excellence, while it portrays its own devils, who died in no other way (in a double meaning of the word), as shining victors, noble knights, heroes, and praises the whole thing, euphemistically, neiti, simply disgustingly glorifying, as missionary work, Christianization, the spread of culture!

Kurz vor dem Eintreffen des deutschen Entsatzheeres lösten die Ungarn ihre Umklammerung Augsburgs und es kam am 10. August 955 in den Lechniederungen vor der Stadt zu einem gewaltigen Abschlachten. Dabei teilten sich die fremden Reiterscharen in einem unerwarteten Manöver. Sie überschritten den Lech, umgingen das gegnerische Heer und griffen nach einem Pfeilregen von hinten an, die wohltrainierten tschechischen Truppen zuerst, die dabei – «besser mit Rüstungen als mit Glück versehen» (Widukind) – besonders aufgerieben, die schwäbischen, die in die Flucht geschlagen wurden.

Es stand schlecht um die Deutschen, bis die Attacke der gut geschulten fränkischen Reiter unter Konrad dem Roten (S. 426), der zuletzt noch selbst (da er in der Hitze des Gefechts die Bänder seines Panzers löste) von einem Pfeil durch die Kehle getroffen, fiel, das Blatt wendete und das Hauptheer um den König, die «Auserlesenen aus allen Tausenden der Streiter» (Widukind), den Sieg herbeimordete. Oder wie es voller unbegrenztem Gottvertrauen in der «Vita S. Oudalrici» heißt: «Im gegenseitigen Gemetzel fielen die Krieger auf beiden Seiten, und es starben, denen von Gott bestimmt war zu sterben. Dann aber wurde von Gott, dem nichts unmöglich ist, der glorreiche Sieg dem König Otto verliehen. Das Heer der Ungarn wandte sich zur Flucht und hatte nicht mehr die Kraft zu kämpfen. Und obwohl eine unglaublich große Zahl von ihnen erschlagen worden war, blieb dennoch eine so große Menge von ihnen übrig, daß die, welche sie von den Bollwerken der Stadt Augsburg aus herankommen sahen, glaubten, sie kämen nicht als Besiegte, bis sie erkannten, daß sie an der Stadt vorüberjagten und in höchster Eile das andere Ufer des Lechs zu erreichen suchten.»[23]

Die Schlacht auf dem Lechfeld, angeblich die größte des 10. Jahrhunderts, am Fest des hl. Laurentius, des großen «Sieghelfers gegen die Ungarn» (Weinrich), wurde mit Hilfe des Himmels eingeleitet und beendet. Auch mit einem Gelübde Ottos gegenüber dem «Feuersieger», dem Tagesheiligen (neue große «Missionspläne» im Osten), Stiftung des Bistums Merseburg. Und danach Dankgottesdienste im ganzen Reich: «dem höchsten Gott

Praise and worthy hymns of praise in all churches (Widukind). They had marched under the imperial banner, the emblem of St. Michael, supported also by the troops of St. Ulrich
-U)rich's relics were in great demand for a long time" (Zoepfl). Not to forget the stimulating effect of the holy lance that Otto carried in battle. It is said that this is how the Germans defeated Izo em Hungary, which of course could also be seen in the great battle.
triumph of his father s33 -n the tJnstrut, also 4i at Wels on the Traun, qq8 at Floß on the Entenbühl and quo in Italy on the Tessin, though even then he had still
always on the defensive.

The Lechfeld massacre, however, is often seen as a special achievement.

"strategic art" (Erben), especially since, as the monk Widukind, perhaps a descendant of the Saxon duke of the same name, writes seemingly innocently, it was "not exactly bloodless". That same day and the next, the king pursued the surviving Hungarians in a frenzy of blood and victory and, according to the Augsburg cathedral provost Gerhard, "destroyed what he could". The fugitives were chased into the Lech, they were burnt together with the farms where they were hiding, sometimes even entire villages in the area. In short, they were drowned, set on fire, stabbed and killed. -There was no path and no pathless wilderness to be found for them where the Lord's vengeance would not have been evidently upon them at every turn (Vita Oudalrici).

And Otto, the victor, the hero whom the troops proclaimed "impera- tor" (a controversial note by Widukind), simply thought of everything. Not only did he -carefully ascertain who had remained from his army", not only did he console St. Mrich for the death in battle of his brother Dietbald -and for other relatives who had also died there, not only did he -carefully prepare the body of his son-in-law Duke Konrad for burial in Worms", but he also sent messengers immediately "after the blood work" in order to
-to stir the hearts of the faithful to the joyful praise of Christ. Such a great gift of divine love was received by the whole, and

The Christian community entrusted to the king in particular rose up with unbelievable rejoicing and unanimously praised and thanked God on high."

Last but not least, Otto gave orders by express messengers to occupy all fords and fords of the rivers in Bavaria and thus to liquidate as many of the fleeing enemies as possible, whose last remnants ("Only seven Magyars came to Hungary", Wetzer/Welte knows) reached their homeland via Bohemia. Or as in the iq. century, the Augsburg tobacco manufacturer and Sunday poet Philipp Schmid has St. Uirich say in a Lechfeld battle play: - "To cleanse the homeland of a humble Christian people from the raw hordes of the heathen."

Apropos: the Hungarians, especially their masters, were no longer quite -wi1de heathens- after all. Their last chief leader, Bulc- su, Otto's opponent on the Lech, had been a baptized Christian for years (in Constan- tinop#l). No matter how much Karl Martell's victory over
the Arabs at Poitiers 7i- "had the cult of St. Hilarius invoked anew" (Ewig IV i 4). so a beautiful fruit and consequence of the Hungarian victory is now the blossoming of the veneration of the saint of the day.
the St. Laurentius" (Büttner) - a certain amount of research always brings the story to the decisive point. (And let us not forget that the wars b r o u g h t "the treasures of salvation, the relics of the saints" into the churches:
p. 43z.)

Incidentally, captured Hungarian leaders in Regensburg were "tortured" (Vita Oudalrici) along with many of their compatriots and hanged. Prisoners were strangled and thrown into mass graves after they had been relieved of gold and silver, which resulted in golden chalices, crosses and lots of church silver. In total, ioo ocio people are said to have been murdered at the time, thus enabling the Hungarians to join the "culture of Western Europe" (Holtzmann).

Otto I, received with great enthusiasm in his Saxon homeland (Thietmar), has been called "the Great" ever since. And although, as the story goes, he acquired everything he owned in terms of

land and other

gem Eigentum» in seinem ganzen Leben erworben, «unverkürzt Gott und seinem Streiter Mauritius zu eigen» gab (Thietmar), war der große Magen, mit Goethe zu sprechen, der Kirche natürlich nicht satt. Wie sie schon nach den ersten bayerischen Siegen über die Ungarn durch den Bischof Adalbert von Passau sogleich ihre Ansprüche geltend gemacht, so erstrebte sie auch jetzt schnell den einst geraubten, doch in den Ungarnstürmen wieder verlorenen Besitz. Die Bistümer Passau, Regensburg, Freising, Salzburg und die maßgeblichen bayerischen Klöster nahmen erneut ihre verlassenen Güter in der Ostmark ein, ja, Bischof Pilgrim von Passau drang missionierend bis Ungarn vor, wobei er – durch gewaltige Urkundenfälschungen – Erzbischof werden wollte.[24]

Bischof Pilgrim von Passau (971–991), ein grosser Fälscher vor dem Herrn, setzt sich ein literarisches Denkmal

Immerhin bemerkenswert, daß (auch) die Bekehrung der Magyaren in Ungarn mit enormen Fälschungen begann – wobei die fromme «Forschung» freilich lieber von der «Lorcher Frage» spricht, «welche seit Jahrhunderten viele Federn in Bewegung gesetzt hat» (Heuwieser).

Der berühmt-berüchtigte Seelenhirte, im Kloster Niederaltaich erzogen und mit Hilfe des Salzburger Erzbischofs Friedrich, seines Onkels, erhoben, gilt in der Kirchengeschichte als «ein bedeutender Mann», sollte doch seine zwanzigjährige «Regierung» (971–991) «die spätere Größe des Passauer Bistums begründen» (Tomek). Auch war der hohe geistliche Betrüger ein enger Freund des hl. Wolfgang, der auf Pilgrims Betreiben 972 Bischof von Regensburg wurde (später Patron der Holzhauer, Zimmerleute, Hirten, Schiffer, hilfreich auch bei Augen-, Fuß- und Kreuzschmerzen) – «innige Freundschaft vereinigte in Bälde die beiden Männer bis zu Pilgrims 991 erfolgtem Tode» (Janner).

Vor allem aber hatte Bischof Pilgrim beste Beziehungen zu den Ottonen, von denen er zahlreiche Privilegien erhielt. Der rührige Förderer der Mission im Südosten, wo einer seiner zahlreichen Missionare sogar den Großfürsten Géza (Geycha 972–997) in Gran (ung. Esztergom), den Vater Stephans I., zum Christen machte, wollte allerdings mehr: nicht nur die Stadthoheit (Grundherrschaft, Zoll, Immunität), nicht nur die Ausdehnung seines Bistums in der «Ostmark», sondern auch das Pallium sowie das Ungarnland und Mähren unter Passauer Metropolitangewalt. Deshalb gab er in den «Lorcher Fälschungen» Passau als legitimen Erben des römischen Bistums Lorch (Lauriacum) an der Enns (Oberösterreich) aus, das er nachträglich zum Erzbistum erhob. Es sollte in römischer Zeit über ganz Pannonien, Mähren und Moesien sich erstreckt und bis 738 existiert haben.

Um den Zusammenhang seines 739 gegründeten Sprengels mit dem Erzbistum Lorch zu beweisen und selbst Erzbischof zu werden, seine Macht zu erweitern, seine Einkünfte zu mehren und sich von der bayerischen Metropole Salzburg zu lösen, fälschte Pilgrim als versierter Schreiber der königlichen Kanzlei zwischen 970 und 985 eine Reihe von Dokumenten: eine Gründungsbulle auf den Namen von Papst Symmachus (498–514), ferner Pallienurkunden auf die Namen von Päpsten des 9. und 10. Jahrhunderts, von Eugen II., Leo VII., Agapet II. und Benedikt VI.

Auch präsentierte der Bischof weitere, nach Form und Inhalt falsche, doch geschickt gemachte kaiserliche und königliche Diplome: einige angebliche Kaiserurkunden Karls «des Großen», Ludwigs des Frommen und Arnulfs, die er wohl von einem Notar der kaiserlichen Kanzlei fabrizieren ließ; wozu noch die Verunechtung und Manipulierung echter Urkunden Ottos I. und Ottos II. kamen. Eine unter Pilgrim gefälschte Urkunde Kaiser Arnulfs vom 9. September 898 beispielsweise, die u. a. die Gerichtsbarkeit der Stadt ausschließlich dem Bischof zugestand, bildete die Grundlage für das am 3. Januar 999 ausgestellte Diplom Ottos III., das dem Passauer Oberhirten Markt, Münze, Zoll, Bann und öffentliche Gewalt in Passau vorbehielt.

In den falsifizierten Papstschriftstücken wird den Passauer Bi-

schöfen der erzbischöfliche Titel und ihrem «Erzbistum» magyarisches und slawisches Land zugesprochen, das apostolische Vikariat in Pannonien, Mösien, dem Hunnenland und Mähren. Das ganze ehrgeizige Unternehmen sollte auf Kosten Salzburgs gehen, weshalb der dortige Erzbischof Friedrich, der Onkel Pilgrims, denn auch alsbald mit einer Gegenfälschung auftrat und seine durchaus besseren Rechte durch ein rasch fingiertes Privileg Benedikts VI. sicherte. Trotz des Passauers «Verdiensten» um die Ungarnmission – er strich sie selbst in einem Begleitschreiben zu seinen Schwindeleien heraus – entschied Papst Benedikt VII. zugunsten des Salzburgers und dessen Gewalt über ganz Pannonien.

War Bischof Pilgrims frommen Bemühungen aber auch kein Erfolg beschieden, blieb sein Name dennoch in Passau gefeiert (wie natürlich lange in der theologischen «Forschung»); ja, er ging als Oheim Kriemhilds und ihrer Brüder in das Nibelungenlied ein. So ist ihm, rühmt das «Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche», «ein literarisches Denkmal gesetzt». Tatsächlich ließ der große Fälscher die Nibelungensage aufzeichnen – «Von Pazowe der bischof Pilgerîn / durch liebe der neven sîn / hiez schrîben dis ein maere».[25]

Schon 1854 hatte Ernst Dümmler in einer Schrift über Pilgrim und das Erzbistum Lorch die Fälschungen aller Lorch betreffenden Pallienurkunden für Passau samt der Unechtheit einer Urkunde Kaiser Arnulfs für Bischof Wiching durch Pilgrim erwiesen. Natürlich widersprach man, ohne widerlegen zu können. Auch als eine Generation später K. Uhlirz, gestützt auf die Edition der karolingischen und sächsischen Kaiserurkunden, die Fälschungen zu Passau erneut erhärtete, protestierte man abermals. Um den «berühmten Bischof» (Heuwieser) zu entlasten, war man sogar bereit, andere, minder «berühmte» Prälaten zu bezichtigen, wie Wiching oder die im ausgehenden 12. Jahrhundert lebenden Bischöfe Diepold und Wolfker. 1909 freilich wies Waldemar Lehr in seiner Berliner Dissertation die in Verbindung mit Pilgrim begangenen Fälschungen noch einmal mit äußerster Sorgfalt nach. Eine von W. Peitz angekündigte Entgegnung unterblieb. Und selbst in der zum 1200jährigen Bestehen im «Jubeljahr 1939» erschienenen Bistumsgeschichte Passaus muß der Verfasser zuge-

ben, «daß unter Bischof Piligrim mittels einer Reihe unechter, hiezu gefertigter Königs- und Papsturkunden der Versuch unternommen wurde, die Bischöfe von Passau als die Nachfolger der Erzbischöfe von Lorch in Geltung zu bringen und ihnen die Metropolitanrechte über Ungarn zu verschaffen».[26]

EIN SKLAVENHALTER UND KRIEGER WIRD ALS ERSTER KATHOLIK FEIERLICH UND FÖRMLICH KANONISIERT

Anscheinend unsterbliche Meriten errang seinerzeit auch Bischof Ulrich von Augsburg (923–973). Nach dem Sieg auf dem Lechfeld bekam er vom König die gräfliche Gerichtsbarkeit, das Münz- und wohl auch Marktrecht. Und schon wenige Jahrzehnte darauf wurde er heilig gesprochen. Nicht jedem freilich, der noch immer die üblichen Vorstellungen von Heiligkeit hegt, mag er heute so heilig erscheinen.

Ulrich verdankte sein Amt, wie bei Bischöfen ja seit Jahrhunderten die Regel (III 499 f.), seiner Familie, dem Geschlecht der späteren Grafen von Dillingen. Schon der Onkel, der sel. Adalbero, war (seit 887) Bischof in Augsburg gewesen, dazu Berater Kaiser Arnulfs, Erzieher von dessen Sohn Ludwig und während der Regierung dieses Unmündigen «fast Regent des Reiches» (Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche). Unter dem sel. Onkel amtierte der hl. Neffe als Vermögensverwalter des Bistums, quittierte den Dienst aber nach Ableben des Onkels (909), war ihm doch der neue Bischof Hiltin «nicht vornehm genug». Er verwaltete jetzt vierzehn Jahre lang den Grundbesitz seiner Sippe, bis er 924 durch die Verwandten selbst Bischof von Augsburg wurde – wie er denn unbedingt, strikt entgegen den Kirchengesetzen, auch wieder seinen Neffen Adalbero als Nachfolger wollte. Ohne ordiniert zu sein, fungierte der auch bereits als Bischof; so mußten sich beide wegen schlechten Beispiels und des Verstoßes gegen das kanonische Recht im September 972 auf der Synode von Ingelheim verantworten. Doch bald darauf waren beide tot.

As the holy bishop and commander of the troops, who also surrounded the cathedral city with a wall, Ulrich kept slaves, had them placed on

He protected his vassals on "visitation journeys" and led an entire "wagon train" to collect the levies. He also always traveled accompanied by "his most capable vassals" so that he could c o n d u c t negotiations with the necessary security in the event of any problems (Vita Otidalrici). Time and again, the saint fought with his sword at RoB. For example, in the late fall of py3 with King Otro against Regensburg. And when he could no longer stay in his own episcopal city after his return, he entrenched himself in Mantahinga Castle, repelling all attacks for an entire winter.

(Schwabmünchen). On February 6, 9J4, the Count Palatine Arnulf was defeated along with a group of those unfortunates who had previously plundered the city of Augsburg. They were beaten in such a way that -most of

they were dead". And when Bishop Ulrich then returned to Augsburg, his biographer Cathedral Provost Gerhard wrote: "None of those who had taken hostile spoils against the holy Mother of God Mary in Augsburg got away unpunished, unless *they* had immediately bought the venerable bishop's forgiveness from their own resources.

In fact, a lot of "punitive miracles" followed.

One who was plundered in Augsburg lost his mind and breathed his last. Another fell dead at the sound of a horse's hoofbeat. The son of the Duke of Bavaria, Count Palatine Arnulf, -who had "dared to invade the goods of St. Mary in a hostile manner" (although the "venerable bishop" had threatened, under penalty of excommunication, that "one should not have the pleasure of touching the goods of St. Mary that were in his diocese in the slightest": Vita Oudalrici), fell *in 95q'in* battle outside Regensburg. A fourth, who took a piece of cheap tablecloth in Augsburg, was immediately possessed by the devil and could not get rid of him anywhere, neither in the church nor outside, nor by sprinkling him with holy water. The devil never left his side. Finally he made his way to Augsburg, brought back

the unlawful goods and asked for

He asked the bishop to addict him with rods in the name of Christ and grant him forgiveness of his guilt. And so he was freed from the devil and returned home healed - yes, they knew how to deal with sheep.

When it came to overcoming the damage and rebuilding the cathedral, Ulrich naturally supported the "plundered cathedral clergy", emphasizes cathedral provost Gerhard,

-supported them in every way. And it was not without reason that he also supported himself, ordering his own estates, which had been burnt down and lay desolate, to be brought back to life through diligent work in the fields and on the buildings. The valiant band of his serfs obediently went to work and, after a suitable period of time, provided whatever was needed - whatever was possible - that is already written in a holy book! Yes, they knew how to handle sheep, especially sheep in bondage.

In particular, however, Ulrich q$5 heroically led the defense of Augsburg until Otto's army approached and the holy bishop threw his own troops into battle. He preached and admonished: "Do not repay evil with evil, but with blessing; bear persecution patiently for the sake of justice". But it was also one of his principles to love all people,

"all men of good will, of whom the choir of angels sings: 'And on earth peace to men of good will', but to resist the wicked in all their evil deeds, according to the words of the holy prophet David: 'The wicked has come to nothing before his face ...'

According to Ulrich's biography, the bishop only had his army (milites) "fight manfully at the gate" and sat behind it "on his robe (super caballum), clad in the stole, without being protected by shield, armor or helmet". However, researchers suspect that Ulrich, who not only frequently spent time in the king's vicinity (demonstrably five to ten times), but was himself "active in his army for months on end" (Weitlauff), also took part in the slaughter on the Lechfeld. Not unlike his own brother Dietbald and his

nephew Reginbald, both of whom fell in the slaughter. Not unlike Bishop Michael of Regensburg (d. qyz), whose ear was cut off in the turmoil of battle; visibly protected, as he himself testified, by St. Emmeram - s o remarkable because Bishop Michael was also one of those Regensburg church princes who p l u n d e r e d Emmeram's treasures!"

Hagiography, however, would like to see the saint, who "played a leading role in the Battle of Hungary" (Bosl), less bloodied.

The biography of "the holiest of all men of that time" (the monk Ekkehard IV), written between q83 and *qq$* by the younger Gerhard, who was chosen as his closest companion, "for the purpose of canonization" (Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche), and atich was therefore already provided with many miracle stories, visions, prophecies and certainly false news, was presented in Rome soon afterwards. And on 3i. January *99$* at a Lateran Synod Pope John XV.

- itself through nepotism - in its worst form - and its

-Ulrich, this episcopal slave-owner and warrior who paid homage to nepotism and who was also a pilgrim to Rome three times and generally "a jewel among the priests" (Thietmar), was formally and solemnly canonized as the first Catholic.

"PATRON AGAINST TTElsf **AND USE"**
"THE DANGER FROM THE EAST* **AND THE**
$ NuMMER DBR **-HBI LIGEN GBBEINE"**

From ntin onwards, his cult was powerfully promoted. Bishop Gebhard of Augsburg (qq6-Iooo) and Abbot Berno of Reichen- au (ioo8yIO§8) revised the first Ulrich vita, which was important in terms of content but poorly written, significantly omitting all historical information and filling it with biblical quotations, ranting, mi-

rakulösem nur so gespickt; Spätere haben all das noch vielfach interpoliert. Ulrichs Grabkapelle aber, worin Kaiser Heinrich II. auch Ottos III. Eingeweide beisetzen ließ, besuchten schon früh sogar ausländische Wallfahrer. Nach Ulrich wurden massenhaft Kirchen, Kapellen, Ortschaften benannt. Bereits im 10. und 11. Jahrhundert riß man sich um seine Reste; die angesehensten Klöster bewarben sich darum, auch der Bamberger Dom. Im 12. Jahrhundert überführte Kaiser Barbarossa eigenhändig Ulrichs Reliquienschrein (und lag bald selbst zerstückelt: mit seinen Innereien in Tarsus, seinem «Fleisch» in Antiochia, seinen Gebeinen in Tyrus).

Natürlich erfuhr das Volk an Ulrichs Grab Wunder. Die Verwandlung eines Fleischstückes in einen Fisch ist freilich literarisch erst spät «bezeugt». Doch half Ulrich besonders bei Augenkrankheiten; bei Fieber heilte ein Trunk aus seinem Meßkelch, bei Mäuseplage Erde von seinem Grab und bei Bissen tollwütiger Hunde der Ulrichschlüssel, ein auf seinen Namen geweihter Schlüssel. Man bekam «Ulrichsbrünnlein» und wallfahrtete zu ihnen. Ulrich wurde der «Brunnenheilige», wurde Patron auch der Fischer, «Reisepatron», «Patron gegen Ratten und Mäuse», überhaupt gegen «Ungeziefer», Patron in «allerlei Leibsgebrechen».

So hielt man das Volk allzeit auf der geistigen Höhe der Zeit.

Der erste und älteste St.-Ulrichs-Verein konstituierte sich bereits im 12. Jahrhundert. Kein Geringerer als Kaiser Friedrich I. gehörte dazu. Auch in der frühen Neuzeit gründete man eine «rasch aufblühende Ulrichsbruderschaft» mit Bischöfen, Herzögen, Kaisern als Mitgliedern. Ja, der Heilige wird nun, selbstverständlich «fälschlich», zum Vorkämpfer protestantischer Freiheit gegenüber päpstlicher Tyrannei.

Noch im 19. Jahrhundert betet man in einer Ulrichslitanei: «Heiliger Udalrikus / Du lebendiges Muster der Frömmigkeit und Heiligkeit / Du Mann nach dem Herzen Gottes / Du sonderbarer Liebhaber des Gebeths / Du Beyspiel der Abtödtung und Bußfertigkeit / Du eifriger Hirte deiner Heerde...» usw. Noch im «Jubiläumsjahr 1955» florierte angeblich die Ulrichsverehrung

again, among other things through new Mrich churches and the increasing popularity of the baptismal names Ulrich and Mrike, as clear "manifestations of authority-sponsored guidance of piety" (Hörger), since "the -danger from the East- ... was the core idea of the Ulrich year IqJ y-.'.

When it was claimed in Milan at the beginning of the 7th century that the body of St. Ulrich was in Milan and his head in Rome, the Bishop of Augsburg, Joseph Landgrave of Hesse, had the body of St. Ulrich moved to Rome.

Darmstadt -7 z the exhumation of the saint. After some searching, he was found, and a number of physicians, the bishop's personal physicians and other pious surgeons and healers, registered -764 under zq numbers the -holy bones of St. U1rich-: Thus the upper part of the head, which -can rightly be called intact, apart from a few outer parts that had been gnawed away by the ravages of time". "z. The

Lower jaw with four incisors and three molars. 3. a tooth with a phalanx was found in a silver box; the story tells us what was read about this phalanx.

is worth 4 A single grinding tooth and an incisor were found. . The hyoid bone. 6 Part of the larynx.

* - *97* *R8Chtesichesich then a new medical grain mission over the "holy bones of St. Uirich" …'

Of course, Otto's victory over the Hungarians, the enemies of Christianity, was regarded by his contemporaries as a victory of the kingdom of God, a triumph of Christ. It ended the Hungarian invasions of the German Empire forever and was therefore more momentous than the meeting at Riade q33 (p. 4 > f.). It was "in the memory of all" German

"Tribes an event that m a d e their hearts beat faster"

(Schramm), was "the birth of today's Austria" (Father Grill). And above all, it paved the way for the German Ostpolitik until I §j"! (Fischer) You can see how a noble event that made hearts beat faster (ortschwärt up to Hitler's mass murder. And once the Hungarians had invaded Germany, it was now the other way round - "it became possible to carry the Christian mission into

Hungary.

Otto's name thus gained resonance b e y o n d the borders of his realm" (Schramm).

Of course, they were not content with defensive measures. Around 7o, the young Bavarian Duke Henry 11 opened the offensive. And while he snatched the Carolingian marches on the eastern edge of the Alps from the Hungarians, Boleslav 11, who was moving with him, at the same time took Moravia and Slovakia as far as the **Váh.** Regensburg was no longer sufficient for the "care" of the mighty council. For this reason, the Imperial Diet of Qued- linburg decided in 97 to found the bishopric of Prague, probably also the
another for Moravia.^

After the spectacular successes against the Slavs on the Lechfeld and the Unstrut, Otto, the triumphant destroyer of the pagans, intensified their mission. In the southeast he erected
he controlled the Bavarian "Ostmark", from the year 97 the three-hundred-year-old field of action and annexation of the younger Babenbergs - perhaps descendants of the older Babenbergs (p. 3J¢ ff.) - until they were replaced by the Habsburgs. In the
In the east, the king defeated the Bohemians in a long war. In the north-east, he continued the murderous attacks of his father (p. 391ff.) by intensifying the Christianization of the Elbe Slavs and founded two marches between the Elbe and Oder rivers."

THE GERMAN ' EASTERN COLONIZATION° OR THE "GOOD MERCHANTS - THE CRAFT HERMA2'tN BILLING AND GERO

The bloody business of German "eastern colonization", which Otto I actually founded, was mainly carried out for him by two Saxons who commanded the new marches in the northeast: Hermann Bildung (d. 973), who was personally close to Otto (the royal chancellery avoided giving him the title of duke, calling him "marchio" or "comes")¡ his family owned counties and churches from Lüneburg to Thuringia.

Und Gero, ebenfalls ein persönlicher Freund des Königs und einer seiner «zuverlässigsten Helfer» (Keller), «für diese Aufgabe hervorragend geeignet» (Fleckenstein); er herrschte über die sogenannte Nordmark. Seit der erneuten Niederringung der rebellischen Redarier (936), des Hauptstammes der Liutizen, womit Otto den Billunger beauftragt hatte, unterjochten die beiden Feudalherren in den folgenden Jahrzehnten in unentwegten Kriegen und Gemetzeln Abodriten, Sorben und Wilzen.

Dem Mönch Widukind verklärte sich dies zum Kampf eines Gottesfürsten gegen ein Volk Satans. Nach dem Jargon der Forschung baute der König derart «die Beziehungen zu den Slawen im Osten aus» (Schramm). «In jahrelangen blutigen Kämpfen haben diese beiden großen Kriegsleute die Aufgabe, die ihnen übertragen war ... glücklich (!) gelöst» (Holtzmann). «Die eroberten Burgbezirke wurden einzeln oder mehrere zusammen zu deutschen Burgwarden, in deren Vororte man Besatzungen legte. Deutsche Ritter erhielten Slawendörfchen zu eigen oder Lehen, und mit ihnen kamen die Priester. 948 schien die Lage schon so gefestigt zu sein, daß man die ersten Bistümer gründete» (Hauptmann).

Ein besonderer Verehrer des Billungers, dessen Sippe 170 Jahre lang über das von der Ostsee begrenzte Gebiet herrschte, war Erzbischof Adalbert von Magdeburg (968–981). Persönlich geleitete er den großen Schlächter unter Glockengeläut und Vorantragen von Kerzen in den Dom, ließ ihn bei Tisch, wie den König, zwischen den Bischöfen sitzen, ja im Bett des Kaisers schlafen. (Diese Ovationen gingen Otto zu weit; er verurteilte den Erzbischof dazu, ihm so viele Pferde nach Italien zu senden, «wie er dem Herzoge habe Glocken läuten und Kronleuchter anzünden lassen». Denn, behauptet Bischof Thietmar von Merseburg ein andermal, «wie der Herr, so waren auch seine Fürsten. Überfluß an Speisen und anderen Gütern schätzten sie nicht, es erfreute sie stets nur das goldene Maßhalten (aurea mediocritas). Alle Tugenden, von denen wir lesen, blühten zu ihren Lebzeiten, mit ihrem Tode welkten sie dahin ..., doch ihre unsterblichen Seelen leben fort und erfreuen sich ob ihrer guten Werke der ewigen Seligkeit.»

Die Kämpfe, durch die man die Elbslawen zunächst zinspflichtig machte, waren lang und erbittert; sie wurden von beiden Seiten mit äußerster Grausamkeit geführt. Auch die Rache der Wenden kannte keine Schonung. Nach ihrer Eroberung von Walsleben 929 ermordeten sie alles, Greise und Kinder, Männer und Frauen, eine unzählbare Menge, behauptet jedenfalls Widukind. Und im Frühjahr 955 sollen sie der deutschen Besatzung der Burg der Cocarescemier freien Abzug versprochen, dann jedoch die Waffenlosen sämtlich niedergestochen haben.

Nun waren die Deutschen freilich die Aggressoren. Und unter ihnen brillierte besonders Gero, der «Würger der slawischen Stämme» (Donnert), dem indes Mönch Widukind «für den Dienst Gottes guten Eifer» bescheinigt und natürlich auch «eine gewaltige Beute», ja, den noch das Nibelungenlied als den starken, den schnellen Gere rühmt. Sah er doch in der Niederkämpfung der Slawen «seine Lebensaufgabe» (Bullough), wobei es ihm freilich zugleich um ihre Christianisierung ging.

Denn dieser Haudegen, «der Schützer unseres Landes» (Bischof Thietmar), der das Vorrücken der deutschen Grenze von der Elbe-Saale bis zur Oder hauptsächlich erzwang, der 27 Jahre lang Raub- und Unterdrückungsfeldzüge gegen die Elbslawen führte, war unermüdlich und drang systematisch in ihr Gebiet ein. Und während sogar die sächsischen Ritter über den strapaziösen Dauerkrieg schon anfangs der vierziger Jahre zu murren begannen, riß sich Gero nur einmal, zu Beginn des Jahres 950, mitten im Winter, als keinerlei Treffen in Aussicht stand, von der allmählich bis zur Oder vorgemordeten Grenze los, um eine Wallfahrt zu den Apostelfürsten Peter und Paul nach Rom zu machen. Unterwegs trat er der Gebetsverbrüderung des Klosters St. Gallen bei und trug als herrliche Reliquie den Arm des hl. Cyriacus – er stiftete ihm noch ein Kloster zu Frose – zur Verehrung (und Verheerung) dorthin zurück, wo er mit ebensoviel Kraft wie Niedertracht das deutsche Wesen und die alleinseligmachende Religion verbreitete. Dabei ließ er kurz nach der Eröffnung seines Regiments über das südliche Wendenland etwa dreißig gegen ihn verschworene Slawenführer, Fürsten und Edle (principes), die im

The German soldiers, who had fallen asleep over a big drinking binge, were killed in the back at his table one night, allegedly in order to avoid their murderous intentions - "certainly only a protective claim" (H.K. Schulte). -Germany had no braver champion in those eastern regions than he ... And he was not brutalized in the war", praises theologian Albert Hauck, emphasizing on this occasion Gero's conviction that man is responsible to the heavenly Lord for his life, but, in the same breath, "towards the Wends he considered everything permissible". -

The monk Widukind reports the diabolical elimination of the thirty Slavs without any blame. Afterwards he praised his "laudable zeal for the service of God" as the best quality of the crime (quod optimum erat). q6o Gero even made a second pilgrimage to Rome and on his return founded another monastery, the nunnery named after him, Gernrode (Gero's clearing), south of Quedlinburg. As abbess he appointed
the widow of his only, ashmetallic son Siegfried, the niece of Hermann Billung, and bequeathed - "in blessed death"
(May *965* to the monastery, where he was buried, all his possessions. Bishop Thietmar writes that he "resigned himself to God with his entire inheritance" - "the last achievement of no less great murderers in history."

OTTO **OPENS THE CHRISTIANIZATION OF THE RNDEN** AND **"CLEARS THE AIR HERE"**

In the war against the Wends, Otto 1st, too, as not only his behavior towards the treacherous Wendish leader Tugumir shows (p. Type), did not tolerate bribery, betrayal or murder, and on several occasions he himself took a hand in beating the Slavs almost to extinction. -Native Slavic princes were expelled or eliminated, had to pay levies and

children to enslavement; the subjects were forced into servitude- (Fried).

It is significant that the words Wende and heathen were used as synonyms at the time. For the Wends were still pagans. Obviously, Henry I was more concerned with the conquest and theft of these territories than with missionizing them. There were hardly any churches beyond the Elbe and Saale rivers. There were only pagan sanctuaries, sacred groves, images of gods and the worship of gods without images and, of course, the associated priests or elders who had previously offered sacrifices.

Under King Henry, the Church was apparently also hardly concerned with missionizing the East. Only when Otto abandoned his father's practice and, following the example of Charlemagne, had the priests follow the sword, could it be hoped that religion would be used to bind the "prey Slavs" more and more to themselves and their country. Obviously, it was Otto who first brought the clergy to the East, a n d how else, a military clergy: - "the first Christian priests came to the land to the right of the Elbe as field preachers, so to speak, and Saa1e¡ Btirgkapellen are the ancestors of our churches¡ the first Christian congregations that gathered here consisted of soldiers."

Otto was of course prepared for such pious sword service. He had apparently already taken p a r t i n his father's Slav raids qz8 and Jaq and had proselytized in his own way: as an adolescent, he impregnated a noble Slav woman who gave him his illegitimate son Wilhelm, the later Archbishop of Mainz. (However, as we are assured, he was still filled with ascetic ideals. But also by others. Otto's "the Great" archbishop's brother once flatly confessed to the Pope: for bribery, anything!)

The king not only "asserted" the entire territory stolen by his father, but simply "incorporated" it, naturally with constant fighting, a total of yo ooo to 6o ooo square kilometers. For Otto "had to," as theologian Hauck puts it, "share his weapons with all the Wendish peoples.

kreuzen», die beiden südlichen Stämme der Sorben und Daleminzier einmal beiseite. Und auf diese fürsorgliche Weise bildete dann eben nicht mehr die Saale, die Elbe die Grenze des deutschen Reiches, sondern die Oder.

Gleich Ottos erste Maßnahmen nach seiner Krönung in Aachen 936 galten den Elbslawen. Noch im selben Jahr brach er gegen sie auf, zumal gegen die Redarier. Und 939 erfolgte dort ein weiterer Waffengang. Denn dieser Fürst, der in der Ostexpansion eine seiner Hauptaufgaben sah und systematisch auch die Christianisierung der Unterworfenen betrieb, war entschlossen, «hier reinen Tisch zu machen» (Holtzmann), war fest gewillt, «die Herrschaft des Gottesvolkes über die Ungläubigen auszudehnen» (Lubenow).

Dabei schreckten Otto und seine gräflichen Spießgesellen, da sie den Widerstand der Elbslawen ersichtlich im offenen Kampf nicht brechen konnten, auch vor keiner Arglist zurück. Als sie zum Beispiel im Winter 928/929 Brandenburg zwar erobert (S. 392 f.), doch wohl schon bald wieder verloren hatten, schickte Gero den seit König Heinrichs Zeiten als Geisel in Sachsen gefangengehaltenen und von Otto nun mit «pecunia multa» bestochenen rechtmäßigen Hevellerfürsten Tugumir, zweifellos ein Christ, 939 zu den Hevellern nach Brandenburg zurück. Tugumir täuschte ihnen eine Flucht vor, wurde freudig aufgenommen und wieder ihr Herr. Darauf ermordete er im Brandenburger Fürstenhof den letzten Fürsten des Stammes, seinen eigenen Neffen, übergab das gesamte südlutizische Gebiet bis zur Oder König Otto und herrschte mit einer sächsischen Besatzung als dessen Vasall.[34]

Otto «Der Grosse» lässt 700 slawische Kriegsgefangene köpfen und befiehlt die Ausrottung der Redarier

Nachdem Brandenburg durch Verrat und Mord in deutsche Hand gefallen, dort eine Kirche erbaut worden war und Tugumirs Re-

gjment had consolidated, Otto founded the bishopric of Brandenburg on i. October p 8 the diocese of Brandenburg and, probably at the same time, the bishopric of Havelberg (whose alleged foundation charter of 4 is a later forgery, a pre-dating) with the Burgward Nitzow.

First subordinated to the archbishopric of Mainz, then to the archbishopric of Magdeburg, the bishopric of Brandenburg, which comprised ten Slavic tribes, was much larger than most German dioceses. It stretched from the Elbe to the Oder and initially also included Lusatia in the south. The Bishop of Branden- burg received half of the castle and half of the villages belonging to it as well as the burgwardens of Pritzerbe and Zie- sar as early as q¢8. Burgwarde were smaller (since the middle of the io. They were smaller castles (called burgowarde, burgwardium or burgwardum from the middle of the Io. century), which were probably based on Carolingian models on the Saale. In the course of the Ottonian-Salian eastward expansion, they militarily secured the Magdeburg "settlement area" as far as the Havel and the Sorbian region as far as the Elbe - a strategic system serving to control the conquered land. A burgward capital included around ten to twenty villages, whose inhabitants, then and still in the xi. The inhabitants, almost exclusively Slavs, were rigorously exploited and forced to build castles, serve as guards and pay tithes and tributes. And some of the main Burgward towns also had a "Burgward church", even if not all of them, as the older researchers believed.

In the year of the great battle against the Hungarians, py5, Her- mann Billung marched twice against the rebellious Obodri. Even the sons of his own first-born brother Wichmann (the elder), Counts Wichmann the Younger and Ekbert (the One-Eyed), relatives of Queen Mathilde, had incited the Obodrite princes Nakon and his brother ttnd co-ruler Stojgnef, who were allied with them¡ both of whom were Christians.

Although the Slavs were quite willing to pay further tribute at the time, but did not want to be completely enslaved, Otto himself, enterprising as he was, had also paid it"

(Thietmar), mit Krieg überzogen. Nur zwei Monate nach seinem Triumph auf dem Lechfeld und offenbar dadurch gestärkt, schlug er sie schwer am 16. Oktober 955 an dem Flüßchen Raxa, wahrscheinlich der Recknitz (im östlichen Mecklenburg), wobei das Slawenschlachten bis tief in die Nacht dauerte und Otto – den Bischof Liutprand «heilig» und «sehr heilig» nennt, Theologe Hauck «eine sittlich viel durchgebildetere Persönlichkeit als sein Vater» – noch am nächsten Morgen vor dem aufgesteckten Haupt des an der Spitze des Heeres gefallenen Obodritenfürsten Stojgnef 700 Kriegsgefangene köpfen ließ. Stojgnefs Berater wurden die Augen ausgestochen und die Zunge herausgeschnitten – «dann ließ man ihn, nicht mehr zu gebrauchen, inmitten der Leichen liegen» (Widukind). Und Stojgnefs Erleger bekam als «Belohnung» von Otto 20 Hufen Land geschenkt.

Widukind findet, wie bei der Abstechung der 30 Slawenführer durch Gero (S. 452 f.), wieder kein Wort des Tadels. Und schon 957, 958 und 960 führt Otto neue Kriege gegen die Redarier und andere Elbslawenstämme. Nicht um Sieg ging es, nicht um Tributeinheimsung, wie unter Heinrich I., sondern um Vernichtung, um Eingliederung der slawischen Länder in das ottonische Reich. Es herrschte «totaler» Krieg. Was fehlte, war nur die Technik, die man ein Jahrtausend später hatte.[35]

965 starb Gero. Zwei Jahre später kämpfte Herzog Hermann gegen Redarier und Obodriten. Und dann wurde das ganze Obodriten-Reich der entstehenden Billunger-Mark zugeschlagen, erhoben sich anstelle heiliger Haine die Christentempel. Denn nach Nakons Tod ermöglichte sein Sohn Mstivoj mit Hilfe Hermann Billungs und unter Ausschaltung der heidnischen Opposition in Wagrien 968/972 (das genaue Jahr ist unbekannt) die Gründung des alle Obodritenstämme umfassenden Bistums Oldenburg (Aldinburg, slaw. Starigard). Das war ein längst bestehender befestigter Platz, die Hauptburg der slawischen Wagrier, wo noch für 967 ein paganes Standbild bezeugt ist, das der Herzog wahrscheinlich zerstört hat. Das gesamte wendische Missionsgebiet Hamburgs reichte nun von der Kieler Bucht bis an den Havelberger Sprengel.

Zu dieser Zeit, nur wenige Jahre vor seinem Tod, verbietet Kaiser Otto I. in einem Schreiben vom 18. Januar 968 den sächsischen Großen den Frieden mit den geschlagenen Redariern und fordert die Beendigung des Kampfes durch Ausrottung. «Überdies wollen wir, daß die Redarier, wenn sie, wie wir vernommen, eine so große Niederlage erlitten haben, von euch keinen Frieden erhalten, denn ihr wißt ja, wie oft sie die Tréue gebrochen und welche Unbilden sie zugefügt haben. Daher erwägt dies mit dem Herzog Hermann und setzt alle eure Kräfte ein, damit ihr durch ihre Vernichtung (destructione) euer Werk vollendet. Wenn es nötig wäre, wollen wir selbst gegen sie ziehen ...»[36]

GUNSTERWEISE ÜBER GUNSTERWEISE FÜR DIE «HAUPTSTADT DES DEUTSCHEN OSTENS ...»

Nach Ottos Kaiserkrönung (S. 498 f.) hatte man eine Reihe neuer Bistümer gegründet, darunter vor allem 968 das Erzbistum Magdeburg, dem Papst Johann VIII. Privilegien erteilte, als habe man hier an eine Art Rom im Norden gedacht. Was herauskam, war immerhin eine gewinnbringende mächtige Handelsstadt. Wie überhaupt der Unterwerfung der Elbslawen, der Polen, Böhmen ein ergiebiger Handel folgte. Doch ließ Kaiser Otto nicht nur Gold und Edelsteine nach Magdeburg schaffen, sondern auch Heiligenreliquien. Das Heilige und der Handel gehören zusammen. Der Handel ist heilig, und das Heilige auch Handel. Die Kirche erhielt ausgedehnten Grundbesitz, bezog hohe Abgaben, baute überall ihre Tempel im unterjochten Land und wurde für Jahrhunderte ein Hauptnutznießer und eine Hauptstütze der deutschen Herrschaft in den eroberten elbslawischen Gebieten.

Magdeburg, als Burg und Fernhandelsplatz an der Elbe seit der Zeit Karls «des Großen» bezeugt, ebenso weit vorgeschoben – was seine Stoßrichtung signalisiert – in slawisches Land, wie durch den Strom geschützt, war Ottos Lieblingsstadt. Schon kurz nach Beginn seiner Regierung, ein Jahr nach Gründung des Frau-

St. Servatius in Quedlinbiirg by his mother Mathil- de, he would have founded the Moritz Monastery in Magdeburg in 37, staffed by "reform monks", and at the same time he would have founded a monastery with this and the entire
A trading post was established in its vicinity, attracting merchants from regions east of the Elbe.

The two archbishops Frederick of Mainz and Adaldag of Hamburg-Bremen, **Otto's** former chancellor, as well as eight bishops (from Augsburg to Unrecht) were represented at the foundation of the monastery. The king endowed the monastery, which he first made into an outpost and then into a center of the Slavic mission, which he endowed often and richly and always anew, with many villages, with serfs, serfs, with customs rights, for example immediately with the entire customs duty due in Magdeburg, but later also with ban, market, mint, with minting rights elsewhere, with interest, silver interest, honey interest, tithes, *etc.,* with several royal courts, monasteries, such as the Hagenmünster monastery near Mainz, the Kesselheim nunnery in Maienfeld, even with estates in Eastphalia (in 6o Orren!), in Thuringia, Hesse, in the Harz, Nahe, Speyergau, in the Lower
no fewer than i7 documents of Otto I for the monastery have been preserved, 3z of them in the original.

Eventually, however, but not immediately, it was degenerated with plundered land, castles, tithing rights (Schartau, Grabow, Buckau) in the right Elbian, asoslavic areas, yes, with the entire Slavic district of Neletici, to which the important salt springs of Halle belonged. In the neighboring Magdeburg district of Mora-Ciani, it was given buttes and farms. There and in other Slavic districts, it also had the right to cut wood and fatten pigs, and in Lusatia it also received a tithe from all taxes and the income of the crown, the counts. The Stih gained immu- nity, royal seat and soon also the protection of the Pope.

This pöz could rightly declare that Otto had founded the monastery
-because of the new Christianity. The founder made his own specialis patronus, the church saint Mauritius, the fighter of the pagans, the patron saint of the house, a reference to the fact "that

the warriors prepare t h e way for the missionaries

sollten» (Fleckenstein). Um 955 ließ er den Magdeburger Dom beginnen, anstelle der ersten Kirche des Moritzstifts, und füllte ihn – aus Italien herbeigeschleppt – mit Marmor, Gold, mit Edelsteinen. Und, «in gebührender, tiefer Verehrung» (Thietmar), mit jeder Menge echter und vor allem falscher Reliquien.

Zunächst hatte Otto für Magedeburg bloß die Überbleibsel eines gewissen Innocentius, nur einer von angeblich 6600 oder auch 6666 thebäischen Märtyrern (S. 384 f.). Einer war wohl zu wenig bei so vielen Helden. Doch konnte Otto vom burgundischen König auch Reliquien des Führers der thebäischen Legion, des hl. Mauritius, des Hauptpatrons des Magedeburger Stifts, empfangen, vermutlich wegen der Kostbarkeit nur kleinere Teile. (Aber weitere Knochen desselben Mauritius übergab auch Heinrich II. der Magedeburger Kirche. Ja, noch 1220 erwarb Ortsbischof Albrecht die Hirnschale des Heiligen vom Grafen Otto von Andechs, nachdem lang zuvor schon der hl. Ulrich von Augsburg Mauritius-Teile vom Abt der Reichenau bezog.) Otto bekam seinerzeit weiteres Märtyrergebein für die Stadt, und endlich ließ er alle Säulenkapitäle der neuen Kirche mit Heiligenresten füllen. Keinen Ort hat Otto I. so oft besucht, 22mal hielt er sich in Magdeburg auf, das man geradezu, etwas überspitzt, «Hauptstadt des deutschen Ostens im frühen Mittelalter» nannte (Brackmann).

Wenige Jahre nach der Gründung des Erzbistums Magdeburg erfolgte die Gründung des Bistums Prag. Und auch dafür hatte Otto bahnbrechend gewirkt, und selbstverständlich ebenfalls mit dem Schwert.

Gleich nach Herzog Wenzels und König Heinrichs Tod (935/936), als Boleslav I. in Böhmen einen (ungenannten) subregulus bekämpfte, schickte Otto diesem alsbald sächsische und thüringische Truppen zu Hilfe, die getrennt marschierten und von Boleslav auch getrennt besiegt worden sind. Seinen böhmischen Rivalen konnte Boleslav ebenfalls erledigen, dessen Burg beim ersten Anlauf «zur Wüste» machen und die eigene Herrschaft durch Burgbezirke sowie Dienstleistungen festigen.

Der deutsche König aber führte nun einen vierzehnjährigen

War against Bohemia, which only ended qyo with its complete subjugation. At that time, Otto had conquered the northern Slavs, secured his rule qd8 with papal approval by founding the three Slav bishoprics of Brandenburg, Ha- velberg and Oldenburg (?) and obliged the population everywhere to pay the restrained tithes. He then penetrated qyo with a strong army into the center of Bohemia and, according to scholars, *re-established Bohemia's* ties *to* Rcic/z. Or it also calls Artaloges "the *6in-* bczief'iJng *of the peripheral countries* into the Reichsverband-: The main thing is that all this happens as bloodlessly as possible on paper - the dirtier the history, the cleaner the work of the historians, who are also paid by the state, must be. Whose bread I eat ... - a cooperation of venerable age."

Orto 1 had used war to conquer the "barbarians" of Bohemia, and he also waged war against Poland, which bordered to the north-east.

CO LEN ENTRUSTS DIB SHEEP TO THE WOLF

Just as the Russian empire was created by the Viking Ryurik (Scandinavian: Hra- rikr), a Swede, in Old Ladoga or (and) Novgoiod (p. 4*'), Poland is said to have been founded by the Norman Dago, probably a Dane, around q6o with the capital Posen on the Warta. The name Poland, Poloni, Polonia, Polska (from pole = field, plain, i.e. constant agriculture in forest clearings, the land of the Ebcne), only came into use from around the turn of the century. And according to Polish tradition (from the beginning of the iz. century) the Norman Dago was called: Mieszko I (around *Q6 pz I* and was the fourth descendant of a certain Piast, the ancestor of the Piast family (pol. Piastowie), a family, which existed in Pdlen until - 3zo, in Mazovia until I§k6, in Silesia until i 7J *-g. But perhaps, as is also thought today, Mieszko had two names, a native one and a

foreigners. And whether the Polish and Pomoran Slavs (from pomorje = by the sea) who settled between the Oder and the Vistula and fought each other in long border battles were already living there, regardless of all population movements, in the entire millennium before the so-called turn of time, as the majority of Polish research assumes, or whether they were not indigenous but migrants, as German research in particular believes, remains to be seen.

In any case, this Dago or Mieszko (Mescho to his Polish subjects, called Misaca and Miseco in the Latin sources) is the first historically confirmed prince of the Poles. And the size of the new West Slavic state - of whose various Polish tribes the Poles (Polanie in Polish, Poloni in Latin, Poliani in Latin), who gave it their name, appear the latest, namely for the first time in the annals of Hildesheim in ioi J - was considerable. It stretched from the Oder to the Russian border, in the north to the sea. It also included borderlands (which were lost in the ii th century), such as Moravia, Lusatia, the later Ru- thenia on the upper Bug and San, and was tightly ruled by Mieszko.

The Pole expanded from Gniezno, crossing the Warta in the north and the Oder in the south, but came under pressure from Margrave Gero and ultimately became dependent on his German neighbor. As early as p6j, the lord of the Sorbenmark, this time in alliance with the Redaxians, advanced with two armies into Lusatia and against the new empire. Mieszko I, like his subjects still a pagan, was an attractive target for the "mission", especially as the bishoprics in Gero's northern Margraviate had already been in existence since s4.
Brandenburg and Havelberg. Mieszko was divided into two
heavy battles between the Oder and the right Wartheufcr
"with mighty strength" (Widukind), his brother killed, the land robbed, he himself forced to pay interest and recognize German overlordship. Widukind s p e a k s of "complete servitude" (ultimam servitutem). The course of Polish history was shaped by this for decades."

Very probably at the same time as Gero, Boleslav I of Bohemia advanced on the southern flank of Poland and took possession of Kraków. q6y (or q6ö), however, Mieszko married a daughter of Boleslav, the Christian Dobrawa (Dubravka), and was married to the Christian Dobrawa (Dubravka).

The following year, qss (or ' 7). a significant date, Roman Catholic. Czech missionaries followed and quickly gained a foothold,

and Bavarian clerics were probably still active in the first Christianization phase of Poland. Since Mieszko allowed himself to be baptized, he also forced his people to do so, and this "revolution from above" was repeated two decades later during the Christianization of Poland.

stianization of Russia (4*7)- The fairy tale of the heavenly gatekeeper (IV j8I ff!) also has a magical effect in the East. One year after the death of the butcher and Rome-sending Gero (zo. May q6J), Poland was reorganized under the patrocinium

St. Peter's was Christian. Mieszko I placed it under the - protection- of the Pope, and hardly any other country has betrayed the Popes as uninhibitedly as Poland, which has been unwaveringly devoted to them for a millennium.

A bishopric was founded in Poznan as early as *968*, its first bishop the German Jordan, his successor the German Unger. And Mieszko, who, contrary to church regulations after the death of his first wife19771 , married the nun Oda of the monastery at Calbe

married a daughter of Margrave Thiedrich von der Nord-

Mark, now became the champion of Christendom on the northern pagan front and enjoyed the eager support of the Christian Bohemians in his offensives against the pagans.[3] ' Otto I, however, sought to include Russia in his missionary plans.

even if in vain.

THE HL. Occx (GEST. $ 6q)

The kingdom of Kiev (qoy-i iöq), from the later io. The empire of Kiev (qoy-i iöq) was gradually called the "Rus" empire (a name that refers to the central Swedish landscape of Roden, today Roslag), was the first empire to be formed between the Baltic and the Black Sea and was the work of Swedish Vikings (now called Varangians), more precisely the work of the Tiking dynasty of the Ryurikids (which only died out in I5q8) and their Norman entourage. The new "state", the first Russian one, was therefore of Swedish origin and owed its rise primarily to trade with Byzantium. And, as will soon be seen, trade (not only in goods) continued to be a close bond.

Around qry, Prince Igor of Kiev was slain by Drevlyans. The Eastern Slavic tribe, which had been paying tribute to the principality for half a century, had repeatedly tried to shake off the oppressive burden and had also temporarily gained independence through Igor's death. However, when his widow, Grand Duchess Olga (Scand. and Greek Helga), venerated as a saint in the Orthodox Church (feast of July Ix), took over the regency for her young son Svjatoslav around qry, she cruelly avenged her husband's death.

According to the "Nestor Chronicle" (Povest' vremennych let, Narrative of the Past Years) - a famous monument to Old Russian chro- nistics written in Kiev in the early iz. Century in Kiev - Olga ran after two legations of the Drevlyans, whose
-best men", once buried alive, another time burned alive and then cut down yooo intoxicated people at a feast. This is, admittedly, **a sagcnhah**, an exaggeration. But the princess - who, according to an old song of praise, preceded the Christian land "like the morning star to the sun, like the dawn to the daylight" - did indeed exterminate a considerable part of the opposing nobility around qJo, burnt various Drevlyan castles, annexed their territory for good and had herself baptized qry or qs7 in Kiev or Constantinople - hardly or not at all a

religiously motivated act that was intended to increase their domestic and foreign policy prestige.

According to Thietmar of Merseburg, Kiev already had "more than4•• churches and eight markets" (mer- catus) at the beginning of the I C8th century. It was the most populous Russian city of the Middle Ages: before the catastrophic Mongol invasion in the•3. century, which was inspired by a divine mission, with approximately So em inhabitants, then with about sooo.

When St. Olga si7 traveled to the imperial city on the Bosporus, she not only had a priest in her entourage, but also a conspicuous number of merchants. And two years later, she used the

The change of throne in Byzantium, the death of Emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogenneus, who was important in cultural and intellectual history, led to a direct connection in the West. It requested priests and above all trade relations from King Otto I in the year q q! However, the Mainz monk Libutius, who was quickly consecrated missionary bishop, died before the journey began. And Adalbert, now sent to Kiev by Otto and consecrated "bishop for the Russians" - previously a monk in Trier, then abbot in WeiBenburg, finally, q68, the first archbishop of Magdeburg - returned q6a unsuccessfully; not without luck despite everything, driven away either by hostile Christians or a pagan reaction; the dead companions fell by the wayside. Olga had been replaced by her son Svjatoslav, a daring pagan Haudegcn, and then - a world-historical decision - not Western but Byzantine missionaries were called to Russia, and under Vladimir of Kiev, with his baptism in 888/889, the turn to the Byzantine cultural sphere finally took place, to which Moscow's claim ultimately goes back,
-to be the "third Rome"."

Der hl. Vladimir, der «Grosse und Apostelgleiche»

Der Enkel der hl. Olga, Vladimir der Heilige (980–1015) – als Heiliger wird er in der orthodoxen Kirche der Rus' seit dem 13. Jahrhundert verehrt –, erstritt sich erst, wie das seinesgleichen zusteht, mit einem eigens aus Schweden angeworbenen warägischen Kriegshaufen gegen seinen Bruder Jaropolk den Thron und die Alleinherrschaft. Dabei mordete er das in Polozk an der Düna herrschende skandinavische Geschlecht aus und machte die überlebende Tochter Rogneda gewaltsam zu seiner Frau, was viel feinen Sinn verrät. Darauf kam er durch Heimtücke in den Besitz von Kiew und ließ seinen Bruder Jaropolk töten. Und als seine nordische Gefolgschaft belohnt werden wollte, soll er sie, nach einer alten Quelle, an das reiche Byzanz gewiesen und den Kaiser vor ihr gewarnt haben.

Der Heilige führte Krieg um Krieg und erpreßte von allen unterjochten Völkern Tribute. 981/982 unterwarf er die Wjatitschen, 984 die Radimitschen, und dazwischen, 983, griff er die Jadwiger (oder Sudauer) an, ein baltisches Volk im prußischen Siedlungsgebiet. Er besetzte ein Land, das im 13. Jahrhundert durch den Deutschen Orden zur «Großen Wildnis» wurde, wobei die Jadwiger selbst aus der Geschichte verschwanden.

Einige Jahre nach seinem Angriff im Westen, wo Vladimir außerdem gegen Polen auch schon die červenischen Burgen zwischen oberem San und oberem Bug in seine Gewalt gebracht hatte, rettete er im Süden den byzantinischen Kaiser Basileios II. (Bulgaroktónos, den Bulgarentöter 976–1025) aus einer großen innenpolitischen Kalamität. Mitten in den viele Jahre währenden Rivalitätskampf der Magnatenfamilien warf Vladimir eine Söldnertruppe, die warägisch-russische Družina, die Basileios' Sieg entschied.

Doch reicht das Wirken des Heiligen weiter: erlaubte ja dieser Sieg dem Kaiser indirekt einen weiteren, seinen größten Triumph. Denn bei Beendigung des 15jährigen bemerkenswert brutalen Krieges gegen die Bulgaren 1014 im Strymontal ließ die christli-

Majesty blinded all the prisoners, allegedly ty ooo - only one in a hundred kept an eye to return the blind to the Bulgar czar Samuel!

However, Vladimir the Saint had demanded the hand of the purple-born princess Anna, the emperor's sister, in return for his help against the counter-emperors in Byzantium. And when the court hesitated to keep its promise to the "barbarian prince", in April q88 he undertook a military campaign to Kherson, the most important Byzantine colony on the northern shore of the Black Sea (destroyed soon after iyoo and now desolate). He won the city by betraying the priest Anastasius, whom he made head of the church in Kiev in return, and now also won the princess from Byzantium, who was born in the Porphyra (the imperial palace), something that not even Otto the Great had managed to do for his son and co-emperor.

Of course, the purple-born also came at a price. Vla- dimir of Kiev "had to be baptized for it", according to the Catholic handbook of church history, and then forced the people of Kiev, who were lamenting their gods - another "typical 'revolution from above'" (Hösch) - to undergo mass baptism in the Dnieper, presumably in the summer of q88.

You don' t become a saint for nothing - neither in the Roman nor in the Orthodox Church!

However, the first Christian Grand Prince of Russia, in whose history he shines with the epithet of the "Great and Apostle-gleen", is also venerated as a saint in the Greek-United Church, with the approval of the Papal See!

After all, Vladimir had distinguished himself in many ways: through betrayal and murder, even fratricide, through numerous bloody conquests and enslavements, through the construction of churches, castles and fortresses according to the latest state of war technology, and also through the destruction of all the pagan idols and temples of his empire.

Immediately after his return from Kherson, he declared war on paganism, which he had zealously advocated at the beginning of his reign, allegedly even by slaughtering the people.

von Menschen, wie den Opfertod eines jungen christlichen Warägers. Ja, das Bild des Perun, des vornehmsten russischen und polnischen, auch als Herr der ganzen Welt gedachten Gottes, dessen Hauptverehrung in Kiew war, wo vor ihm ein ewiges Feuer brannte, dieses Bild, von Vladimir selbst noch wenige Jahre zuvor in der Stadt zu neuen Ehren gebracht, wurde jetzt an einen Pferdeschweif gebunden, ausgepeitscht und in den Dnjepr gestürzt, auch alle übrigen Götterbilder beseitigt, allmählich die heiligen Stätten der Altgläubigen in ganz Rußland verheert und durch Kirchen ersetzt.

Was tat es da, daß der Heilige, der Große und Apostelgleiche, allzeit ein geiler Bock war!

Zwar soll Vladimir, der in einem Palast residierte, den, nimmt man an, mindestens siebenhundert Menschen bewohnten, nur vor seiner Bekehrung ein weiberbesessener Lüstling gewesen sein. Doch dies ist die Darstellung der überaus tendenziösen, mehrfach redigierten «Nestor-Chronik». «Unersättlich war er in der Wollust», steht da, «Frauen und Mädchen ließ er sich zuführen, um sie zu entehren, denn er war ein Liebhaber des weiblichen Geschlechts gleich Salomo». Neben fünf legitimen Gattinen soll er in Wyschegorod, Bjelgorod und Berestow mehrere Harems mit insgesamt achthundert Beischläferinnen aus allen benachbarten Völkern gehabt haben – ein Massenfeinschmecker, der freilich «auch nach der Taufe die Polygamie fortsetzte» (Wetzer/Welte); ein «Wüstling», von dem Bischof Thietmar von Merseburg festhält: «Um seine angeborene Bereitschaft zur Sünde noch weiter zu steigern, trug der König eine Reizbinde um die Lenden.» Und als er sein Heiligenleben schon lange geführt, wurde er 1015 inmitten der von ihm selbst erbauten Kiewer Muttergotteskirche, später die «Zehntkirche» (desjatinnaja cerkov') genannt, an der Seite seiner Gattin Anna, der purpurgeborenen, begraben.[41]

Nach Vladimirs Tod am 15. Juli 1015 kämpfte man gleich wieder um die Nachfolge, wobei seine jüngeren Söhne Boris und Gleb alsbald ermordet (und 1072 kanonisiert) worden sind. Die hagiographische Tradition schreibt die Bluttat ihrem ältesten Bruder, dem Thronerben Svjatopolk zu. Aber: «Als Urheber ihrer

The winner of the conflict, Yaroslav I, also came into consideration for the assassination" (A. Poppe); in other words, the wise man, the other son of Vladimir the Holy, who was extremely popular with the clergy due to his great ecclesiastical-political activities. However, Yaroslav was only able to assert himself completely in io36, after two decades of ongoing feuds with his relatives. And after his departure (xoy¢), his sons and grandsons once again fought for power. The fratricidal wars never c e a s e d . And this despite the fact that the contracting princes were bound by an oath, which was reinforced by the ecclesiastical ceremony of the kissing of the cross. In the ryo years after Yaroslav the Wise's death, no fewer than 83 civil wars and 6z wars with other peoples were waged by the Kingdom of Kiev.

The Christian seed sprouted ever more gloriously.

But, to paraphrase Bishop Thietmar: "Quia nunc paulu- lum declinavi, ...redeamJetct I am somewhat digressive, so back!"""

Even before Otto's unsuccessful intermezzo in Kiev, in Denmark, where King Harald Bluetooth was still a pagan, Margrave Hermann was an educated man and there were frequent border battles, he had placed the Jutland Bishoprics of Schleswig, Ribe and Aarhus under the control of Archbishop Adaldag of Hamburg-Bremen, Unni's successor. This was intended to strengthen German influence in the north and vigorously expand church rule.

Of course, the "missionary" efforts for these heavenly places go back much further.

Skandinavienpolitik – Krieg und Geschäft um Gottes willen?

Im Rahmen der karolingischen Skandinavienpolitik waren zunächst zwei prominente Heilsverkünder besonders tätig geworden.

Zuerst trat 823 der eigentliche Initiator der Frohen Botschaft unter den Dänen in Erscheinung, der von Papst Paschalis I. zum Legaten des Nordens ernannte Erzbischof Ebo von Reims, jener begnadete Opportunist also, der mehrfach in schönster Pfaffenart die politischen Fronten gewechselt (S. 84 f., 89 ff.), übrigens auch ein Papstschreiben zu seinen Gunsten gefälscht hat.

Drei Jahre später ließ sich in Ludwigs des Frommen Ingelheimer Pfalz der Dänenkönig Harald Klak, um des Kaisers Unterstützung zu gewinnen, samt Gefolge taufen. Auf seiner Rückreise nahm er den einst als Frühwaise ins Kloster Corbie gesteckten Mönch und Missionar Ansgar, wohlversehen mit «Reisealtar und Reliquien» (Walterscheid), nach Dänemark mit, hat es aber kaum noch betreten, sondern sich in der ihm übereigneten Grafschaft Rüstringen in Friesland gleich niedergelassen. Als dann Ludwig 831 auf dem Reichstag zu Diedenhofen das Bistum Hamburg als Missionssprengel für Dänen, Schweden und Ostseeslaven gründete, Ansgar zum Bischof machte und ihm Papst Gregor IV. – wie Vorgänger Paschalis I. dem Ebo – 831/832 die «Missionsvollmacht» verlieh, ging Ebo nun Ansgar zur Hand. Doch wenige Jahre darauf saß Erzbischof Ebo – gerade noch vom Papst als Legat mit der «Oberhoheit» über den anderen Legaten, den hl. Ansgar, betraut, des öfteren in Haft, wiederholt im Kloster Fulda, auch in Lisieux und Fleury (S. 91). Und Ansgar war inzwischen zwar Erzbischof, doch die Stoßkraft des Frankenreiches unter Ludwig, zumal seit seinen letzten Jahren, stets schwächer geworden.

Dänische Wikinger hatten 845 Hamburg überfallen, hatten den Dom, das Stift (das 964 als Gefängnis für Papst Benedikt V. diente), die Bibliothek, die Stadt in Flammen aufgehen lassen und die Kirchenschätze geraubt. Ansgar aber, der «Apostel der Wikinger» (Walterscheid), mit knapper Not samt hl. Reliquien entkom-

comforted himself with Job: - "The Lord gave it, the Lord has taken it" and with the -pious matron Ikia", who took the fugitive in on her estate. He became bishop in the

45 vacant Bremen, the new missionary base, but a suffragan bishopric of Cologne, which is why years of serious disputes with Archbishop Günther (since 8yo} ensued.

From Bremen, however, some, albeit quite modest, ecclesiastical bases were established. For example, in Haithabu (Hedeby), an important place for export/import in northern Silesia-Holstein, where St. Ansgar, repeatedly used as an envoy by Louis the German, built a church with the permission of King Horik I, which made the trading center the preferred destination of Christian merchants ... 8" (Radtke); in Ribe (German: Ripen), the oldest town in Denmark and (since the beginning of the 8th century) also entirely devoted to the mercantile, presumably also to minting coins¡ and probably in Birka, a rich, relatively large Swedish trading town, probably often visited by the king, with far-reaching connections (mostly luxury goods: little space consumption and much profit), especially to Western Europe, but also to Russia, Byzantium and the Caliphate of Baghdad.

It is telling that they are all trading centers, because war and capital, the one as closely linked to the history of salvation as the other - even today. "It is characteristic of Birka's position that the Christian mission - following the main trade routes - started precisely at the only town-like and relatively populous settlement in Sweden and achieved its first, albeit temporary, successes there" (H. Ehrhardt).

And it is also significant that the Danes, whose kingdom had existed since around 8oo and encompassed Jutland, the islands and three southern Swedish counties, did not want to know anything about Christianity. Two decades after King Harald Klak's baptism, anno domini

®47. there were only four baptisteries in Ansgar's own diocese. And the Danish pupils for his missionary schools were mufite by St. Ansgar.

Archbishop Ansgar - buy! But why not? Two and a half centuries ago, even St. Pope Gregory I, "the

Große», der Kirchenlehrer, englische Sklavenknaben für römische Klöster gekauft (IV 183 ff.). Auch lieferte das christliche Europa lange und skrupellos Sklaven in orientalische Länder. Agiert neben der Macht doch gleich das Geschäft, ein Teil der Macht. Und nützt es dem Glauben nicht, den Gläubigen, ja, handelt man nicht auch und gerade – um Gottes willen?[43]

Schließlich brach die Skandinavienmission restlos zusammen. Der Übertritt zum Christentum wurde einfach verboten. In ganz Dänemark gab es keine Kirche mehr, in Schweden, wo die Bevölkerung den Bischof schon viel früher vertrieb, jahrelang keinen christlichen Kleriker. (Aber mehr als ein Priester ist in jener Zeit in Schweden nie gewesen.) Man dachte sogar – nicht zum erstenmal – wieder daran, das Erzbistum Hamburg aufzulösen.

Doch im 10. Jahrhundert begann die Christentumspredigt im Norden wieder, auch durch englische Missionare; bezeichnenderweise aber erst, nachdem das Schwert erneut eine Bresche geschlagen. Selbst das katholische Handbuch der Kirchengeschichte räumt ein: «Heinrichs I. siegreicher Feldzug gegen König Gnupa von Südjütland hatte 934 den deutschen Predigern das Tor geöffnet.» Der unterworfene Gnupa, König der Wikinger um Haithabu, der bald darauf im Kampf gegen den jütischen Heidenkönig Gorm fiel, mußte nämlich jetzt «das Joch Christi tragen» (Thietmar) und eben, die Hauptsache, Tribute erbringen. Und schon im nächsten Jahr eilte der von Heinrichs Vorgänger Konrad noch kurz vor seinem Tod, entgegen der Kleruswahl, ernannte Erzbischof Unni von Hamburg mit Zustimmung des Königs nach Dänemark, konnte indes den lebenslang gegen die Deutschen kämpfenden Gorm nicht zum Christen machen. Er hatte aber wohl kleine Erfolge auf dänischen Inseln, bevor er nach Schweden weiterzog, wo er, bereits unmittelbar vor seiner Rückkehr nach Hamburg, im September 936 in Birka starb.

In Dänemark duldete der christenfeindliche Gorm der Alte (Gorm den Gamle) – mit dem erstmals eine datierbare dänische Königsreihe beginnt (die sogenannte Jellingdynastie, der alle folgenden Könige des Landes bis 1375 angehören) – nun vielleicht die christliche Predigt. Und unter seinem Sohn Harald Blauzahn

(Blatand) Gormsson (documented s3 * 9 7), the official Christianization of the Danes began around q6o, when Harald himself was baptized - in all probability under political pressure from the Germans (Skovgaard-i "etersen). - This event is commemorated by some of the most important archaeological evidence of the Danish early Middle Ages in Jelling (on the east coast of Jutland, near Vejle), including the large rune stone set by Harald Bluetooth. On a memorial inscription for his father Corm and his mother Thorwi, it contains the self-naming as Harald, "who won all of Denmark and Norway for himself and m a d e the Danes Christians."

His successor in Ham- burg, Archbishop Adaldag (3Y-s88), was far more successful than Unni.

The descendant of a distinguished Saxon family, initially
He worked in the chapel of Henry I, then as chancellor of Otto 1, was familiar with court life, but also retained a strong influence on Ottonian imperial and ecclesiastical politics as an archbishop. In particular, he promoted Otto's plans in the north like no other.
den. His bishopric s'7 s4 reached across the German borders to Denmark by founding the three dioceses under his authority in the port cities, which were often favored by the king.
Haithabu (Schleswig), Ribe and Aarhus.

For the first time, the archbishops of Hamburg had suffragan powers. In this case, however, Pope Formosus once decided that Bremen should return to the diocese of the Cologne archdiocese, to which it had previously belonged. Archbishop Wicfrid of Cologne therefore lodged a complaint and immediately laid claim to Bremen. However, Archbishop Adaldag, who was by far the most zealous promoter of peace in the north by sending priests and building churches, was not prepared to accept this. And as he had few scruples, for example making the daughter of Count Henry of Stade (Bishop Thietmar's grandfather), a child of barely twelve, abbess, he, once the author and scribe of royal charters for many years, also fabricated a series of false diplomas - and was blessed by the Lord. He was not only given the bishopric of Oldenburg in East Holstein in 1968.

The forger not only placed the archbishopric on the throne, which marked the beginning of the long-planned ecclesiastical regiment in the Abodrites, but also consolidated his position, not least by finally gaining independence from Cologne's rivals. All in all, the forger significantly enhanced the reputation of the archbishopric during his long, energetic reign (Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche).

Although the three new bishoprics in the north were all located in Danish territory, they were not too far from the kingdom. And of course their owners, Adaldag's suffragans Hored, Liafdag and Reginbrand, were to extend their influence, above all to the islands, Fyn, Zealand and Scania (which for a long time belonged to Denmark and only came to Sweden in i6y8). The new missionary bishops were expressly obliged to convert the island Danes. After all, it was all about expansion and ownership. Consequently, these prelates had to appear to their diocesans as enemy outposts in their own country. And according to Otto's plan, they were undoubtedly meant to be - (A. Hauck)."

The Danes were no more interested in Christianity than the Slavs in the East. A great deal had already been achieved, some considered the Christian idol to be no less important than their own gods. But even such "edo1ge" was only possible in the shadow of German swords. And when Harald Bluetooth took advantage of the fierce power struggles in Norway after the death of King Harald Schönhaar (the first sole ruler over the whole of Norway) to go on a war campaign and southern Norway came under Danish control, the Christian "messengers of faith" also went into action - as they did after Henry I's victory over the Danes in Denmark (p. 3q8 f.).

The activities of the clerical feudal lords and their missionaries, their nesting first on the ground, then in the souls of the overpowered and raped, were of great error for the kingdom. Wherever Otto struck out, wherever he took to the field against Danes, Slavs, Hungarians and gained a military foothold, he established himself through the church, he created "bishoprics and monasteries on the territories wrested from them as strongholds of his power" (Kosminski).

SO 94 on Danish territory the bishoprics of Schleswig, Ribe, Aarhus; in the same year, even before the Christianization of these territories, the Slavic bishoprics of Brandenburg and Havelberg, which was given to the Archbishop of Mainz, and, only later, Oldenburg, which was subordinate to Archbishop Adaldag of Hamburg-Bremen. With the foundation of the archbishopric of Magdeburg in q68, the dioceses of Merseburg, Zeitz and MeiBen were established, and finally, in s7i, the year of **OttO's** death, the diocese of Prague.

First the military strike, then the mission, then the state •Connection. After all, it was Otto "the Great's" obvious ultimate goal to incorporate all conquered lands into the German Empire, first ecclesiastically and then politically, as had already been Carolingian practice (Brackmann). However, it was precisely the close cooperation with the clergy, the chumminess of throne and altar in the ordinary and bloody business of robbery on a large scale, that lent the Ottonian attacks and encroachments a touch of the nu iinous, the higher consecration, the divine grace. Or, as it was written with a tried and tested twang, the "mission as an element" of this policy, the spreading of the faith among the heathens, the -honorable imperial pledge", was able to "further sublimate Otto's reputation and his position aspiring to emperorship" (Hla-witschka).

Sublimicren -. And Otto's striving for the highest in the worldly realm naturally required the highest in the spiritual, the most honorable in general, the most sublime, the papacy in Rome.

THE **"DARK AGES" ARE APPROACHING**

As if they weren't all dark! At least dark too. Especially dark. But the period from the late q. century to the middle of the iI. is called the "saeculum obscuruai" in particular. Although other epochs - it is hard to overemphasize - in which Rome was incomparably more powerful and just

The period of the Crusades was therefore incomparably more dangerous for many peoples, as was the zo. In the 20th century, for example, the papacy both helped to cause and intensively promoted two world wars, as well as all fascist varieties. (It is also worth remembering his assistance in the Vietnam War and his fomenting of the - not only recent - Balkan conflict; as I write this, a German daily newspaper is running the headline: -The Pope c a l l s for war.")

However, the Catholic church historian Franzen suggests that only the nobility caused those dark medieval times!
-He alone is to blame for the sad state of affairs, for the Popemim has been at his mercy since there was no longer an emperor.

The nobility the scapegoat, the pope once again salvaged in a church history published by Herder Verlag, which takes into account the latest findings of scientific research, some of which have changed the historical and theological consciousness of our time quite considerably ... taken into account and processed everywhere. The latest findings? In *essence,* they are always the same old pathetic apologist evasions. Moreover, a papacy which, as Franzen complains, has become the
"ordinary territorial bisttim" is *much more harmless* than one of global significance!

The poor papacy. Guiltless as always. Victims only of the -wild and domineering nobility" (after all, it was a completely Christian, completely Roman Catholic nobility) - -since there was no longer an emperor ...-- But were the rulers of the -saeculum obscurum-, the Ottonians and Salians, not emperors? Regicrre not even a saint, Henry II? (Who, of course, waged three wars against Poland, which was already well Catholic - and this on the side of the pagan Liutizen!) And when it was no longer defenceless, when it was strong, ever stronger, "universal", a world power? Then it wrestled with the emperors f o r world domination - a hundred times more dangerous now,

deadly. But not at all "deadly" when some of its representatives killed each other - deadly when it killed the peoples! When people shouted -God willing!- in the Middle Ages, Zqi§, I'9§I. And again and again in between.'

But what was the situation in Rome at the time of the Carolingians, the Ottomans and the early Salians?

The turbulence of years gone by, the anarchy of internal party feuds
makes the lack of documents understandable. Much is uncertain about quite a few popes. It is not yet clear whether some of them were legitimate or not. Some are declared by some to be antipopes, but are generally regarded as legitimate. Others were only in the Holy See for such a short time that they were never recognized for this reason alone. The Roman monk Philip resigned on the day of his election, arR July 31,7 , and
voluntarily returned to the monastery. The deacon Johannes regjerte
in January 8 q for just one hour. Leo VIII reigned from qä3 to *96 $,-* but from May to June q6¢, &nedict V also reigned - and both are considered legitimate. On the other hand, Pope Christophorus, who threw his immediate predecessor Leo V into prison and martyred him after only three days in office, is no longer considered legitimate today, even though the entire Middle Ages considered him so. Incidentally, Pope Christopher was also soon thrown into prison, and both he and his predecessor Leo V were martyred there by their successor Pope Sergius III.

Quite a few popes were temporarily or permanently imprisoned. For example, Stephen VI, who was strangled in the dungeon, John X, who was suffocated with a pillow in the dungeon of Castel Sant'Angelo¡ Benedict VI, who was strangled there by his successor, Pope Boniface VII, in s74 by the priest Stephen¡ John XIV, who either starved to death or died in Castel Sant'Angelo in s4.
Stephen VIII, who was imprisoned in a dungeon, hideously mutilated and
melted, qdz succumbed to his injuries. The popes Benedict III (d.

8J8), John Paul II (d. 8J8) and John Paul II (d. 8J8) were also locked up.

XI (fest. q3d), Benedict X. (d. after iO7i)-

Constantine II was sent to the monastery and his eyes were cut off.

St. Nicholas, Benedict X, St. Christopher, St. John XVI, Philagathus, who was also blinded, brutally mutilated on his nose, tongue, lips and hands and then led through Rome in a mocking procession.

Benedict V was exiled to Hamburg, where he died soon afterwards, and Gregory VI to Cologne, where he died just as soon. And how often has one not excommunicated the other! Johann XII excommunicated 9 4 d-- escaped Leo VIII, Be- nedict VII excommunicated the fugitive Boniface VII in 74, the episcopate of the empire in J * P97 JOhann XVI, the Synod of Sutri io5p excommunicated Benedict X, Alexander II and Honorius II excommunicated each other, Leo IX excommunicated Benedict IX (he was the nephew of two predecessors of the pope and the only pope to do so). Alexander II and Honorius II excommunicated each other, Leo IX excommunicated Benedict IX (he was the nephew of two papal predecessors and the only pope to hold the sacred office, at least de facto, three times in succession). And Benedict IX in turn excommunicated Silvester ten.[45]
III, whom he expelled from Rome in disgrace, just as he himself had previously been expelled from Rome. From all of this, one might suspect a rather confused personality in the Holy Spirit

ßAPST **SERGIUS III - MURDERER OF TWO** PARENTS

Benedict IV died in the summer of u3. According to rumors, which are not supported by contemporary sources, Berengar I, King of Italy, had him removed. His two
His successors only survived for a few months. Pope Leo V, who only reigned in August w3, was thrown into prison by Cardinal Christophorus, his successor. But even
Christophoriis (9o3-qoq) was able to occupy the Holy See until the following year. He was then ousted by Sergius III (9od I I), a native Roman aristocrat, former **antipope** to John

IX, who was deposed, condemned and exiled by John shortly after his inauguration in the Lateran. Supported by the Antiformosians and Duke Alberich I of

Spoleto, rückte Sergius mit einem bewaffneten Haufen gegen Rom vor, ließ sich zum Papst machen, Christophorus in eine Mönchskutte und zu dessen eigenem Opfer Leo V. hinter Schloß und Riegel stecken, womit in nur acht Jahren acht Päpste von der heiligen Bildfläche verschwunden waren.

Nachdem man auch die ihm feindlichen Kardinäle verjagt oder erschlagen hatte, erreichte Sergius nach siebenjährigem Exil endlich sein langverfolgtes Ziel und ließ alsbald seine beiden Vorgänger, Leo V. und Christophorus, im Kerker ermorden, angeblich aus Mitleid. Doch bei allem Mitgefühl für die heimgegangenen Kollegen, war Sergius nicht ohne Tatkraft und saß immerhin sieben Jahre auf dem ja doch recht heißen Stuhl.

Auch liebte dieser Papst bürokratische Genauigkeit, alles mußte seine Ordnung haben. Und so datierte er sein Pontifikat nach einer wenn auch kurzen ersten Amtszeit, die aus kaum viel mehr als seiner Einführung im Lateran im Dezember 897 bestand, aus dem ihn die Horden des Nachfolgers, Johanns IX., wieder vertrieben hatten. Als Freund des Leichenschänders Stephans VI. verdammte er jetzt sofort den toten Formosus erneut, erklärte alle seine Weihen – und Formosus hatte viele Bischöfe ernannt, die ihrerseits wieder viele Priester geweiht – für null und nichtig, entsetzte dessen Anhänger ihrer Ämter und drohte Widerstrebenden auf schon zum Auslaufen bereitliegenden Schiffen Verbannung und Tod an. Nur wenige widersetzten sich seinem Gewaltregiment, zumal der Adel hinter ihm stand. Dafür gab er auch die besten Pfründen seinen Parteigängern, den Führern der römischen Aristokratie.

Die Nonnen des Klosters Corsarum, denen er viele Grundstükke schenkte, ließ der Mörder zweier Päpste täglich hundert Kyrieeleison für seine Seele singen – wie vorteilhaft doch diese Religion ist! Ein Denkmal schuf sich der Mordspezialist durch den Wiederaufbau der nach Gottes unerforschlichem Ratschluß 897 von einem Erdbeben in Schutt gelegten Lateranbasilika. Und erst rund vier Jahrhunderte später ließ Gott der Herr den neuen Bau, in dem man lange, statt in St. Peter, fast alle Päpste begrub, in Feuerflammen untergehen.

Bescheidener erinnerte Papst Sergius auf Münzen an sich. Zwar prägten solche auch andere Heilige Väter, doch Sergius als erster Papst seit Hadrian I. (772–795) mit seinem eigenen Bild. Zwei Päpste hatte er umgebracht, doch sein Grabstein in St. Peter lobte ihn und seinen unerbittlichen Krieg gegen die «Wölfe», die ihn sieben Jahre von seinem rechtmäßigen Thron ferngehalten.[50]

Bemerkenswert auch das Eingreifen von Sergius in den sogenannten Tetragamiestreit.

Dieser Streit, der reichlich Irritationen stiftete, betraf die vier Ehen des byzantinischen Kaisers Leon VI. des Weisen (886–912). Der Schüler des berühmten Patriarchen Photios (den er, infolge persönlichen Widerwillens, gleich nach seiner Thronbesteigung durch den eigenen jungen Bruder Stephanos ersetzte) hatte die Jahre zuvor (883–886) im Gefängnis verbracht wegen einer Konspiration gegen seinen Vater Basileios I. (Derlei kennen wir ja auch aus den christlichen Herrscherhäusern des Westens zur Genüge.)

Indes war dies nicht das einzige Problem des seit 886 regierenden Byzantiners, des Schwiegervaters Kaiser Ludwigs des Blinden, dem Berengar in Verona hatte die Augen herausreißen lassen (S. 338 f.). Auch solche Dinge quälten Leon kaum. Wohl aber seine Ehen. Durch drei Gattinen war er zu keinem Nachkommen gelangt. Dabei hatte das byzantinische Eherecht bereits eine dritte Frau untersagt, doch Patriarch Antonios Kauleas (893–901) den Regenten noch einmal dispensiert. Die Kaiserin Eudokia Baiana starb indes samt ihrem neugeborenen Sohn im Jahr 901 im Kindbett. Darauf zeugte der Monarch mit seiner Maitresse Zoe Karbonopsina einen Sprößling, Konstantin (VII.), und machte die Mutter, entgegen dem von ihm selbst erlassenen Gesetz, das schon die dritte Ehe verbot, Anfang 906 zu seiner vierten Frau.

Nun war Leon der Weise – berühmt durch den Abschluß der von seinem Vater eingeleiteten Rechtskodifikation, eines gewaltigen Werkes in 60 Bänden, das auch das Unternehmen Justinians verdrängte – sogar selbst Verfasser eines Rechtshandbuches für die Praxis, auch Autor übrigens von Kirchenliedern, Predigten und strategischen Studien, was alles ganz wunderbar zusammen-

paBt, and sought to secure himself, if not legally, then at least ecclesiastically. However, his own new patriarch, his former "school friend" and secret secretary Nikolaos I My- stikos (gOI-QO7, P--o-s1› had openly protested, banned the emperor and refused to recognize Constantine as his legitimate heir. Pope Sergius, however, who himself had a casual relationship with women and who, at the age of about qY, had given Marozia a son, who then ascended the throne of Peter as Pope John Xl (p. ¢9o), granted the ruler, who was already barred from attending church, a dispensation to marry, and Patriarch Nikolaos had to return to his monastery of Galakrenai as an exile for years."

aurrzxz nes "romanian **huRRenRegimes* - PxPST JOHN X: IN BED AND ON THE** BATTLEFIELD

The decisive factor for more than a century w a s t h e fact that the Holy Father Sergius III, the double murderer, brought to power in Rorri a certain theophylact, who was probably related to him, including some ladies who were greedy for power and as cunning as they were hedonistic. - The label "Roman harlot regiment" or "fornocracy" has been a t t a c h e d t o this period of the Vicars of Christ since the Protestant theologian Valentin Ernst Loescher (editor of the theological journal -Unschuldige Nachrichten von alten
and new theological mattersR: ^7 *-*7). But fornication, in itself not such a bad trait, flourished in Rome, where it is most sacred, through
for all time.

Theophylact (died in the early pzoic years), from the Roman high nobility, consul, senator, magister militum, was not only at the head of the Roman city administration, but also rose to become the head of papal finances, the highest administrative official of the church.

His wife, the ambitious, energetic and beautiful Theodora d. Ä. - "the shameless whore, as Bishop Liutprand von Cre- mona called her in his disreputable, often wickedly ironic, episodic, but nevertheless most important historical work of the time. -Antapodosis", called herself Senatrix, was the mother of two daughters, Theodora the Younger and Marozia, even more zealous in the "service of Venus", and cohabited with a future pope, John X. (The Catholic pope historian Franz Xaver Seppelt does not want to believe this. (The Catholic pope historian Franz Xaver Seppelt does not want to believe this, but it may also be that the new pope was not exactly Christian-minded and that his life did not meet the requirements of the moral law and his high office).

Theodora's no less seductive daughter Marozia (di- minutiv for Maria: Mariuccia, Mariechen), in her first marriage the wife of Duke Alberich I, who had seized Spo- leto after the death of Emperor Larnbert, was, if we can believe Bishop Liutprand and the official papal book (and even Seppelt now considers this to be -most likely-), involved with Pope Sergius III, presumably her uncle; both efforts originated from Pope John XI in 193*M3). The English theologian de Rosa knows: -The first time Pope Sergius had them in the Lateranpa- burden." However, very similar conditions, which in Rome "lasted for almost a century and a half" (Halphen), prevailed at other bishoprics.

After Pope Lando (qi3-9*4), son of the rich Lombard prince Taino and a puppet of Theodore the Elder (d. After qi6), whose protégé John was made Archbishop of Ravetina for nine years (9oy-9i¢) by the Bishop of Bologna, whom he had allegedly become by force and in fact without consecration, John - undoubtedly a strong personality - (Handbuch der Kirchengeschichte) is said to have been in bed with Theodore more often than in church in Ravenna¡ rumors perhaps, not least clerical rumors. However, Bishop Liutprand describes the rise of the future Pope John in a rather breathtaking way: how spiritual duties repeatedly called him to Rome, how Theodora, the "quite shameless harlot, was carried away by the heat of the

Venus entflammt (Veneris calore succensa)», sich in die schöne Erscheinung des Priesters verliebt – «und wollte mit ihm nicht nur huren, sondern nötigte ihn nachher immer wieder dazu . . .» Natürlich waren die Wartezeiten, wie immer man sie sich vertrieben haben mag, lang und lästig, besonders wohl für Theodora, die bedürftige. Und so ist es wirklich wunderbar, wie nun ein Kirchenfürst nach dem andern rasch verbleicht und sozusagen seinen Sessel für Johann freimacht, der derart immer höher und vor allem Rom ständig näher rückt.

Zuerst stirbt, «während dieses schamlosen Treibens», der Bischof von Bologna – und Johann wird Bischof in Bologna. Nach kurzer Zeit stirbt der Erzbischof von Ravenna – und Johann wird Erzbischof von Ravenna. Und nach wieder nur kurzer Zeit wird auch der Papst «von Gott gerufen» – und nun ist klar, was geschieht, geschehen muß, ist doch alles in Gottes Heilsplan vorgesehen: Theodora also, «deren verdorbenes Gemüt es nicht dulden konnte, daß ihr Liebhaber, zweihundert Meilen, die Rom von Ravenna trennen, von ihr entfernt, nur selten zum Beischlaf zur Verfügung stehen würde, nötigte ihn, den erzbischöflichen Stuhl in Ravenna zu verlassen und – es ist unerhört – in Rom die höchste Würde als Pontifex in Besitz zu nehmen».

Theodora war zwar nicht mehr die Jüngste und starb bald darauf. Doch jedenfalls saß jetzt der so strapazierte Ravennater Erzbischof als Johann X. (914–928), trotz klerikalen Widerstandes, fest im Sattel; und dies verdankte er sogar nach Seppelt (der hier ganz den Heiligen Geist vergißt), «lediglich der Familie des Theophylakt». Der zehnte Johann aber hielt sich um so länger, als er für seine geistlichen Pflichten nur wenig Zeit und Augenmaß hatte, wenn ausgerechnet auch ihn Chronisten, da er die strenge Regel von Cluny bestätigte, den Reformatoren des Mönchtums zuzählen. Und erwies er wohl schon im Bett sich als der, wofür man ihn hielt, im Krieg stand er erst recht seinen Mann.

Die dauernden «Wirren» unter den Christen, ihr jahrzehntelanges gegenseitiges Abmurksen (und das anderer) hatte die Aktivität der Araber noch angeregt und u. a. zu einem Stützpunkt für ihre Operationen an der Mündung des Garigliano geführt.

But as soon as John became pope, he concluded a military pact and assembled a large cartel of central and southern Italian rulers, consisting of troops from Spoleto, Benevento, Naples, Gaeta and, above all, the Greeks. Their emperor sent them,
-As a pious, God-fearing man, he immediately sent soldiers by ship. And the Pope, no doubt much more pious than the Byzantine, made the Romans swear not to make peace with the Saracens "until we have exterminated them from all of Italy".

In fact, he also succeeded in "crowning his warlike activities with a series of fine successes" (Eickhoff). On papal initiative, the Tiber Valley and the Salernitan area were first "cleansed" of Arabs. In May pI y the Garigliano Saracens were captured and - with decisive help from the Byzantines - the battle of Carigliano was fought in August, in which the apostles Peter and Paul are said to have appeared to many Christian fighters. This in turn may have contributed to the fact that only a few opponents escaped the orthodox, who w e r e then exterminated in the mountains. Bishop Liutprand even claims that
"In the daily battle of the Greeks and Latins, by God's mercy, not one of the Punic soldiers was left who was not killed with the sword or immediately captured alive." But the representative of Christ, who himself took part in the war, boasted to Archbishop Hermann of Cologne that he had personally led the soldiers to the attack twice.

As a real politician, John X disregarded the rights of the blinded Emperor Louis III of Provence (p. 3 j8 f.) and in December 9Iy crowned the more influential King Berengar (888-9zq), who ruled over Upper Italy and with whom he already had relations as the busy Archbishop of Ravenna, as emperor in St. Peter's; after Wido and Lambert, he was the third and last emperor of the Italian nation. Berengar swore the traditional oath to protect the interests and property of the Roman See and made gifts to the clergy, nobility and people. But his emperorhood was little more than s m o k e and mirrors."

ANARCHIC STATES DE Il'f)TALIE1si

In the so-called independent kingdom of Italy, royal power was increasingly crumbling. Typical of its medieval period, a tremendous discontinuity began to emerge, with a complex tangle of clerical, military and manorial instances, and local power structures interacting with and against each other,

-which arose through the warlike endeavors of monasteries, churches and secular lords" (Tabacco). Above all feudal fragmentation, however, rose the great territorial dominions, especially those of the leading families of Frankish origin, which had b e e n fighting and fighting over hegemony in the Regnum Italicum since the collapse of the Carolingian Empire. Under the leadership of Counts Adalbert of Ivrea and Odelrich and with the decisive participation of Archbishop Lambert of Milan **(QTI$a**), a new uprising against Bezengar took place qao/qai. Indeed, Lambert, according to Bishop Liutprand, was virtually

-the cause of their elevation". Although King Berengnr had only just appointed him head of the church of Milan, he had "demanded no small sum of money for this, uncanonically but customarily", and Lambert paid it, "paid everything the king demanded, driven by great greed to the archiepiscopal see . . He was soon sorry for this, not because it was against church law, but because he could not forget all the money. So he began to discuss apostasy from the king".

However, Berengar called on the Hungarians to help him against the rebels, who laid waste to Tuscany and soon defeated the rebels. In the winter of taz/qaa, however, they brought back King Rudolf II of Hochburgund, who had probably previously married him to the saint.

arming himself with a lance (p. i 4 f.). Berengar had to flee to the east and share Upper Italy with Rudolf, who resided in Pavia, where the prelates quickly gathered, especially as the new king defeated Berengar several times, most decisively on July 17, q23 near Fiorenztiola (near Piacenza), where **IJOO** men are said to have fallen. After all, the victor withdrew across the Alps for

about a year

zurück. Berengar aber wurde am 7. April 924 in Verona, von seinem ganzen Reich ihm zuletzt allein verblieben, von seinem Vasallen und Gevatter Flambert, dessen Sohn er einst «aus der heiligen Taufe hob», hinterrücks erstochen, passenderweise beim Morgengottesdienst.[54]

Schon zwei Tage danach fanden allerdings auch Flambert und seine am Königsmord beteiligten Leute ihr Ende durch einen jungen Freund Berengars, einen Vertrauten namens Milo; zeichnete sich doch dieser Jüngling, von dem Bischof Liutprand lakonisch schreibt, er «ließ sie hängen», «wahrhaftig durch nicht wenige und vortreffliche Tugenden aus . . .»

Über Oberitalien brach nun völlige Anarchie herein. Die Sarazenen kamen, die Ungarn; letztere vielleicht noch von Berengar gerufen, um Rache für seine Niederlage bei Fiorenzuola zu nehmen. Sie schlossen Pavia ein, lehnten Lösegeld ab und brannten am 12. März 924 – ein neuer Höhepunkt in dieser Chronik des Grauens – die Königsstadt samt dem Palast und 44 Kirchen nieder, natürlich – «unserer Sünden wegen» (Liutprand). Denn mißglückt was, ist's Gottes strafende, glückt was, ist's Gottes rettende Hand – primitiver geht's nimmer; aber so durch Jahrhunderte . . . Ortsbischof Johannes und der zu ihm geflüchtete Oberhirte von Vercelli kamen in den Flammen um, dazu angeblich alle Einwohner bis auf zweihundert Reiche, die sich freikaufen konnten (offensichtlich die Sündenfreien!). Und in den Jahren 926/928 folgten weitere Raubzüge der Ungarn durch die Toskana, bis vor Rom, bis Apulien.

König Rudolf war zwar im Sommer 924 nach Pavia zurückgekehrt, vermochte sich aber nicht zu halten. Derselbe Erzbischof Lambert nämlich, der einst Mittelpunkt der folgenreichen Rebellion gegen Berengar war, durch die Rudolf ins Land kam, wurde jetzt Initiator einer Verschwörergruppe, die gegen den König dessen Nachbarn Graf Hugo von Arles und Vienne herbeirief, anscheinend als Rudolf gerade wieder mal in Burgund weilte. Auch Papst Johann X. gehörte offenbar zu den Gegnern. Denn der Beistand, den er sich wohl im römischen Machtkampf von Kaiser Berengar versprochen, war ausgeblieben. Und nach dessen

After his assassination, John, who was rivalling the Marozia party, sought a new partner and, together with the Lombard greats, invited Hugh of Provence to Italy.

However, his father-in-law Duke Burchard of Swabia rushed to the king's aid. The relative and patron of St. Ulrich, Bishop of Augsburg, crossed the Alps with an army and met the Archbishop of Milan, Lambert. However, Liutprand reports that the latter, as a wise man, did not receive Burchard with disdain, but rather, freely and with malicious intent, welcomed him with the greatest honors. "Among other things, as a sign of his special friendship, he even gave him permission to hunt a stag in his enclosure, something he usually only did for his dearest and noblest friends. In the meantime, he summoned all the crew of Pavia and several Italian princes to Biirchard's doom and kept him with him until he believed that all those who were to kill him could be assembled." And the very next morning, on aq. April qz6, Duke Burchard exchanged "life for death" in front of No- vara, pierced by the lances of the Italians attacking him. Likewise, his entourage, who had sought refuge in the church of the holy Christ confessor Gau- dentius, were all slain, even in front of the altar.

King Rudolf then left the field without a fight."

KING HUGO GETTING AHEAD OF UbiD
THE HIS

It was not the actual rivals who had triumphed in Italy, but a third party who had previously had little involvement. Hugh of Arles and Vienne, who in the meantime had hurried by ship to Pisa, the territory of his half-brother Wido, was now solemnly welcomed there by the legates of John X after Rudolf's expulsion, and

Anfang Juli 926 in Pavia durch Erzbischof Lambert von Mailand zum italienischen König gekrönt (926–947). Kurz darauf fand sich in Mantua auch der Papst bei ihm ein, wo beide einen förmlichen Pakt geschlossen haben sollen. Einerseits vermutlich über Hugos schon damals in Aussicht genommene Kaiserkrönung, aus der nichts wurde; andererseits über Gebietserweiterungen zugunsten des Heiligen Stuhls in der Sabina, dem Herzogtum Spoleto und der Mark Camerino, wo wahrscheinlich Petrus, der Bruder des Papstes, als Markgraf schaltete.[56]

König Hugo beseitigte zunächst mehrere ihm verdächtige oder unliebsame Große. Sie wurden gefangen, gefoltert, geblendet, geköpft, einige mit Beihilfe des Ortsbischof Leo von Pavia – das «tat der Bischof bereitwillig», zumal die beiden «allmächtigen Richter» von Pavia darunter waren. Dem iudex Gezo stach man beide Augen aus, schnitt ihm die Zunge ab und nahm ihm seinen Besitz. Der iudex Walpert wurde enthauptet, sein Hab und Gut enteignet, seine Gemahlin Christina ergriffen «und auf mannigfache Weise gefoltert, um sie zur Herausgabe versteckter Schätze zu nötigen». Liutprand fährt bezeichnend fort: «Infolgedessen wuchs nicht allein in Pavia, sondern überall in Italien die Furcht vor dem König, und statt ihn, wie die anderen Könige, für nichts zu achten, erwies man ihm jegliche Art von Ehren.»

Starkes Durchgreifen ehrt hohe Halsabschneider durch die Zeiten, zumal wenn dazu noch große Ungerechtigkeit kommt, Ämterpatronage, zum Beispiel.

König Hugo versorgte rührend seinen burgundischen Anhang, darunter mehrere Sprößlinge seiner drei Kebsweiber Pezola, Roza und Stephanie. Zu der letzteren war der gekrönte Lüstling, überhaupt «betört von den Reizen zahlreicher Konkubinen», ganz «besonders heftig in schändlicher Liebe entbrannt», während er sich seiner Gattin Bertha nicht nur ehelich verweigerte, sondern sie «in jeder Weise verwünschte» (Liutprand).

Über politisch-militärische Machtpositionen verfügte Hugo bei den Vergabungen für die liebe Verwandtschaft ebenso wie über kirchliche. Sohn Hubert wurde Pfalzgraf und Markgraf von Spoleto, erhielt aber auch die Mark Tuscien. Sohn Tedbald wurde

Archdeacon of Milan with the prospect of succession to the archbishopric. His son Gottfried received the rich Nonantula Abbey. Hilduin, who was related to Hugh by marriage and expelled from his see in Liège, won the bishopric of Verona, and soon afterwards Milan as well. A nephew of the king, Archbishop Manasseh, left his see of Arles and went to Italy, relying on his uncle,
"to mistreat many churches here, driven by ambition, even to destroy them". He received, "against human and divine right", the Bishoprics of Mantua, Trento and Verona "for devouring" (Liutprand). He later sold Verona to Count Milo, who was also favored by the pope. John X was always accommodating, he saw an advantage, which is also called "expediency" or, even better, "pragmatism". In consideration of King Rudolf of Burgundy, the pope made the son of Count Heribert II of Vermandois, the not yet five-year-old Hugh, head of the church of Reims, while he let his father administer the temporal possessions of the archbishopric."

But the help hoped for from the Pope did not materialize. On the contrary. Things got worse. Marozia, whose father Theophylact and husband Alberich I of Spoleto had died, **married Margrave Mido of Tuscany** in her **second marriage. By uniting** Spoleto and Tuscany, however, she increased her power and became the true ruler of Rome.

PitPSTE VONROZins GNxDE
AND KING HUGO'S WEDDING NIGHT

The papal court was in disarray. John X was obviously not prepared to tolerate the new regiment and to submit to the party to which he himself owed his seat. But his brother Peter, a kind of "margrave" to whom the pope had granted more and more power, so that he had played a decisive role in Rome, was expelled. From Orte, which he had turned into a fortress, he attacked

er darauf die Stadt. Vielleicht rief er auch die Ungarn herbei, die Tuscien weit und breit brandschatzten; die Nachricht ist unsicher, die Zeit dunkel. Ende 927 aber wurde Petrus von den empörten Römern im Lateranpalast vor den Augen des Papstes erschlagen, Johann X. selbst im nächsten Sommer von einer Schar Widos, angeblich während des Hochamts in der Lateranbasilika, überfallen, entführt und später in die Engelsburg geworfen, wo er eingekerkert blieb, bis er dort Mitte 929 umkam, wahrscheinlich mit einem Kissen erstickt. Durch Theodora hatte er das Papsttum erlangt, durch ihre Tochter Marozia, nun Alleinherrscherin Roms, es wieder verloren und das Leben dazu.

Und König Hugos Kaisertraum war vorerst ausgeträumt.

Die folgenden Päpste Leo VI. und Stephan VII., beide Römer, Heilige Väter von Marozias Gnaden, wurden wahrscheinlich gleichfalls ermordet. Und diese Frau, die sich Senatrix, Patricia titulieren ließ, hatte sie ernannt. Leo VI. (928–929) war schon Papst, als sein Vorgänger noch im Kerker lag, ja, er starb selbst noch vor Johann X. Anfang 929. Auf Leo folgte Stephan VII. (929–931). Und möglicherweise sind beide überhaupt nur Platzhalter für den nächsten gewesen. Denn nun machte Marozia ihren eigenen, einst vom Heiligen Vater Sergius III. gezeugten Sohn im Alter von erst Anfang Zwanzig zum Papst Johann XI. (931–935). Und da 929, bald nach Johann X., auch ihr zweiter Mann, Margraf Wido von Toskana, gestorben war, heiratete sie, durch den Verbrauch zahlreicher Liebhaber und zweier Gatten leicht lädiert, im Sommer 932 in dritter Ehe Widos Stiefbruder Hugo von der Provence, zwar schon verehelicht, aber auch König von Italien (926–948) und auf der Höhe seiner Macht. Und endlich schien sich sein Kaisertraum zu erfüllen.

Getraut hat das hohe Paar aller Wahrscheinlichkeit nach Papst Johann XI., obwohl dies gegen das seinerzeitige kanonische Recht verstieß, da der König der Schwager seiner Braut war. Im übrigen: ein so skrupel- wie zügelloser, mit Konkubinen und Mätressen gesegneter, doch durchaus gut christ-katholischer Gewaltmensch, der unter einem Geblendeten, Kaiser Ludwig dem Blinden, Karriere gemacht: erst Graf, dann dux und marchio der

Provence, then tactical regent of the kingdom of Lower Burgundy. But Hugo's weakness for women overshadowed everything. No wonder he sold the bishoprics and abbeys of Italy. However, he was also "a worshipper of God" and a friend of "lovers of the holy faith" (Liutprand). A wise prince, then, who frequently consorted with saints such as Odo of Cluny and generally promoted the ecclesiastical "renewal movement". His entire reign, however, still stimulated by the ambitious Carolingian traditions of the Middle Kingdom and the imperial conception, was filled with military campaigns and the continued suppression of uprisings. Nevertheless, he did not win the imperial crown.

But Marozia certainly also saw herself as empress; after all, nothing seemed more natural than a coronation by her papal son. However, immediately after her wedding and wedding night in June q3z in Castel Sant'Angelo, there was a sudden change. Her son Alberich II (she had at least four sons from her marriage to Alberich I) rebelled with the support of the Romans and seized control of the city. King Hugh, whose life's ambition remained to become emperor, abseiled down from St. Angelo's Castle at night and fled over the adjacent city wall. Marozia and Pope John XI, mother and stepbrother of Alberich II, disappeared into the dungeon and were killed one after the other.

After all, Alberich II (93*Mid), Marozia's son from the family of the margraves of Spoleto, now ruled undisputedly as "prince and senator of all Romans" for almost a quarter of a century
and with a tight administration in Rome like the Papal States and - almost - without expansive ambitions. Religious-minded and personally pious, he made gifts to the monasteries, but subordinated the popes completely to himself. Leo VII (qj6 39), Stephen VIII (qj6 39)
(q3 dz), Marinus II (QU-P4) tittd Agapet II. *9q6-93 5 j* thanked, next to the H1. Spirit, thanked Alberich for their elevation and proved themselves obedient to him. Nothing happened without the command of the prince.

sten, incidentally also a particular promoter of the monastic reform emanating from Cluny - not least for political and self-serving reasons, namely in order to

and his own servants on monastic estates, who could only become dangerous to him themselves" (Sackur). Only Stephen VIII apparently broke ranks and is said to have been imprisoned in the fall of q¢z after taking part in a rebellion against Alberich and mutilated to such an extent that he died."

King Hugo's repeated attempts to retake Rome, however, remained in vain. Already s3<9i3 and again q36 he stood with army power before the city of his dreams, and still q3q,
qdi and qjj he made unsuccessful advances. "Year after year", writes Liutprand, he harassed Alberich, "devastated everything he could with fire and sword and took all the cities from him except Rome.

In between, however, Hugh fended off two other interests, both probably q33 during his struggle for Rome: peacefully, but by ceding his Lower Burgundian sovereign rights (not his possessions) to Rudolf 11 of Hochburgund; and by a military counter-action against Duke Arnulf of Bavaria, whom Count Milo and Bishop Rather of Verona had summoned and "received with joy" (Liutprand).

BERENGAR II. BECOMES KING OF **LTALIA**

In Italy, King Hugo always had to fear and fight most against those families that he himself promoted the most, so that in the end they seemed too dangerous for the chronically mistrustful and occasionally cruel king.

These included Margrave Berengar II, a grandson of Emperor Berenbar 1st (p. 3z¢ f.), a supporter of Hugo and married to his niece Willa. However, after the bloody liquidation of the Tiiscan dynasty, Hugh became increasingly suspicious of the influence of the House of Ivrea: Berengar 11th and his half-brother Anskar II of Ivrea, margraves of Spoleto-Camerino, whose house power

his own empire in the north and south, stretching from the Alps to the Principate of Rome and Benevento. He therefore attempted to overthrow them and Anskar perished.

But Hugo's intention to eliminate Berengar II by blinding him failed. After all, he had already successfully eliminated Margrave Lambert of Tuscany, his own half-brother, by simply tearing out his eyes - a popular and effective instrument of government used by so many Christian rulers. However, the new plan was betrayed by Hugo's son, the young King Lothar (named after his great-grandfather King Lothar II p. ip8 ff.), co-king since q3i; by a "weak" king, as historians now like to characterize him. Berengar, who "stole" Lothar's crown and life a decade later, probably fled in the fall of qu to Duke Hermann of Swabia, who brought him to Otto I.

forwarded. In *& 945, however, he returned and conquered parts of northern Italy with Otto's acquiescence, winning over the Italian greats with promises of fiefs, which he was still to receive. did not even own.

The clergy in particular immediately went over to him again.

He promised the bishopric of Como on oath to the priest Adelhard, who commanded the fortress of Formicaria (Siegmundskron), which dominated the Adige Valley and which Berengar had to pass through, as all the other passes were in Saracen hands. Adelhard's bishop Ma- nasse, a relative of King Hugo and endowed by him with the bishoprics of Trento, Verona and Mantua, was promised the succession to the archbishopric of Milan, whereupon Manasse, reports Liutprand, called on all Italians to assist Berengar. Bishop Wido of Modena also switched camps because Berengar offered him the rich abbey of Nonantula; and Wido also attracted a number of others". Archbishop Arderich of Milan also betrayed the king and invited his opponents to his court, where the great redistribution of goods began.

Incidentally, Berengar did not accommodate all the clergy. The

Priester Dominikus ließ er entmannen. Nicht weil er es mit Berengars Töchtern trieb, die er erzog, sondern, wiewohl selbst äußerst unattraktiv, kurz, struppig, ungewaschen, mit ihrer Mutter, mit Gattin Willa, der Nichte König Hugos. Bei der brutalen Prozedur zeigte sich denn auch, was die edle Fürstin an dem angeblich recht bäurischen, borstigen, zottigen, ungebildeten etc., freilich auch geilen «Pfäfflein» so angezogen hat. Bezeugten seine Entmanner doch, «daß die Herrin ihn mit recht liebte, da er nach übereinstimmendem Urteil wie Priapus ausgestattet war».[61]

König Hugo aber gab auf. Nach jahrelangem Krieg, nach mehrmaliger Verheerung der Umgegend von Rom mit Feuer und Schwert, legte er 946, wie gewiß schon so manches Mal, den Streit bei. Ringsum verraten, nicht zuletzt von jenen, die er begünstigt hatte, beschloß er nach zwanzigjähriger Herrschaft seinen Rückzug. Zwar gestand man ihm formell die Königskrone weiter zu. Da jedoch der wirkliche Herrscher Berengar II. von Ivrea war, setzte sich Hugo, unter Versicherung friedlicher Absichten, im Frühjahr 947 «mit all seinem Gelde» in die Provence ab – und bereitete dort den Krieg gegen Berengar vor. Er rüstete zum Entscheidungskampf, starb aber schon am 10. April 948 in Arles.

Sein Sohn Lothar, jetzt offiziell allein König von Italien, festigte zwar etwas seine Stellung durch die Heirat mit der erst 16jährigen, seit ihrem 6. Lebensjahr mit ihm verlobten Welfin Adelheid, Tochter des verstorbenen Königs Rudolf II. von Burgund, vielleicht auch durch Intervention des byzantinischen Kaisers, verschied freilich plötzlich am 22. November 950 in Turin, angeblich von Berengar durch Gift beseitigt.

Bereits am 15. Dezember desselben Jahres wurden Berengar II. (950–961) und sein Sohn Adalbert in S. Michele von Pavia zu Königen von Italien gekrönt, was Otto I. als Usurpation betrachtete. Und schon in Pavia scheinen die neuen Regenten Lothars junger Witwe Adelheid den Königsschatz, ihren Schmuck und gesamten persönlichen Besitz geraubt zu haben. Sie selbst, flüchtig, wurde am 20. April 951 in Como eingefangen und vier Monate, wahrscheinlich in Garda, inhaftiert. Doch gewann sie mit Hilfe Adelhards von Reggio ihre Freiheit. Es war derselbe

Kleriker, der einst Berengar den Weg nach Italien geöffnet hatte und dafür Bischof geworden war (S. 493), jetzt aber, in richtiger Einschätzung der Lage, die Zeit für gekommen hielt, erneut die Front zu wechseln.

Adelheid, die als rechtmäßig anerkannte Königin, rief Otto I. um Hilfe, und dieser griff ein. Zum erstenmal zog er jetzt nach Italien und erschien am 23. September 951 in Pavia, das erst tags zuvor Berengar und Sohn verlassen hatten. Otto übernahm ohne Wahl beziehungsweise Krönung den Titel eines Königs der Langobarden, sein Bruder Brun und der Erzbischof Manasse von Mailand walteten als seine Erzkaplane. Noch im Herbst heiratete er die um 18 Jahre jüngere Burgunderin Adelheid, fragte in Rom auch gleich wegen der Kaiserkrone an, bekam aber eine Absage durch Alberich und brach im Februar nächsten Jahres wieder nach Deutschland auf.[62]

Berengar II. ergab sich bald freiwillig. Er leistete im August 952 Otto in Augsburg den Lehenseid und wurde als sein Vasall mit dem Königreich Italien belehnt. Die Marken Verona und Aquileia schlug man aus «geostrategischen» Gründen zum Herzogtum Bayern. Da der deutsche König in den nächsten Jahren an den Norden gebunden war, regierte Berengar in Italien ziemlich ungestört. Er versuchte die Selbständigkeit seines Königreichs gewaltsam wiederherzustellen und benutzte jede Gelegenheit, sich an jenen, die ihn zuerst verlassen hatten, zu rächen, besonders also an den Bischöfen. Sie mögen auch vor allem Berengars Ankläger bei Otto geworden sein, der dann, beraten von Erzbischof Brun von Köln, seinen Sohn Liudolf, Herzog von Schwaben, nach Italien schickte.

Anno 956 besetzte dieser ohne Schwertstreich Pavia und besiegte Berengars Sohn, König Adalbert, auf dem Schlachtfeld (vielleicht bei Reggio). Als Liudolf aber am 6. September 957 in Piomba (südlich des Lago Maggiore) plötzlich einer fiebrigen Krankheit oder Gift erlag, ging Berengar erneut gegen die Bischöfe vor, die ihn diesmal an Liudolf verraten hatten. Walpert, den Berengar selbst, indem er den ungetreuen Erzbischof Manasse vertrieb, zum Bischof von Mailand gemacht, floh nun, «halbtot»,

as it is said, escaped the fury of Berengar and Adalbert and crossed the Alps, whereupon Manasseh returned to his see. The bishops Waldo of Como and Peter of Novara also crossed the Alps. And while Adalbert q5p repeatedly invaded the Sabina from Spoleto, which his brother Wido had conquered, the complaints of the emigrants were now joined by those of the pope.

JOHANISt . MAKES LOVE THE FOCUS OF HIS PONTIFICATE

However, John XII was not only threatened by Berengar's and Adalbert's invasions of the Papal States from the north. He was also defeated in the south in a "wanton war" (Zimmermann) against Capua, Btnevent and Salerno. So the -silly boy-, the -immature youth-, -the knave in the pope's regalia-, as the Catholics liked to criticize him in a rather belittling way, turned to King Otto for help in the year q6o. In keeping with an old tradition, he once again secretly sent two envoys across the Alps, the car- dinal deacon John and the protoscriniar (chancery clerk, notary) Azzo, for which both - probably too talkative about the Holy City and the Holy Father in the north - were to pay. The Roman head of the Church begged the German king to free him, the Pope, and the Church entrusted to him from the clutches of Berengar and Adalbert for the love of God and the Princes of the Apostles, and offered him the crown of kaiser - a complete renunciation of his father's policy." However, the help was all the more urgent as resistance was also growing among the Romans themselves. For Prince Albe rich, Marozia's strapping scion - even Otto had respected his power - had been resting in Rome forever since August 3i. August q5¢ for ever in Rome. In accordance with his wish, however, the great men of the city had to solemnly swear to the dying man that it would be carried out,

his son Octavian became his successor and, the very next year, barely eighteen years old, also pope. It is questionable whether John XII, as he called himself, had already reached the canonical age or had even received any ecclesiastical training. On the other hand, Albcrich's order to make his son Octavian the highest priest after the death of Pope Agapetus 11, who had likewise consented, was certainly in strict violation of the regulations. Symmachus I's decree of i. MÄ 499. a successor during the lifetime of the incumbent
pope.

John XII (qyy-963), Alberich's illegitimate offspring, was a great huntsman, horseman and dice player who liked to invoke the gods - the pagan ones, of course - and, according to contemporaries, was in league with the devil. He ordained a ten-year-old bishop in Todi. He ordained one priest, somewhat uncanonically, in the stables, "and not even at the legal time". He had another cleric castrated. He celebrated mass without communicating, he ordained prelates for money. He married the widow of his servant Rainer, placed her over many cities and venerated her golden crosses of St. Peter and golden chalices. He cohabited with his father's concubine, Stephana, and her sister-in-law. He also slept with his own sisters and had sex with the widow Anna and her niece. He raped pious pilgrims, wives, widows and girls who had come to pray at the tombs of the apostles. No wonder evil tongues accused him of having turned the papal palace into a brothel, "a playground for lewd women" (Liutprand)."

However, according to John Kelly, the Oxford church historian, this somewhat unchaste life did little to diminish the pope's reputation in the church as a whole. For John XII, who placed love at the center of his pontificate in this way, did not only rule in bed. Rather, he paid attention to the assertion of papal authority, even to administrative functioning. He supported some monasteries materially, and in May qy8 he even made a pilgrimage to Subiaco Abbey (8o km east of

Rome). Like his father, he did not seem entirely disinterested in the reform of monasticism, the "ecclesiastical renewal movement". And in the last year of his reign, a Roman council spoke out against clerical simony! But he was also to be found in armor, helmeted and with a sword. After all, his main interest was the Papal States and their expansion. That is why, shortly after his Subiaco pilgrimage, he joined forces with the Tuscans and Spoletines to wage the small war against Capua and Benevento, which ended so miserably. King Berengar II successfully stabbed the Duke of Spoleto, the papal ally, in the back, conquered the duchy of gyq and plundered and destroyed the Papal States."

This led to the second Italian campaign of the German king, who had probably already been justified in his first, qy I, with the imperial crown, but had respected the Roman balance of power. Now the situation was undoubtedly more favorable, with his son John XII reigning instead of Alberich. The appearance of Otto, who was still kept at a distance by his father, could hardly have made him entirely happy. However, he may have been under pressure from certain reform-minded circles and their displeasure at his scandalous change of life.

JOHN XII. RRO1'4T OnoI . zUM ISER
AND THIS REPRESENTS THE IVILEGIUM TTONIAI'JUM FROM

In any case, Otto gladly accepted the Pope's offer. Abbot Hatto of Fulda (the nephew of his predecessor Hadamar, as nepotism continued to flourish everywhere) had to take care of the arrangements in Rome - he became Archbishop of Mainz in q68. In May q6i, the king himself had his son Otto 11, only six years old at the time, elected king in Worms, crowned in Aachen and placed him in the care of his brother Bruti, the archbishop of Mainz.

of Cologne, and his son Wilhelm, Archbishop of Maina, and set off from Augsburg in August.

King Adalbert tried in vain to stop him at the hermitage of Verona, and then he drove Berengar out of Pavia with a large army "because, as is quite certain, he had the holy apostles Peter and Paul as comrades-in-arms" (Liutprand). On 3i. January p6z Otto stood before Rome. Before he entered Rome, however, he told his sword bearer Ansfried von Löwen: -When I pray at the tombs of the apostles, hold your sword steadily over my head, for loyalty to Rome was oh already suspect to my ancestors. Once we have returned to Monte Ma- rio, you too may pray as much as you like.

On February z, q6z, Otto I was anointed and crowned emperor in St. Peter's in Rome with great pomp by John XII, who was at most half his age and to whom he had previously had to swear an oath of security, perhaps with the crown that is still in the treasury of the Vienna Hofburg today. The Pope also anointed and crowned Otto's wife Adelheid, the "comrade of the empire". And since then, until the fall of the "Holy Roman Empire" in 1806, the emperorship and German kingship were permanently linked and the popes were essential for the conferral of the imperial dignity. Every German king who wanted to become emperor from then on had to go to Italy and to the pope; fuel enough for future generations. And endless tragedy ...

After the coronation, the ruler was immediately presented with a document confirming all "papal properties and rights". And on i3. On February 3, *96,* Otto issued the Privilegium Ottonianum, the notorious document, which admittedly does not exist in the original and is not uncontested. In the first part, it renews the Pippinian Donation (IV 38i) and guarantees the possession of the Papal States, but in the second part, it obliges each pope to swear an oath of allegiance between his election and consecration in the presence of the king's messengers or the emperor's son, thus giving the emperor influence over the papal election: basically a continuation o f the Carolingian tradition.

What Otto signed at the time, however, and was considered the legal basis of the Papal States for many centuries, was once again a diploma made up of old and new, real and shifted elements, supposedly long-established property, but in fact freshly fabricated extensions. Cities and lands that had never belonged to the Church appeared, Gaeta for example, Naples. They also claimed Veneto, Istria, the duchies of Spoleto and Benevento and, of course, what Pippin and Charlemagne had promised but not kept. In short, not only what the Church was entitled to *on the basis of previous* f-öJrcfiiingen was vested as legitimate ancient property, but also everything that it intended to conquer in the near future, which, all in all, was to extend the Papal States to two thirds of Italy.

No wonder that the emperor was praised in Rome as the third Constantine and began to be called "Otto the Great". However, the great Otto kept his promise as little as the great Charlemagne had once done. He laid claim to a whole series of territories that the papacy claimed for itself. In the Pentapolis, for example, which was considered part of the Patrimony of Peter in **Rome,** he forced the inhabitants to swear an oath that made them his subjects. Otto also seems to have recognized the papal fraud, which Cardinal Johannes (di- gitorum mutilus) had been forced to enforce over two hundred years earlier.
Constitutum Constanrini (IV 4 5 ff.) in order to be able to officially demonstrate the "Donation of Constantine" at Otto's coronation as emperor.

Shortly after the coronation, John XII - an old wish of Otto - also allowed the establishment of an archbishopric in Magdeburg and also agreed to the foundation of the bishopric of Merseburg. After all, the German ruler had, as the Catholic papal historian Seppelt calls it, pursued a generous Ostpolitik towards the S1awen tribes (cf. p. Ryo ff., 455 ff.).

A papal privilege issued on iz. issued on February q6z speaks of

the history of these events, including the Battle of Hungary and other battles against paganism - in defense of the holy Church of God" (ad defensionem sanctae Dei eccle- siae). For defense here never means mm or even primarily defence, but above all attack, expansion, -expansion of the Christian faith-, means using the tempting opportunity on the long eastern frontier of the empire to win -'new peoples for Christianity. The victory over the pagans, Hungarians and Slavs, was a material prerequisite for the mission ..." (Bñttnei)."

THE ØAPST CONSPIRES WITH xLLEN RzicHSFRIltíDïiN

Otto returned to Upper Italy in mid-February q6z, where he fought Berengar, who had retreated to various castles with his followers, until the end of qä3. He was soon able to expel Berengar's ally, Margrave Hubert of Tuscia, King Hugo's son, and also Berengar's son Adalbert towards the end of the next year. Hubert fled to the Hungarians in Pannonia, Adalbert to the Saracens, first to Fraxinetum in Provence, then to Corsica.

But Otto was already receiving bad news from Rome. For just as little as the pious emperor, the impious pope kept his promise when he did not receive the expected benefits, but rather began to fear Otto's power, so that both heads of Christendom accused each other of breaking their oaths.

The pope, who had solemnly sworn allegiance to the emperor, now went over to the imperial enemies while he was fighting Berengar. As soon as Otto had turned his back on Rome, he conspired with half of Europe and beyond. On all sides
he told his agents. He contacted Byzantium with highly treacherous intentions. But in the process, Cardinal John, together with the Bishop of Velletri, was sent by secret mail to Constantinople.

unterwegs, durch den (langobardischen) Fürsten Pandulf I. von Capua und Benevent (genannt «Eisenkopf»: 961–981) aufgegriffen und vor Otto gebracht. (Der Fürst war ein treuer Kaiseranhänger – und sein Bruder Johann, auf daß auch hier möglichst viel in der Familie blieb, der erste Erzbischof von Capua.) Der Papst distanzierte sich sogleich, beschuldigte seine Gesandten als «Treubrüchige» (infideles), erregte sich künstlich über den Kaiser, der sie aufgenommen habe, und rächte sich 964 grausam an seinem Kardinal (S. 506).

Heiligkeit konspirierte auch mit den alten Christenfeinden, den heidnischen Ungarn. Als Missionare getarnte Legaten sollten sie anscheinend zu neuen Einfällen in Deutschland reizen. Doch auch die päpstlichen Briefe an die Ungarn fielen Otto in die Hand, schwerbelastendes Material, das der Papst als gefälscht und dem Kaiser absichtlich zugespielt hinstellte.

Ja, Johann XII. steckte sich noch hinter kaiserfeindliche italische Kreise, obschon es die teilweise mit den Sarazenen hielten. So machte er mit seinem einstigen Gegner König Adalbert, dem ältesten Sohn Berengars, gegen den er doch zuvor Ottos Hilfe angerufen und zu dem er, wie gerade erst geschworen, nie abfallen wollte, nun gemeinsame Sache. Und Adalbert, im Herbst 962 vor Otto nach Fraxinetum geflüchtet, dem bekannten arabischen Seeräubernest an der provencalischen Mittelmeerküste – ausnahmsweise einmal eine Piraterie auf «privater», nichtstaatlicher Basis (H. R. Singer) –, ging seinerseits wieder mit den dortigen Sarazenen ein Bündnis ein; zehn Jahre später wird ihr Stützpunkt durch ein burgundisch-provencalisches Heer mit Hilfe einer byzantinischen Flottenblockade ausgehoben und der überlebende Araberrest versklavt. Jetzt setzte Adalbert via Korsika aufs Festland über und kam im Juni 963, mit allen Ehren empfangen, nach Rom. Berengar II. aber kapitulierte noch Ende desselben Jahres in der Apenninfestung St. Leo (westlich von San Marino), wurde nebst Gattin Willa nach Bamberg verbannt und starb dort am 6. August 966. Das regnum Italiae galt seitdem sozusagen als Reichsitalien und mit dem deutschen Reich vereint.[69]

EIx "MoxSTRUM" **IS pRoVided** by **the pope's throne** UI'4D **DIES FROM** A **"STROKE"**

In the spring of 9d3, news had also reached Otto in Pavia about the lustful life of the Holy Father, who had turned the papal palace into a brothel, squandering entire cities on his prostitutes, while the rain poured down through the collapsed church roofs onto the altars and no decent woman risked the pilgrimage to Rome for fear of falling into the hands of His Holiness. On November z, y63, Otto appeared before Rome, and while the city gates were opened to him after a short siege on the 3rd, Adalbert and the pope, who had just fled in full armor with his and Adalbert's trappings, including Saracenic ones, desperately resisting on the Tiber, hurriedly fled with the church treasury, apparently to take up residence in strong Tivoli. The Romans, however, swore allegiance to Otto and vowed never to elect or ordain a pope without the consent and confirmation of the exalted Emperor Otto and his son, King *Otto.* This -Oath of Rome-, which strengthened the papal election passus of the -Ottonianum", an oath that even the Carolingians did not dare to demand, became particularly important for the high-medieval papal history.

Three days later, on November 6, q63, a four-week council convened in St. Peter's under the presidency of the emperor.
seven cardinals and more than fifty bishops, but unfortunately, as the monarch regretted, not Pope Joan, of whom the -glorious and holy verse - found that he was "no longer one of those who wear sheep's clothing
but inwardly they are raging wolves, he rages so openly, he does the devil's work so openly that he dispenses with all detours.

In a first polite and urgent invitation to the summus pontifex et universalis papa, which he flushes out with a threat of excommunication of those assembled for the council, he was still apostrophized as -Your Doors'- (magnitudo vestra). In a second summons, they wished your

"summo pontifici et universali papae, the Lord John- still - salvation in the Lord", but already compared him to Judas,
"the traitor, or rather seller (proditor immo venditor) of our Lord Jesus Christ". At the following meeting, he was scolded as an unprecedented ulcer, which was recommended to be burned out with an appropriate branding iron and he was simply called a "monster". But the Pope went off to do something more important, hunting near Tivoli: "He had already gone into the field with quiver and bow" (Liutprand)."

The synod had neatly enumerated the long list of sins committed by the Vicar of Christ, sacrileges of all kinds, a plethora of the most serious impositions: Failure to take communion, failure to attend Catholic prayer times, irregularities in the ordination process, such as that of a deacon in a stable, trafficking in ministries, misappropriation of church property, contempt for the cross, mockery of the sacraments, apostasy to paganism, alliance with the devil, passion for hunting and gambling, various acts of fornication, adultery, blood libel, sexual intercourse with his father's concubine and her sister, etc, assaults on female pilgrims in St. Peter's, perjury, church robbery, arson, mutilation, castration and killing of a cardinal, blinding his godfather, murder of clergymen, etc.

Some things in this catalog of vices may well be exaggerated, perhaps even untrue. But then 7 cardinals and more than 5o bishops lied! And after all, the Council Fathers cited by Cardinal Benedict were partly based on their own
partly on eyewitness testimony, partly on certain knowledge. Indeed, they swore unanimously and at the risk of their eternal bliss - in which, of course, they themselves may hardly have believed - that John XII had not only committed the aforementioned crimes, but many more of the shameful ones. And the Pope's biographer also describes him in a completely negative light in the "Liber Pontificalis".

In the third session, a 4- December q63, the bishops, as Otto had naturally expected, if not ordered, pushed for a change:
-We therefore ask the glory of your imperial dignity,

to expel from the Holy Roman Church that monster whose vices are not counterbalanced by any virtues ..." And so, contrary to the provision that the pope
- what had been observed in Leo III's and Paschalis I's processes
- John XII, who had not even been heard, nor defended, was summoned only twice instead of three times as canonically required, John, who had only recently anointed and crowned Otto, was unanimously deposed on his behalf on that day and, also contrary to the church statutes, a new pope, the emperor's candidate of course, was elected in St. Peter's Basilica, allegedly una voce, on
December 6, qö3: Leo VIII (q63-96y). Since the previous chancellor Leo was still a layman, he was given all ordinations, from the lowest of the ordines minores, the ostiarius (doorkeeper, for example Mesnex), through lector, acolyte, subdeacon and deacon to priest, in a single day and was ordained on December ö. Cardinal Sico of Ostia, assisted by the bishops of Porto and Albano, ordained him pope on December 8. '7

But the overthrow caused bad blood in Rome. John/Octavian was, after all, the son of the -great Albe-
rich-, was prince and church leader of the Romans. So it came to January 3, q6¢, he himself instigated an attack on the emperor, for which the pontiff, who had fled to Corsica, received as his reward -the treasure of St. Peter and all the churches (beati
Petri omniumqtie ecclesiarum pecuniam) is said to have promised
- the first Roman uprising against a German emperor, a murderous street fight, which Otto, warned on the same day, put down, of course, as his "warriors accustomed to carnage, fearless in heart and in the use of their weapons", pounced on the rebels - and drove them like hunting falcons a flock of birds into flight without resistance. Not wings, not baskets, not troughs, not the sewers could protect the fugitives. So they were crushed and, as happens to brave men, wounded everywhere in the back. Which of the Romans at that time would have done this?

Blutbad überlebt, wenn nicht der heilige Kaiser aus Barmherzigkeit, die man ihnen doch nicht schuldig war, seine nach Blut dürstenden Krieger zurückgehalten und abgerufen hätte?»

Ach, der barmherzige, große, der heilige Kaiser, dem dann auch die Römer über St. Peters (vermeintlichem) Grab abermals Treue schwuren und hundert Geiseln stellten, die er, auf Bitte seines Papstes, bald wieder laufen ließ. Doch kaum war er abgezogen, wurde Leo VIII., «ein Lamm unter lauter Wölfen», im Februar 964 aus der Heiligen Stadt vertrieben, und Johann XII., für den sich seine zahlreichen Mätressen, «da sie von vornehmem Geschlechte und ihrer viele waren», mächtig und erfolgreich ins Zeug legten, kehrte im selben Monat zurück. Widerstandslos öffnete man ihm die Tore.

Der Papst nahm nun recht christlich Rache an seinen beiden einst zu Otto gesandten Legaten, ließ dem Kanzleivorsteher Azzo die rechte Hand, dem Kardinal Johann Nase, Zunge und zwei Finger abschneiden. Der deutsche Vertreter in Rom, Bischof Otger von Speyer, wurde nach päpstlicher Anweisung ausgepeitscht und eingekerkert. Auf einer Synode in St. Peter Ende Februar, feierlich eröffnet durch das Hereintragen der vier Evangelien, erkannten fast dieselben Kardinäle, die Johann XII. vor drei Monaten abgesetzt, ihn jetzt wieder an. Und fast dieselben Kardinäle, die den flüchtigen Leo VIII. erhoben hatten, exkommunizierten ihn nun. Die Bischöfe von Porto und Albano, bei Papst Leos Ordination besonders beteiligt, verfielen der Suspension, Kardinal Sico von Ostia dem Ausschluß aus dem Klerus.

Doch wurde Johann XII. seines Sieges nicht froh. Vor dem anrückenden Kaiser wich er in die Campagna aus. Und dort starb er «in einem Ehrenhandel» (Kämpf) noch am 14. Mai 964, wenige Tage nach einem Ehebruch, «als er sich mit der Frau eines gewissen Mannes ergötzte» (Liutprand), wahrscheinlich durch die Aufmerksamkeit des betrogenen Gatten – oder, wie es auch gut heißt, durch einen «Schlaganfall». Und dies sogar «ohne daß er die heilige Wegzehrung empfangen» (Seppelt).[72]

«Durch seine Wiedereinsetzung hatte die Vorsehung sein Recht geschützt, durch seinen plötzlichen Tod seinen unwürdigen Wan-

This is how Catholic church historians *explain* the wise actions of "Providence". But would it not have been wiser if it had spared John XII his fall, the Church its scandalous transformation - and us the papacy altogether?"

TURMOIL AND GRIEF

ix RonuxD ii'4 THE HISTORICAL DESCRIPTION

The Romans, quickly forgetting the oaths they had taken, now elected a cardinal who had not only helped to remove John XII from office, but had also co-elected his own predecessor Leo: Bene- dict V (zz. . - z . ö. p6¢, d. q66). He was enthroned and it was promised that he would never be abandoned and that he would be defended at all costs. But the emperor wanted his pope. He led Leo
VIII, plundered, devastated the Roman territory and in June qöd besieged the city, in which, despite fires, hardships, epidemics, Pope Benedict, -a thoroughly worthy, drumming man- (Seppelt), drove the Romans to defend themselves. He took part personally, climbed the walls, incited his own and hurled his spells at the besieging army. But defeated by superior numbers, hunger and hardship, the besieged opened the gates on June 3. June, surrendered Benedict and vowed to the emperor and Leo VIII once again over the tomb of St. Peter Trcue. Benedict V, however, "the invader" (invasor: Liut- prand), was publicly condemned as a usurper at a synod in June q 4.
tor was condemned. Pope Leo stripped him of the insignia of the so-called
Dignity, stripped him of the papal pallium he had assumed, took the crosier from his hand and broke it into pieces in front of everyone. The deposed pope was demoted to diocese, exiled for ever and went into exile in Hamburg, where he died on July 4 of the following year."

After Leo's death q6y, the usual turmoil broke out in Rome. continue. Popes loyal to the emperor and hostile to the emperor

replaced each other in

one fought the other, banished, mutilated, murdered. At a synod of French prelates in Reims, Bishop Arnulf of Orleans, in one of the sharpest medieval attacks on the papacy, saw it very clearly in complete depravity, in crime, in disgrace, saw the present "blackened with such terrible night by papal Rome that it will still be notorious in the future". At that time, the "Antichrist in Rome" had already been at work for centuries - while Jesuit Hertling still wanted to make us believe in the middle of the 2000s: "No modern standards should be applied to these outrageous scandals".

But you can always say that. And you always say that. You can bagntellize everything with it. And that's why it's just a commonplace, repeated everywhere to this day, no, worse - because who is that stupid! - pure hypocrisy. The establishment and promotion of fascism by the popes can also be justified in this way - in fifty, five hundred years' time. Or the repeated authorization of the ABC war, the use of nuclear, biological and chemical weapons by Pope Pius XII....

Not applying today's standards? Understand situationally, temporarily? Understanding the spirit of the times? But who or what is that? Was it not and is it not always "the Lord's own spirit", the Christian spirit that has existed for centuries? "We are the times; as we are, so are the times." None other than Augustine wrote this (1 yy ff.!). And Johannes Haller, the great papal historian, insists: -It was already no different: what was then called the holy apostolic Roman kitche presents itself to the observer as a building of very worldly rule, where, under the code name of St. Peters, ambition and covetousness struggle for throne and office, where the same weapons are used as elsewhere and the struggle for power takes on even cruder, more repulsive forms than anywhere else." And Haller quotes - despite this "almost literatureless time" - contemporaries who once felt the same way as we do. Such as that unknown poet in his apostrophe to Rome:

«Niederes Volk, von den Enden der Erde zusammengelaufen,
‹Knechte der Knechte› fürwahr, heißen jetzt Deine Herrn ...
Schmutzigen Bastarden liegest du jetzt im Staube zu Füßen ...
Allzu sehr überwand Habsucht und Geiz deinen Sinn ...
Grausam hast du der Heiligen Leiber im Leben verstümmelt;
Jetzt ist der Toten Gebein gut dir zu jeglichem Kauf,
Und wenn die Erde gierig des Lebens Reste vertilgte,
Hältst du immerhin noch falsche Reliquien feil.»

Nun gibt es freilich christliche Köpfe, die all dem noch heute viel Geschmack abgewinnen, die wie immer aparte Patina des Morbiden goutieren und das Kunststück vollbringen, die Häupter der Hydra selbst zu verklären. So meint Katholik Daniel-Rops im Hinblick auf das papale Horrorarsenal, daß «diese Einzelheiten, wie man gestehen muß, auch romantisch und fesselnd sind wie ein Roman von Alexander Dumas». Allerdings dürften «Skandalaffären –, Gewalttaten, die zu jeder Zeit (!) den päpstlichen Thron beschmutzen, nicht dem von Christus eingesetzten heiligen Amt angelastet werden, sondern der Unterdrückung, die es erleiden mußte».[75]

Daß solchem Maule nicht schlecht von sich selber wird! Von Phrasen, kläglicher doch fast noch als was sie bemänteln ...

Papst Johann XIII. (965–972), wohl ein Sohn Theodoras d. J., der Schwester Marozias, war laut dem «Liber pontificalis» der Sohn eines Bischofs. Während des Schismas zwischen seinen Vorgängern Leo VIII. und Johann XII. hatte er sich zweideutig verhalten, opportunistisch; hatte Johann XII. angeklagt, darauf für Leos Erhebung gestimmt, dann dessen Absetzung unterzeichnet. Johann XIII., herrschsüchtig und germanophil, kooperierte eng mit dem Kaiser, hielt mit diesem gemeinsam Synoden in Rom und Ravenna. Er verfeindete sich mit dem heimischen Adel und dem Volk. Er förderte rücksichtslos seine Verwandten und wurde schon nach wenigen Monaten, Mitte Dezember, von den Römern unter Führung des Stadtpräfekten Petrus und des kampanischen Grafen Rotfred gestürzt, verhöhnt, mißhandelt, erst in der Engelsburg, dann in der Campagna unter Rotfreds Aufsicht eingekerkert. Mit Hilfe von Verwandten konnte er jedoch anfangs 966

and, after all kinds of skirmishes with his opponents, returned to Rome in triumph in November *966* at the head of an army of imperial and his own soldiers.

Shortly afterwards, Otto - the great Caesar crowned by God, the third Constantine, as the Pope praised him in a bull - left there - deported the nobles involved in the uprising to Germany, but hanged the leaders of the people, the twelve militia commanders of the twelve regions of Rome, plus a thirteenth from Trastevere. For the city prefect Peter, who was seized while fleeing, His Holiness himself - proof of his creative imagination - had devised a bizarre special treatment, which even caught on in papal circles. First, the namesake of the Prince of the Apostles was hanged by the hair with a shorn beard on papal orders. For this, the Holy Father misused the equestrian statue of Marcus Aurelius as a pillory, which was (mistakenly) thought to be a monument to St. Constantine I (the so-called Caballus Constantini), which is why it stood in front of the Lateran. The naked man was then adorned with a cow's udder on his head and both hips, along with bells, and driven backwards on a donkey through the city with Peter having to hold his face against the animal's tail (its reins, so to speak). He was incarcerated and finally exiled to Germany. The pope's jailer in the Campagna, Count Rotfred, had already been slain, but was dug up again by imperial order and thrown outside the city."

UPDATeRs AnD NuTzNIESSeRS ALSO IN ITALtRlJ: THE KLERUS

From q6i until his death in 973, Otto I rarely stayed in Germany. He spent ten of the last twelve years of his life in Italy, waging three wars in the south against the Muslim Arabs and Christian Byzantium. To the north

der Alpen und im Westen, wo er gegen Frankreich die Hegemonie, ja eine faktische «Mitregentschaft» errungen und Burgund in Abhängigkeit gebracht hatte, wurde er durch Erzbischof und Erzherzog Brun vertreten. Die Erziehung und Vormundschaft seines Sohnes Otto II. lag in den Händen von Erzbischof Wilhelm von Mainz. Der Regent selbst hielt sich zur Wahrung seiner Herrschaft besonders in Rom auf, wo er 962 vom Heiligen Vater – und von welchem! – zum Kaiser gekrönt, wo das «imperium christianum» von neuem begründet und die künftige Geschichte Deutschlands mit der Zukunft des Papsttums verbunden worden ist, wie dieses selbst mit dem deutschen Reichskirchensystem.

Im Süden der Halbinsel erhoben Otto und seine Nachfolger, in bewußtem Rückgriff auf die sogenannte Karlstradition, Anspruch auch auf das Herzogtum Benevent, also auf das kontinentale Süditalien, ausgenommen das – seit der Zeit Kaiser Justinians (I 7. Kap.) – byzantinische Südapulien, Südkalabrien und die kleinen tyrrhenischen Seerepubliken.

Die so oft und noch heute idealisierten, romantisch verklärten, besonders seit Otto I. einsetzenden Italienzüge der deutschen Kaiser – eine Politik, die im 13. Jahrhundert gescheitert ist – waren in der Forschung lang und heiß umstritten. Hauptkontrahenten: der Ranke-Schüler und Bismarck-Gegner Heinrich von Sybel (gest. 1895), der die deutsche Kaiserpolitik des Mittelalters verwarf, und Julius Ficker (gest. 1902), der sie verfocht. Mit Objektivität, ohnedies in der Geschichtsschreibung unmöglich (vgl. I Einleitung!), hatte auch dieser Streit nichts zu tun. Sybel lehnte von seinem kleindeutschen Standpunkt aus ab, Ficker verteidigte von seiner katholisch-großdeutschen Position her. So bestimmten fast ausschließlich tagespolitische Vorstellungen die historische Debatte, da eben die kleindeutsche, dort die großdeutsche Sicht. Weil all dies aber zur Zeit keine Rolle spielt, ist zur Zeit auch für die historische Forschung «der ganze Streit recht unfruchtbar» (Hlawitschka). Johannes Fried allerdings erinnert an «die erschütternde Einsicht» Ottos von Freising kaum zweihundert Jahre später, «der Heerzug nach Italien sei ein Opfergang gewesen, den der König angetreten habe, um die wankende Kirche zu

stützen; kaum war sie wieder erstarkt, habe sie sich gegen ihren Helfer von einst, den deutschen König und Kaiser, gewandt», womit der Investiturstreit heraufzog.

Eines steht fest: Wie Ottos I. Ostpolitik, so diente, ungeachtet vieler Differenzen im Detail, selbstverständlich auch seine Italienpolitik der eigenen Machtbereicherung und der systematischen Ausplünderung des Landes.

Eng involviert war auch im ottonischen Süden – was man unlängst wenig überzeugend zu bagatellisieren, ja umzuinterpretieren versuchte – wieder der Klerus, «indem die Kirchen besonders gefördert und zu Stützen der Reichsgewalt ausgebaut wurden» (Handbuch der Europäischen Geschichte). Ottos «Hauptstütze in Italien waren hierbei die Bischöfe, die ihre Position mit deutscher Hilfe verstärkten. Ihnen wurden große Zuwendungen gemacht . . .» (Stern/Bartmuß).[77]

Gewiß wünschten Otto und seine Nachfolger keinen übermächtigen Episkopat. Aber starke Kirchenfürsten konnten ihnen nur willkommen sein, wie in Deutschland so selbstverständlich, trotz der Unterschiede, auch jenseits der Alpen. Im Grunde setzten sie die sehr klerusfreundliche Politik der Karolinger fort, bauten sie noch aus, mögen sie auch entschiedener verfahren sein. Ganz zu schweigen davon, daß auch ihre Gegner in Italien den hohen Klerus oft begünstigt haben.

Otto I. jedenfalls stattete bestimmte Bistümer mit Königsland aus, mit öffentlichen Rechten, Einkünften. So vermehrte er etwa, um dies zu exemplifizieren, bemerkenswert die Macht des Bischofs Aupald von Novara, dessen Vorgänger Petrus II. offen gegen Berengar aufgetreteh war. So wurde Bischof Bruning von Asti, der Erzkanzler Lothars und Berengars, auch Erzkanzler Ottos. Dazu bekam er die weltliche Gewalt über seine Bischofsstadt sowie über deren Umfeld. Und sein Nachfolger Rozo erhielt außer weiteren rechtlichen und wirtschaftlichen Privilegien, wie das Recht, Zoll zu erheben, Märkte, Häfen anzulegen, ja Befestigungen zu bauen, offenbar auch größere Besitzzuteilungen.

Bischof Hubert von Parma (960–980), noch im Sommer 961 Kanzler bzw. Erzkanzler Berengars II. und Adalberts, ist im Fe-

He was already present at Otto's coronation as emperor on February 16, q6z and received the highest favor the very next month. Not only did Otto confirm *a* number *of* concessions, immunity, royal protection and the right of inquisition to the Parmen Episcopal Church, but he also granted Hubert the rights of a count palatine over the city and surrounding area, making him sole ruler. Indeed, Otto also favors the prelate in Grafschahen, where the diocese has possessions - and a strategically favorably located church seat … (Pauler). And, of course, Bishop Hubert also accompanied the emperor during the war; he even took over the office of archchancellor during the emperor's third Italian campaign, as the previous archchancellor, Wido of Modena, had once again backed out."

Bishop Wido of Modena (qd3-968), who changed fronts from time to time, first supporting Berengar's uprising, then Hugo's son Lothar, then Otto I, before going over to King Adalbert once again, was nevertheless given gifts from all sides. From Lothar he received, "dilectus fidelis noster", estates in the county of Comacchio, from Berengar II three castles. For a decade, from qyz to q6i, he was archchancellor to his lord, Berengnr, with a good relationship, of course. Then, having defected to Otto, he continued in the same office under Otto, for which he received from him the possessions of Berengar's sons Wido and Konrad in several counties, possibly without being able to derive much benefit from them. Roland Pauler, who follows the treachery of the notoriously disloyal prince of the church step by step, as a student of Hlawitschka, cannot help but praise Otto's highest advisor **(summus** consiliarius): "At first he strove to extend his own power, and even the means of treason was not too bad for him to achieve his goals; but then he fulfilled his duties as imperial bishop under the respective rulers, was archchancellor, missus and helper on the battlefield like a secular vassal as well.""

Honor to whom honor is due.

In other words, crimes must be committed within the right personal framework. That means: always in the most potent complicity.

Der Machterweiterung und Ausraubung (etwas akademischer: dem deutschen Feudalstaat) galt natürlich auch Ottos Süditalienpolitik.

Der Kaiser erringt «eines der wichtigsten Lebensziele in seinen letzten Regierungsjahren»

Ottos Bastionen waren in Italien die drei – den Kirchenstaat vom byzantinischen Süden trennenden – langobardischen Fürstentümer Capua mit Spoleto und Camerino sowie Benevent und Salerno, die dann, nach Ottos Tod und nur für kurze Zeit, Fürst Pandulf I. Eisenkopf in Personalunion vereinigte. Schon Anfang 967 hatte Pandulf dem Kaiser gehuldigt, ebenso Landulf von Benevent, jener dafür mit den Markgrafenschaften Spoleto und Camerino, dieser mit einer generösen Bestätigung seines Besitzes belohnt. Freilich betrachtete auch Byzanz seit alters diese langobardischen Gebiete als seine Interessensphäre und beanspruchte die Oberhoheit. Otto aber ließ an Weihnachten 967 seinen gleichnamigen Sohn in Rom (nach dem Beispiel Ludwigs des Frommen, Lothars I., Ludwigs II.) zum Kaiser krönen – das einzige Doppelkaisertum der deutschen Geschichte –, um den Konflikt durch die Ehe mit einer byzantinischen Prinzessin beizulegen. Dies jedoch scheiterte an der von Kaiser Nikephoros Phokas geforderten Preisgabe Benevents und Capuas.[80]

So holte man keine Braut heim – sondern führte Krieg. Er begann im Süden im Anschluß an Ottos dritten Italienzug (966). Im nächsten Jahr kommandierte der Basileus ein Heer quer durch den Balkan, um in Süditalien einzugreifen, ohne daß es dazu kam. Dafür eröffnete Otto den Kampf. Über Capua und Benevent fiel er in Apulien ein und verwüstete im Herbst 968 monatelang das griechische Kalabrien. «Otto war kriegslustig», versichert Kirchenhistoriker und Theologe Albert Hauck, «und begierig nach Eroberungen; niemals konnte er der Versuchung, einen kühnen

These Catholic lords have almost all been bellicose - for more than half a millennium! But no fort was won, no battle was fought, Bari was not conquered. Bishop Liutprand's diplomatic efforts in Constantinople also failed completely; whereupon he wrote his pamphlet -Gesandtschaft to the Emperor Nicephorus Phokas in Constantinople (whom he c a l l s "burnt-out coal", "old woman", "forest devil", "wild sow", "horned ox",
"bristle cattle" and others, who for him had "eyes like a mole" and "a pig's face", in short "someone you wouldn't want to meet at midnight"). The basileus now demanded more: gnnz southern and central Italy, including Rome, and also promised Otto recognition of the imperial dignity.

The ruler of the west soon left the battle area, but sent a new contingent of troops, 5 Swabians and Saxons. After hearing mass in Benevento, it invaded Apulia with the blessing of Archbishop Landulf, cut off the noses of the captured and still Christian Byzantines after the victory at Asculum and sent them "back to the new Rome with their noses cut off" (Widukind) - "a notable success for the German weapons" (C.M. Hartmann).

In the spring of s7o, Otto himself advanced south again, devastated the area around Naples, set fire to Apulia far and wide and drove away the cattle. The Christian government of Byzantium threw Saracen mercenaries at the Christian Saxon emperor. However, even though Liutprand boasted in a rather noble manner that the "many weaklings" of Nicephorus, "who are only encouraged by their numbers, will be crushed by our few, but warlike, even war-thirsty soldiers", neither Otto I nor Otto II were able to permanently annex Apulia to the northern part of the empire.

One of the many Byzantine palace revolutions brought about a turning point in the battle of arms and diplomats.

n the night of io. to Li. December *969*, Emperor Nike-

phoros fell victim to a conspiracy between his wife and his cousin and rival Johannes Tzimiskes, a general. The bloody deed also benefited the church. Patriarch Polyeuktos (s5 7O)used the change of ruler to his advantage. He denied the murderer the coronation until
The latter declared himself willing to revoke the Nikephoros provision against the takeover of monastic property and the admission to the office of bishop without imperial consent.

In the west, the upheaval led to peace, which left Apulia with Byzantium and Capua and Benevento with the German emperor. However, the desired bride, the Porphyrogenita Anna, was not obtained, but instead, with many relics, the princess Theophanø, a niece of the new emperor Johannes Tzimiskes, although not born in the Porphyra, in the imperial palace, but beautiful and intelligent. On
*4 April qyx, she was married to i6-year-old
Otto in St. Peter's Church in Rome and was married by Johann XIII crowned empress*.

Otto "the Great" was able to satisfy his restless ambition to the extent that the Eastern Roman emperor murderer and emperor (perhaps also because he did not yet feel so tested in the saddle) did not recognize the Western Roman imperial dignity - a dignity that, as a rule, admittedly includes many more crimes against humanity than benefits for it. Yet for Otto, recognition as a second emperor with equal rights was "one of the most important goals of his life during the last years of his reign" (Glokker).*

When the emperor died on 7 May s7i at his palace in Memleben - not without -the strengthening of St. Thief- mar - the German Empire comprised around 6oo ooo square kilometers.
meters, to which were added i 5o ooo to ISO OOO square kilometers south of the Alps. And according to Widukind, the people praised Otto for having "conquered the overpowering enemies, Avars (Hungarians), Sataces, Danes, Slavs, by force of arms, subjugated Italy, destroyed the Gorizia among the neighboring pagans, established places of worship and spiritual estates", yes, sic

redeten «noch viel anderes Gute (!) über ihn». Hinterließ doch der Kaiser der Römer und König der Völker, so schließt der Mönch das dritte und letzte Buch seiner Sachsengeschichte, «in kirchlichen wie in weltlichen Dingen viele ruhmwürdigen Denkmäler der Nachwelt». Und auf dem Deckel seines Sarkophags nennt ihn eine Inschrift (auf Goldblech) «die höchste Ehre des Vaterlandes« und den «Stolz der Kirche».[84]

II. KAPITEL

KAISER OTTO II. (973–983)

«Pallida mors Sarracenorum» – bleicher Tod der Sarazenen.
Otto I. Bischof von Freising[1]

«Glücklich war seine Jugend, jedoch am Ende des Lebens
Suchte ihn Unglück heim, da schwer wir alle gesündigt.»
Thietmar von Merseburg[2]

Kleriker in Herrschernähe

Otto II. wurde im Jahr der großen Ungarnvernichtung am Lech sowie, noch im selben Herbst, des großen Slawengemetzels als viertes Kind Ottos I. (und seiner zweiten Frau Adelheid) geboren, wurde sechsjährig 961 in Aachen zum König, zwölfjährig 967 in Rom zum Mitkaiser gekrönt. Der Kapellan Folkold, seit 969 Bischof von Meißen, und der St. Galler Mönch Ekkehard II. erzogen ihn. Und sicher haben, neben der frommen Mutter, auch sein Onkel, Erzbischof Brun von Köln, und sein Bruder, der außereheliche älteste Kaisersohn Erzbischof Wilhelm von Mainz (für Bestechung alles!), auf den Prinzen gewirkt. Zumal dem Bischof Wilhelm wurde während Ottos I. Abwesenheit 961 und 966 der Thronfolger ausdrücklich «zum Schutz und zur Erziehung» anvertraut (Adalberti continuatio Reginonis).

Kein Wunder, daß die Zeitgenossen Ottos Frömmigkeit loben, daß ihn Thietmar geradezu «maßlos in frommen Werken» nennt. So schenkte er dem Bischof Giselher von Merseburg, einem seiner Günstlinge, «erstens die Abtei Pöhlde, dann die Burg Zwenkau mit allem Zubehör zum Dienste für St. Johannes den Täufer; ferner überließ er ihm das gesamte, von der Mauer umschlossene Ortsgebiet Merseburgs samt Juden, Kaufleuten und Münze, ferner einen Forst zwischen Saale und Mulde bzw. zwischen den Gauen Siusuli und Pleißnerland; ferner Kohren, Nerchau, Pausitz, Taucha, Portitz und Gundorf; das alles bestätigt er durch eigenhändig vollzogene Urkunden».

Der Bischof Giselher, «ein stets auf Emporkommen erpichter Krämer» (mercenarius, ad maiora semper tendens), konnte dies

natürlich brauchen. Und um Erzbischof zu werden, berichtet Thietmar wieder, «bestach er mit Geld alle Fürsten, besonders die römischen Richter, denen stets alles käuflich ist . . .»

Erheblichen Einfluß auf den rex iunior gewann sein jahrelanger Ratgeber, der intrigante Bischof Dietrich I. von Metz; als Schwestersohn der Königin Mathilde und Vetter Ottos I. wie Erzbischof Bruns, die ihn beide zum Oberhirten machten, gleichfalls ein Mitglied des kaiserlichen Hauses und (ebenfalls) im Rufe kolossaler Geldgier stehend. Bischof Thietmar meldet, der Metzer Kirchenfürst sei von Erzbischof Giselher für «1000 Pfund Gold und Silber . . . für die Verdunkelung der Wahrheit» bestochen worden. Der Kaiser selbst ließ ihm wohl nicht nur «scherzhaft» sagen: «Gott sättige dich im Jenseits mit Gold, wir hier können es alle nicht!» Freilich vermehrte er auch die Gnadenfülle seiner Bischofsstadt durch einen imposanten Reliquienfond, den er eigens aus Italien transferierte, wo heilige Knochen zu den edelsten Bodenschätzen zählen.

Beträchtlichen Einfluß auf Otto II. übte Erzbischof Willigis von Mainz aus (975–1011), der als Ottos Erzkapellan und Erzkanzler für Deutschland amtierte, wo er noch heute als Heiliger verehrt wird, nicht zuletzt in Mainz.

Gewicht in der Regierung hatte auch, zumal seit der fast völligen Ausschaltung der Luitpoldinger, Bischof Hildibald von Worms, seit Herbst 977 Leiter der deutschen Königskanzlei; ein Amt, das er als erster Kanzler auch nach der Ernennung zum Oberhirten bis zu seinem Tod behielt. Dabei veranlaßte er zugunsten seiner episkopalen Macht, zur Sicherung und Erweiterung verschiedener Besitz- und Rechtstitel des Bistums, «die Fälschung oder Verfälschung von 18 Königsurkunden des 7.–10. Jahrhunderts» (Seibert). Und wie Erzbischof Willigis, ist auch dieser versierte Seelenhirte dann viele Jahre an der Vormundschaftsregierung für den Sohn und Nachfolger beteiligt. (Und Bischof Burchard von Worms, einer «der bedeutendsten Kanonisten des Frühmittelalters» [Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche], hat dann diese «Fälschungsaktivität» [Landau] mit «skrupelloser Feder» [Seckel] fortgesetzt.)

Bishop Hugo of Würzburg (q83-99o), a member of the imperial chapel, played a role at Otto 11th's court, as did the noble abbot Adso of Montier-en-Der (later known as the author of a treatise on the coming of the Anti- Christ) and the learned Gerbert of Aurilac, abbot, archbishop and finally pope (Silvester **II).ı**

The son thus continued his father's politics, especially his ecclesiastical policy, not least in the east and north, albeit with less 'power', and had the bishops almost united behind him. In Italy, however, he went even further than Otto I had set out, intending from the outset to conquer the south of the country in order to rule it completely.

WARS FOR BxYsRN AND BOHMEN

Although his accession to the throne went smoothly, the new ruler soon suffered the same fate as the old one. For seven years at least, Otto 11 initially had to fend off strong opponents at home, especially from the Christian circle of relatives, above all Henry II of Bavaria (Q55M7 ˛ 9 5MP5I-

The duke, whose nickname of the brawler (rixosus) was first used in the

And while his father Henry I of Bavaria was once the most dangerous opponent of Otto I, his brother, in his early years of rule, his son, Henry the Quarrelsome, soon became Otto II's most dangerous opponent in domestic politics. The power of the ambitious Bavarian was obviously enormous. It extended from the so-called Nordmark, today's Upper Palatinate, across the Bavarian heartland around the Isar, Inn and Danube, across the Ostmark, today's Austria, to the Italian Marches of Aquileia and Istria.

The reasons for Heinrich's elevation are not entirely clear, but

Rivalry motives, greed for power, the expansion of power, dreams of regency and feelings of threat were behind this. The indignation

The rebellion ls74M77) ftlnd backing from the remaining Luitpoldians alone, quickly spread to Swabia and Lotharingia, and even to Bohemia and Poland. In the process, the Bavarian

Bishops Abraham of Freising and two saints in the flesh, St. Wolfgang, Bishop of Regensburg, and St. Alboin, Bishop of Brixen, sided with the rebel. (And St. Wolfgang, educator of the duke's children, turned the quarreller's son into another, even more glorious s a i n t , whom we will unfortunately only meet in the next volume: St. Emperor Henry II.) But the bishops of Trier, Metz and Magdeburg also sided with the Bavarian. After all, bishops

"repeatedly took the side of the rebels in the Ottonian period", namely "as a rule bishops ... from the noblest noble families" (Althoff/Keller).

Since the plot was betrayed, Heinrich came to Ingel-

heim in custody. At the beginning of s7, he fled to Regensburg, which Otto II captured in the same summer after various military clashes in Bavaria, while the bishops fighting in his army excommunicated the brawler and his followers, but he himself escaped to Bohemia.

In the East, too, good Catholic princes stood against the good Catholic emperor. For example, the Pole Mieszko I, who had eagerly promoted the mission since his baptism and thus completed the "connection to Christian Europe" (Lübke). Shoulder to shoulder with him: his brother-in-law Boleslav II, unlike his father Boleslav I the -Graiisame- (p. 404 ff.) with the By-

name -'the Pious- (9 7 i973 loqq); a zealous patron of the clergy, builder and decorator of allegedly zo

churches, several monasteries, including the nunnery where his sister Milada became abbess under the name of Maria. The Prague cathedral dean Cosmas (d. i izy) saw in his

-Chronica Boemoriim', the first Bohemian chronicle, in Bo- leslav II, the rebel against the Christian emperor, was virtually

"the true and pure love of Christ" glows. "Everything that righteousness

'When it came to Catholicism, the Catholic faith, the Christian religion, he took it o n with zeal.

But Otto II also attacked the Christ-loving Tsehechen prince, the ally of the rebellious brawler, with fiery zeal in three campaigns. He devastated Böhf£lfl< 975 and 7*. but, despite a strong army, was unable to defeat the
both nothing at all. On the contrary, a large Bavarian aid organization
The 2nd troop was annihilated in a camp near Pilsen on the march to Orto's support, as Bavaria was once again divided. -The Bavarians were watching in the evening, without securing themselves with guards. The armored enemy was already there, struck down those running naked towards him in their tents and on the meadows and returned home happy and unharmed with all the spoils (Thietmar).

While the emperor was operating in Bohemia, the quarrelsome Bavarian took advantage of t h e time in Bavaria and the "Revolt of the Three Henrys" took place, which was even joined by powerful Saxons such as Margrave Gunther of Merseburg and Count Dedi of Wettin. Henry of Bavaria now occupied the episcopal city of Passau, which was important for the connection to Bohemia. This happened together with the
Henry the Younger, the son of Duke Berthold from the influential Luitpoldinger dynasty, who had just been elevated to Duke of Carinthia by Otto and was now waging a vile war against him.
pe. Meanwhile, the third Henry, Bishop Henry I of Augsburg, also from Luipold, secured the Danube route, above all by occupying the strategically important Neuburg.

It was not until August sz7 that Otto was able to subdue Bohemia on a third military campaign and also conquer Passau in September. He left
and banished the three Henrys at the Magdeburg court meeting in spring 97. The brawler was sent to Utrecht to Bishop Folkmar,
before Otto II's chancellor, and remained there until the
death of the emperor. The bishop then released him and joined him. Duke Henry III the Younger of Carinthia was also put behind bars for five years, whereas the third in the alliance,

Bishop Henry of Augsburg, was only imprisoned for about four years.

Monate in Werden verwahrt. Den Zänker aber hatte der Kaiser nicht nur abgesetzt, er hatte inzwischen auch rigoros das Herzogtum beschnitten, nämlich Kärnten sowie die seit 952 zu Bayern gehörenden Gebiete südlich der Alpen davon getrennt, die oberitalischen Marken Friaul, Istrien Aquileia, Verona, Trient, die zu Kärnten gekommen waren.[6]

Im übrigen ging es mit Krieg im Osten weiter.

Der polnische Staat, um die Mitte des 10. Jahrhunderts entstanden (S. 461 f.), dehnte sich aus und nahm es offenbar mit seinen «Verpflichtungen» so wenig genau wie die Slawen zwischen Elbe und Oder. Deshalb stellte Otto durch einen Feldzug 979 nicht nur deren Abhängigkeit wieder her, sondern nötigte auch die Polen zu erneutem Tribut. Als Katholik Mieszko I. freilich nach dem Tod seiner böhmischen Frau Dobrawa (977) die hochadelige sächsische Nonne Oda aus dem Kloster heraus heiratete, war dies zwar zunächst verdrießlich für Bischof Hildiward von Halberstadt, doch zweifellos zum Vorteil für die weitere Verbreitung der Frohen Botschaft in Polen. Immerhin verfügte Mieszko, der «König des Nordens», über eine Gefolgschaft von 3000 Gepanzerten. Und während sich nun die deutsche und polnische Seite immer näher kamen, erkalteten gleichzeitig Polens Beziehungen zu Böhmen, ja es kam zwischen den zwei katholischen Ländern zu schweren Auseinandersetzungen, wobei Mieszko Schlesien größtenteils und Kleinpolen ganz erobert hat.[7]

Militärische Konflikte gab es auch im Westen.

KRIEG UM LOTHARINGIEN

Einst hatte dort Otto I. seinen Bruder Brun, den Kölner Erzbischof, zum Herzog gemacht und dieser die dortigen Bischofsstühle mit seinen Schülern besetzt und auch derart das unsichere Grenzland an das deutsche Reich gebunden.

Die bischöflichen Kirchen, auch in Lotharingien seit langem reich, wurden jetzt noch reicher und unabhängiger durch die

The Saxon emperors, who were opposed to the prelates' claims by the secular greats. This led to' -as8 they entrusted the bishops and abbots with many a right previously reserved to the counts or left its exercise to them without special authorization. Thus there is almost no precise information about the transfer of the right to mint coins, and yet in the last decades of the io. Nevertheless, the bishops had coinage workshops in their hands in the last decades of the io. Some levies from trade, including the appointment of a count chosen by them, were left to them ... Finally, the emperors showered the prelates with estates, giving them palaces, forests, hunting rights and even entire counties. Over the course of a century, from qyo to ioyo, the bishoprics were transformed into autonomous principalities whose sole lords were the prelates. In some cases, this led to the creation of impressive territories, giving rise in Lorraine to what history calls the 'Trois-Evéchés' (Three Bishoprics) (Parisse).

After Brun's death, his duchy remained unoccupied until <* - - 977 to the West Frankish Carolingian Charles, the younger brother of the Franconian King Lothar (qy -986).

Charles, the penultimate descendant of Charlemagne in the purely male line, thus descended from the Carolingian dynasty on his father's side and the Ottonian dynasty on his mother's side, was the younger son of King Louis IV of France and his wife Gerberga, the sister of Otto 1, and was disadvantaged in many respects by his brother Lothar. For his part, however, he had seriously offended his wife Emma, a first daughter of Empress Adelheid, by accusing her of adultery with Lothar's former chancellor, Bishop Adalbero of Laon (a nephew of Archbishop Adalbero of Rheims). And since Charlemagne's appointment as Duke of Nicderlotharingia 197 QI), Lothar must have feared the rivalry of his unfortunate brother, this sad victim of the ongoing power struggle between the French and German kingdoms¡ he must have found it threatening, especially since the rivalry he had created - against the Carolingian

Tradition – vom Thron ausgeschlossene, überdies mit keinerlei Besitz ausgestattete Karl Anspruch auf die französische Krone erhob.

Als daher Otto 977 das vakante Herzogtum Niederlotharingien Karl gab, provozierte er den mit seinem Bruder zerstrittenen König Lothar, der darauf eine Rückeroberung Lotharingiens unternahm. Schon Lothars Name hatte programmatische Bedeutung, schon sein Vater, König Ludwig IV., nicht zufällig mit der lotharingischen Herzogswitwe Gerberga verheiratet, 939 Lotharingien militärisch zurückzugewinnen versucht, überhaupt das westfränkische Königtum seinen Anspruch auf Lotharingien nie aufgegeben. Blitzartig fiel dort Lothar im Juni 978 mit starken Kräften ein und stieß, unterstützt von Herzog Hugo Capet, bis Aachen vor, wobei ihm ein Handstreich auf seinen Schwager Otto II., der gerade in der Pfalz weilte, knapp mißlang.

Mönchschronist Richer von Reims schildert als unmittelbarer Zeitzeuge den Überfall in seinem für Frankreichs Geschichte im ausgehenden 10. Jahrhundert wichtigen Werk (lediglich in dem Autograph des Autors tradiert und erst im 19. Jahrhundert in Bamberg wieder entdeckt): «Die königlichen Tische wurden umgeworfen, die Speisevorräte von den Troßknechten geplündert, die königlichen Insignien aus den inneren Räumen geraubt und fortgetragen. Den eisernen Adler, der auf dem Giebel der Pfalz von Karl dem Großen in fliegender Stellung aufgerichtet worden war, drehten sie nach Osten, denn die Germanen hatten ihn nach Westen gedreht, um so auf feine Art anzuzeigen, daß die Gallier durch seinen Flug einmal besiegt werden könnten.»

Nur durch Flucht entging Otto II. der Gefangenschaft. Im Herbst 978 aber drang er im Gegenangriff mit einem Heer vor, in dem nicht nur Herzog Karl von Niederlotharingien, sondern auch wieder ein wirklicher Heiliger, der hl. Wolfgang, kämpfte – ausgebildet an der Reichenauer Kloster-, an der Würzburger Domschule; durch den Helden von Augsburg, Bischof Ulrich, Priester; auf Veranlassung vor allem des großen Urkundenfälschers Bischof Pilgrim seit Januar 973 Bischof von Regensburg; 1052 heiliggesprochen: Patron der Holzhauer, Zimmerleute, Hir-

skippers, helpers with eye and foot ailments, back pain, but also -General" emergency helper. Later, axes worn on the rosary, the so-called "Wolfgangshacke", were often sold as "Wolfgang medals", "hence the chopping brotherhoods". During his lifetime, he promoted "the piety and morality of the people", and as a bishop he continued the strict life of the monk; he divided his time between prayer, official work and study (Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche) - and occasional small campaigns, such as those against the evil West Franks (French).

However, the Magdeburg canon and zealous missionary archbishop Brun von Quedurt, under the impression of the Cluniac reforms and personal animosities, condemned the king's invasion of France and wrote: -It would be better to fight zealously against the pagans instead of gathering a stately army against the Christian brothers, the Carolingian Franks.-A Catholic pacifist and saint, as he is in the book: -Enforced the principle of peaceful mission of persuasion without rejecting missionary war outright" (Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche).

Otto II advanced almost as far as Paris in the fall of97 , devastating and burning down everything (Thietmar), but sparing churches and monasteries. Yes, he gave them gifts and prayed in them¡ but he also destroyed the old Carolingian palaces at-
tigny, Soissons and Compiegne, a serious loss of the power of western kingship. And before the approaching winter, lack of food and the outbreak of disease forced him to retreat in November, he gathered all the priests in his army on Montmartre and had them thunder a hallelujah over the city.

St. Wolfgang, the eloquent preacher of a living gospel, also cried out at the time: "Behold, this is what faith does, it bears such fruit." And when he jumped into the water over the swollen Aisne during the glorious retreat, his followers followed him before the pursuing French. -No one lost his life-, report Wetzer/Zelte - almost a miracle.

der. In Wirklichkeit freilich erlitt der ottonische Troß hier eine Schlappe, die sich der französischen Geschichtsschreibung gar zum Triumph verklärte, während die deutsche schrieb: «Der Kaiser kehrte mit Siegesruhm bedeckt heim . . .» (Thietmar). Beide Seiten siegten – auch das kennen wir noch.

Karl, der Herzog von Niederlotharingien, versuchte die Stunde zu nutzen und proklamierte sich 979 in Laon zum König, scheiterte indes wie immer, vor allem an den Machtstrukturen im Westfrankenreich, nicht zuletzt auch am Episkopat, der ihm u. a. sein Vasallentum bei einem fremden Fürsten sowie seine «Mißheirat» vorhielt. König Lothar aber gab infolge innerer Schwierigkeiten bei einer persönlichen Begegnung mit Kaiser Otto im Mai 980 in Margut-sur-Chiers (bei Ivois) angeblich seine Ansprüche auf Lotharingien gänzlich auf. Doch bald nach Ottos Tod sicherte er sich ein Faustpfand. Er besetzte 984 Verdun und wiederholte nach seiner Vertreibung die Besetzung im nächsten Jahr.[8]

Auch der Kampf um den Thron ging weiter. Noch mehrmals griff Herzog Karl nach der Macht. Mag sein, daß er gelegentlich etwas extravagant vorging, wenn er etwa bei der Einnahme Cambrais – es blieb nicht unbezweifelt – sofort nach Verjagung der Grafen die teure Gattin rief, um mit ihr in rauschenden Orgien den Reichtum des Prälatenhofes zu verprassen und im bischöflichen Bett zu schlafen; aber so ungewöhnlich war das ja wohl nicht.

Karls letzter Kraftakt, wobei er wiederholt auch Bischof Adalbero aus Laon verscheuchte, endete in eben dieser Festung, nachdem sich der Prälat in alter Pfaffenschläue mit Karl ausgesöhnt, mehr und mehr befreundet und diesem «mit den heiligsten Eiden» (Glocker) seine Treue versichert hatte. Doch in der Nacht nach dem Palmsonntag im März 991 lieferte Bischof Adalbero die Festung samt Karl dessen damaligem Gegenspieler, dem französischen König Hugo Capet aus, der ihn nebst Familie in seinen Kerker nach Orléans warf, in dem Karl zu einem unbekannten Zeitpunkt gestorben ist.

Auch im Norden wurde Otto II. tätig.

WAR I NORTH

The Franks had expanded their empire in all directions, including towards Scandinavia. The important trading center of Haithabu (Hedeby) in northern Schleswig played a particularly prominent role in the history of the war. It was located on Danish territory, although not far from the border with the Saxons, who were once not among the

In J>- 4, King Gudfred (G'attrik) had negotiated from Haithabu with Charles the Great, who stood on the other side of the Elbe and, contrary to custom, had two

had to wage defensive wars against the aggressive Danes

(IV 495).

However, he also wanted to protect himself and was probably already working on the Danewerk (-Göttrikswall-, named in written sources in 8o8), the mighty fortification of the long wall type that also touched Haithabu, which the Danes built from the 8th to the end of the in. The Danes built this fortification from the 8th to the end of the 16th century to block access to Jutland between the North and Baltic Seas; a defense system primarily against Franks and Germans. In the q. St. Ansgar, the first Archbishop of Hainburg-Bremen (p. Ryo ff.), who preferred to work in Denmark and southern Sweden at long-distance trading posts, also built a church in Haithabu, which made the trading post the preferred destination for Christian merchants (Riis).

In the zo. Henry I's victory over Gnuba P34 near Haithabu pushed the border up a little. Then **Otto** 1. forced the Danes, with whom Germans and Chri-

The German emperors, who hated the Danes, used force to introduce the Good News. And as late as Easter s7i, Harald Gormsson Blauzahn (p. 47s), the first Christian Danish king, had the German Emperor

interest", but apparently had to do so the following year.

no longer felt like it. An uprising broke out and the Danes invaded northern Albingia in the spring of 974 in alliance with the Norwegian Jarl Hakon, a pagan. Otto repulsed them in the fall,

stieß über das Danewerk am Nordrand der Mark bei Haithabu vor und errichtete jene Zwingburg bei Schleswig, welche die Dänen 983 erstürmten und zerstörten. War aber 974 die erste Folge der dänischen Niederlage die weitere Ausbreitung der christlichen Mission im Norden, nebst weiteren Tributleistungen, versteht sich, so lebte nach dem Sieg der Dänen das Heidentum bei ihnen wieder auf. Die deutschen Priester wurden aus dem Land gejagt, alles Deutschtum und Christentum ging jäh zugrunde.[9]

Die gewaltige Slawenrevolte des Jahres 983, bei der die Liutizen mit Hevellern, Redariern, Obodriten sich erhoben, soll bezeichnenderweise von einer Versammlung in der Tempelburg Rethra (Riedegost), wo man den Kriegsgott Svarozic (bzw. Radogost) besonders verehrte, ausgegangen sein, dem Zentralheiligtum (metropolis Sclavorum) aller nordwestslawischen Stämme. Sie siedelten zwischen Elbe/Saale und Oder, wo sie vor den Ottonen die Autonomie genossen, bis Otto I. und sein Markgraf Gero ihre Fürsten beseitigten und sie durch ein Netz von Burgwarden und Kirchen knechteten. In einem wütenden Sturm aber fegten sie nun ihre deutschen und christlichen Unterdrücker östlich der mittleren Elbe hinweg, zerstörten die Bischofssitze, mordeten, versprengten den Klerus und sicherten sich für eineinhalb Jahrhunderte ihre Unabhängigkeit (1068 verheert dann Bischof Burchard von Halberstadt das Liutizenland und raubt das in Rethra verehrte heilige Roß.)

Markgraf Thiedrich und Herzog Bernhard I. von Sachsen (973–1011), der 973 die Nachfolge seines Vaters Hermann Billung angetreten und durch Jahrzehnte gegen Dänen und Slawen gekämpft, hatten die Menschen im Nordosten unterjocht, ausgeraubt, auch die Missionare sich nicht beliebter gemacht. Selbst Bischof Thietmar, der doch die «Schandtaten» der «Empörer», der «habgierigen Hunde» geißelt, eröffnet seine Schilderung des großen Slawenaufruhrs: «Völker, die nach Annahme des Christentums unseren Königen und Kaisern zu Tribut und Diensten verpflichtet waren, griffen, bedrückt durch die Überheblichkeit Herzog Dietrichs, in einmütigem Entschluß zu den Waffen.» Und bei seiner Erwähnung des Obodritenüberfalls auf die Burg Calbe

an der Milde, wo die Slawen auch das Laurentiuskloster niederbrannten, gesteht er, sie «setzten den Unsrigen wie flüchtigen Hirschen nach, denn auf Grund unserer Missetaten (facinora) hatten wir Angst, sie aber guten Mut.»

Viel deutlicher noch läßt der trotz mancherlei Irrtümern wohlunterrichtete, reiche Quellen verwertende und auch (geistliche) Augenzeugen heranziehende Domherr Adam von Bremen (gest. vor 1085) die «Missetaten» der Christen erkennen. So notiert er nach Meldung eines großen Heidengemetzels und dem Angebot der Unterlegenen von 15 000 Pfund Silber: «Die Unseren kehrten triumphierend heim; vom Christentum aber war gar nicht die Rede. Die Sieger waren nur auf Beute bedacht.»

Gleich darauf berichtet er ein Gespräch mit einem «höchst wahrhaften» Dänenkönig, offenbar mit Sven Estrithson, bei dessen Konferenzen mit Erzbischof Adalbert von Hamburg Domscholaster Adam zugegen war, wobei er hörte, «daß die Slawenvölker ohne Zweifel schon längst vorher hätten zum Christentum bekehrt werden können, wenn die Habsucht der Sachsen dem nicht im Wege gestanden hätte; ‹denn›, sagte er, ‹diesen steht der Sinn mehr nach der Zahlung der Steuern als nach Bekehrung der Heiden›. Und die Elenden bedenken nicht, welcher Strafen sie sich durch ihre Gier schuldig gemacht haben, da sie zuerst in Slavanien das Christentum aus Habsucht störten, dann die Unterworfenen durch ihre Grausamkeit zum Aufstand zwangen und nun das Seelenheil derer, die zum Glauben kommen würden, unbeachtet lassen, weil sie von ihnen nichts weiter verlangen als Geld.»

Adam von Bremen erblickt in der Erhebung ein Gottesgericht, eine Züchtigung «unserer Ungerechtigkeit» und meint: «Denn in Wahrheit, wie wir, so lange wir sündigen, uns von den Feinden überwunden sehen, so werden wir, sobald wir uns bekehren, über unsere Feinde Sieger sein, und wenn wir von diesen nur den Glauben forderten, so würden wir gewiß den Frieden haben und hätten zugleich auch das Heil jener Völker begründet.»

Schon 980 war Bischof Dodilo von Brandenburg durch seine Diözesanen erdrosselt worden. Nun, am 29. Juni 983, zerstören

die Liutizen das Bistum Havelberg, dessen Besatzung sie niedermachen, dessen Kirchen sie ruinieren. Was ans Christentum erinnert, wird vernichtet. Drei Tage später stürmen sie Brandenburg, wo schon zuvor Bischof Folkmar I. sich durch seine Flucht um das Martyrium bringt, dann auch, in letzter Minute, Markgraf Thiedrich samt seiner Mannschaft flieht. Der zurückgebliebene geringere Klerus wird gefangen, zum Teil getötet, der Dom verwüstet und ausgeraubt, die Leiche des von den Seinen strangulierten Dodilo, der beim Eintreiben der Zehnten sich besonders verhaßt gemacht und schon drei Jahre im Grab lag, aus dem Sarg gerissen, entkleidet – «die habgierigen Hunde plünderten sie aus und warfen sie dann achtlos zurück. Alle Kostbarkeiten der Kirche wurden geraubt und das Blut Vieler elendiglich vergossen. An Stelle Christi und seines Fischers, des hochwürdigsten Petrus, wurden fortan verschiedene Kulte teuflischen Aberglaubens gefeiert; und nicht nur Heiden, sondern auch Christen lobten diese traurige Wendung!»[10]

Im Norden überschritt seinerzeit der Obodritenfürst Mistui, ein Christ, dem auf allen Feldzügen der Kaplan Avico zur Seite stand, die Elbe, stieß raubend und verheerend auf Hamburg vor, plünderte es und ließ die Kathedrale samt der Stadt in Flammen aufgehn. Und derlei «Kriegshandlungen» durch «getaufte Fürsten» sollen seinerzeit «nichts Außergewöhnliches» (Friedmann) gewesen sein.

Doch geschah so Fürchterliches natürlich nicht ohne allerhöchste Handreichung, buchstäblich. Und dies, ein phantastisches miraculum, erzählt unser Bischof, «sollte voller Andacht die gesamte Christenheit beachten. Eine goldene Hand griff aus höheren Regionen herab, faßte mit ausgestreckten Fingern mitten in die Brände und zog sich, allen sichtbar, gefüllt wieder zurück. Staunend sahen es die Krieger, erschreckt und entsetzt Mistui.» Für Bischof Thietmar, kein Zweifel, ein himmlischer Rettungsakt zugunsten der Reliquien! «Gott hat auf diese Weise die Reliquien der Heiligen ergriffen, in den Himmel aufgenommen, die Feinde aber voller Schrecken in die Flucht getrieben» – obschon damals ja nur Christen flohen, Deutsche, vor dem Sla-

wenchristeri Mistui, for whom the whole thing, reality and wonder, had a fatal effect on his stomach and mind. For: "Later, Mistui went mad and was put in chains; when he was sprinkled with holy water, he cried out: -'St. Lauren- tius burn me!' and died miserably without regaining h i s freedom."

But after the Slavs on foot and on horseback and without losses, "with the help of their gods led by trombone blowers", had raged far and wide, the Christians renounced them. The Archbishop of Magdeburg, Giseler, the great bribery specialist (p. yzi f., 6i f.), who was particularly favoured by the Liutices, and Bishop Hildeward of Halberstadt united their warriors with the troops of the noble Margrave Thiedrich and other count's journeymen. -They all," says Thietmar von Mersebiirg, "h e a r d mass on Saturday morning, strengthened body and soul through the heavenly sacrament, broke into the oncoming enemies with trust in God and struck them down; only a few were able to escape to a hill. The victors praised God, who is so wonderful in all his works, and once again the true words of our teacher Paul proved themselves true: 'There is no wisdom, nor valor, nor counsel against the Lord.

However, even if this slaughter on the Tangier (south of Stendal) in August q83 threw the Slavs back across the Elbe, the victors no longer followed them. The very next day they returned -The entire army, with the exception of three, returned home cheerfully and acclaimed by all, like triumphant butchers. Otto's - the Great- conquest (his -border protection and his missionary work": Hlawitschka) east of the Elbe was lost, the Elbe the eastern border of the empire. And Otto II was unfortunately no longer able to carry out "his own activities" there.
(Hlawitschka). Further Christian campaigns - after s 3, wars were waged against the Liutizi almost every year - achieved nothing. For about iyo years, the Elbe Slavs were able to become independent.

Only towards the middle of the iz. The bishops of Brandenburg and Havelberg returned to their seats in the middle of the 19th century. Only the Sorbian territories in the south, which were not involved in the uprising, remained under German rule. These

Sorbs did not slay the MİssionarS, but mocked them. Their leaders, sometimes even called kings, did not allow themselves to be baptized with their tribes, as was so often the case with the north-western Slavs. -These Slavic princes apparently perished in the Central Elbian lands due to their resistance to Germanness and Christianity¡ no source reports of their descendants (Schlesinger)."

CxPO DI COLOGNE - THE FIRST BIG NOVEL OF THE OTTONIAN DASTIE

In Italy, Otto, who wanted to further increase his father's commitment there, was probably concerned from the outset with attack and expansion. However, when he moved to the south in the autumn of q8o, it was, according to his confession, primarily for the sake of church property, to return stolen church property and property squandered by the bishops to the churches. He had already made gifts to religious houses and bishoprics, such as St. Gallen and the diocese of Chur. Then it was the turn of the northern Italian bishoprics and monasteries to receive gifts, and finally, from Rome, those further south."

Not everything was going well in the Holy City either.

John XIII, who 7 had crowned the twelve-year-old Otto II as co-emperor, had been succeeded by Benedict VI (s73M74) The imperial party had elected him and Otto I had confirmed him. With ecclesiastical means, he tried to favor his own family as much as possible, but in June s74', when the change of throne in Germany got him into trouble, he was overthrown and locked up in the chapel of Castel Sant'Angelo. There, the new Pope Boniface
VII (9yą, q8ą-98J), described by contemporaries as a monster, was murdered by the priest Stephen and his brother. In the meantime, the imperial missus Count Sikko had approached from Spoleto and Pope Boniface had fled from the agitated Romans to Castel Sant'Angelo. But when Sikko had it stormed, the

te der Heilige Vater entkommen und über Süditalien nach Konstantinopel fliehen – nicht ohne den Kirchenschatz im Gepäck. Und nicht ohne noch zweimal zurückzukehren.

Mittlerweile hatte man im Oktober, mit Billigung des deutschen Vertreters, Papst Benedikt VII. (974–983) bestellt, einen römischen Adligen, mit Fürst Alberich II. verwandt und Kaiser Otto weitgehend gefügig, sowohl bei dessen Kirchenpolitik im Osten Deutschlands, als auch bei seinem antibyzantinischen Unterfangen im Süden. Dafür stützte ihn der Herrscher auch, zumal als Bonifaz VII., den Benedikt – eine seiner ersten Maßnahmen – aus der Kirche ausgestoßen, sich im Sommer 980 wieder in Rom etablierte, ehe er, im folgenden Jahr erneut vertrieben, nach Konstantinopel entwich, um 984 noch einmal zurückzukehren, wohlversehen mit oströmischen Waffen und mit Gold (S. 554).[14]

Der junge Kaiser weilte vom Frühjahr bis Herbst 981 mit Unterbrechungen in Rom, wo er sich entschloß, Sarazenen wie Byzantiner in Unteritalien zu bekriegen und das ganze Land zu erobern.

So mußte er für Nachschub seines Heeres sorgen. Er kommandierte ein gewaltiges Kontingent heran, vermutlich das bisher größte des deutschen Kaisertums. Bemerkenswerterweise bestand es hauptsächlich aus Verbänden deutscher Bischöfe und Äbte. Nach dem Aufgebotsbrief von 981 lieferten zum Beispiel u. a. die Abteien von Prüm, Hersfeld, Ellwangen und St. Gallen je 40 Panzerreiter, die Abteien von Lorsch und Weißenburg je 50, die von Fulda und Reichenau je 60, die Bischöfe von Verdun, Lüttich, Würzburg ebenfalls je 60, die Bischöfe von Trier, Salzburg, Regensburg je 70, die von Mainz, Köln, Straßburg und Augsburg je 100 Panzerreiter. Zwölf Äbte erbrachten immerhin fast halb soviel Soldaten wie neunzehn Oberhirten. Insgesamt stellten in diesem Gesamtanschlag die Jünger des Herrn Jesus, die Prediger der Feindesliebe, die Erzbischöfe, Bischöfe und Äbte 1482 Panzerreiter, die sogenannten weltlichen Herren nur 508! Doch liegt mit diesem undatierten Verzeichnis offenbar nur eine Nachforderung des Kaisers vor.[15]

In Süditalien verfocht Otto II. ausdrücklich kirchliche Ansprü-

che. Anti-pope Boniface VII had fled to Eastern Roman territory and the pope in Rome supported the emperor by elevating Salerno to an archbishopric and granting him a territory that extended far into Byzantine territory. The same applied to the elevation of the diocese of Trani to an archbishopric.]a, while still in Dalmatia, the Pope is said to have agitated against Byzantium and to have withdrawn Du- brovnik from the Greek Church as a separate archbishopric and placed it under Roman obedience.

Apparently, Otto first decided on war in Rome and then requested the xioo armored horsemen from ecclesiastical and secular grandees for reinforcement. While he a d v a n c e d as far as Calabria, the Byzantine garrisons remained neutral, but did not open the gates to the emperor. However, the Emir of Sicily, Abul Kasim, who had already made conquests in Calabria and Apulia, called for a holy war and confronted the Germans at Capo di Colonne, south of Cotrone, in mid-July q8z with a huge force that had moved onto the mainland. -On both sides, the fighters were focused on the afterlife (Uhlirz).

The imperial armored horsemen shattered the Saracen battle lines in the first assault, blowing them apart. The emir himself fell under a sword blow and was venerated as a holy martyr. But while the Christians, after great initial successes and in the belief that they h a d already achieved victory, planned to encamp on the battlefield and celebrate their triumph, the fvlosIems, reinforced by reserves, broke out of the mountains, pushed the Germans towards the sea, slaughtered them, killed some of their leaders, several dukes and a dozen counts, captured others, including Bishop Peter of Vercelli, who remained in Arab custody for years, captured the relics and left some dead Christians in the forest. Others perished fleeing from thirst and exhaustion. Almost every German Book of the Dead contains an entry commemorating a casualty in the unfortunate battle" (C.M. Hartmann).

It was the first major defeat of the Ottonian dynasty.

Fast das ganze deutsche Heer kam um. «Gott weiß ihre Namen» (Thietmar). Auch Bischof Heinrich von Augsburg, der kurz zuvor, vermutlich im Gefolge des Kaisers, eine Bußwallfahrt nach Rom gemacht, fiel zwischen seinen Panzerreitern. Otto rettete sich aus dem Inferno im letzten Augenblick schwimmend auf ein vorüberfahrendes byzantinisches Schiff, von dem er sich später, durch eine List, schwimmend wieder in Sicherheit brachte – und bekam kurioserweise durch den Bischof Otto von Freising das renommistische Epitheton «Pallida mors Sarracenorum» (bleicher Tod der Sarazenen), das bis tief in die Neuzeit sein Beiname blieb.

Kaiser Otto, der seit 982 zuweilen den Titel imperator Romanorum augustus gebrauchte, dachte gleichwohl bald an einen Rachezug. Noch auf dem Rückweg gewährte er, wohl nicht zuletzt deshalb, dem Erzbischof von Salerno große Vergünstigungen, ebenso privilegierte er damals mehrere süditalienische Klöster. Freilich bedurfte ein solcher Krieg gründlicher Vorbereitung, und die deutschen Fürsten waren den kaiserlichen Plänen nach dem Fiasko nicht sehr gewogen. Zudem wurden sie durch Dänen und Slawen bedrängt.

Dennoch besprach man bereits ein Jahr später, im Frühsommer 983, auf einem Reichstag in Verona, als deutsche und italienische Magnaten Ottos dreijährigen Sohn zu seinem Nachfolger wählten, neue Truppenaufgebote und beschloß einen weiteren Angriff.

Im Hochsommer 983 drang der Kaiser bis Bari vor, hatte aber keine nennenswerten Erfolge. Im September war er schon wieder, anscheinend malariakrank, in Rom. Und dort starb er plötzlich, nach Ablegung der Beichte und Empfang der Sterbesakramente, erst 28 Jahre alt, am 7. Dezember 983 in den Armen seiner Frau. Die Todesursache ist nicht völlig geklärt. Offenbar erlag er einem Fieber, wohl Malaria. Eine Quelle spricht von dauerndem Darmbluten infolge einer Medikamentenüberdosis, einer Gewaltkur vielleicht gegen die Krankheit.

Als einziger deutscher Kaiser wurde Otto II. in der Vorhalle von St. Peter beigesetzt, nach sieben Jahrhunderten aber sein

Grab beim Neuaufbau der Basilika vernichtet. Zwar erhielt er einen anderen Sarg, doch die antike Urne überließ man «grabschänderisch den Köchen des Quirinals zum gemeinen Gebrauch eines Wasserbehälters» (Gregorovius).[16]

iz. CHAPTER

EMPEROR OTTO III (y8)-IOO2.)

-The missionary work was too closely linked to political goals to find much support among the Wends. Therefore, when the Ljutices unleashed the great uprising in 98, the church work that had been built up with the dioceses of Havelberg, Brandenburg and Oldenburg collapsed completely on the Elbe.

-At the end of the year, the boy king, partly still wearing his child's uniform, goes into the field - Johannes Fried'

-Unab1essingly, the king raids the Slavs with fierce raids - Thittmar von Mtrseburg'

-The imperial duty of protection towards the Roman Church was undoubtedly a very real task for Otto III, and He used the empire's means of power with unprecedented consistency to defend the *libenas* of the Roman Church against the encroachments of secular rulers in Rome." Knuc Corich

Schon zu seiner Zeit hat man ihm den Ehrennamen «Mirabilia mundi», Wunder der Welt, zugedacht, ihn noch im 20. Jahrhundert als «Jüngling im Sternenmantel» (G. Bäumer) verklärt. In der Geschichtsschreibung schwankt sein Charakter- und Tatenbild. Doch ob Otto III. nun ein verführter Schwächling oder ein frühreifes Genie, ein phantastischer Träumer oder mehr «pragmatisch» orientiert, ein Freund fester «Regierungskonzepte» war oder nicht, ob «deutsch» oder «undeutsch», ein Verächter sächsischer Rohheit und Bewunderer byzantinischen Geistes, ob mehr dem weltflüchtigen Asketismus des Eremiten zugeneigt oder der sensiblen Spiritualität eines wie immer «gehobenen» Glaubens, all dies interessiert hier wenig. Entscheidend dagegen ist – und durchaus nicht nur in unserem Rahmen –, daß auch Kaiser Otto III., bei allen Unterschieden im einzelnen zu seinen Vorgängern, allen Abweichungen und Andersartigkeiten, ein Bewahrer des Überlieferten, der «gottgewollten Ordnung», ein Begünstiger der Bischöfe durch eine Fülle von Privilegien und Besitzzuweisungen gewesen, ein weiterer wesentlicher Mehrer reichskirchlicher Macht, ein Förderer des Imperium christianum, des christlichen Europa, ein Potentat, der sich selbstverständlich als «defensor ecclesiae», als Verfechter des Gottesreiches auf Erden fühlte, wobei er unübersehbar gewisse karolingische wie ottonische Traditionen fortsetzte und seine Italien- wie vor allem seine Ostpolitik letztlich mehr der christlichen Kirche zugute kam als dem deutschen Reich.

Daß die alte Idee der «renovatio imperii Romanorum», der Neugründung der römischen Weltmacht, bei dem christgläubigen Otto III. nicht nur auf das antike Rom bezogen, sondern gewiß

was strongly accentuated in Christian terms, and was also placed on the horizon of salvation (the blue - or black - haze), so to speak, there should be no serious doubt as to whether he himself wanted to be a world ruler or a saint, or both at the same time. The only decisive factor was to retain, consolidate and possibly extend his power, whether the "concept" was oriented one way or the other - if he had one.

THROxxoxRuCT BY HEIHRICH DERKER AND Dls BISCHÖFE

The news of Otto 11's death * December 7 q 3 n Rome arrived in Aachen shortly after Otto III's coronation at Christmas (the messengers traveled an average of 7 kilometers per day at that time).
back) and -put an end to the feast of joy" (Thietmar). Dar-
The rule formally passed to the then three-year-old, the last of the four children that Otto II and Theophanu had together. When the heir to the throne qq¢ came of age according t o medieval law, he was fourteen, and when he died, room, not yet twenty-two.

The dispute over the regency began immediately after his father's death. Duke Henry II of Bavaria - the "brawler", a nephew of Otto - the "Great" and the closest male relative, sought not only the power of government, but also the crown. And since treaties were only valid inter vivos, ending with the death of the other party, Bishop Volkmar of Utrecht had released the duke from the Hah right at the beginning of s84 and hurried with him to Cologne. There, Archbishop Warin, to whom the imperial father had once entrusted the child and his coronation insignia, apparently handed them over without any reluctance. And now the wrangler, which was probably what made his success possible in the first place, used promises and bribery to at least temporarily draw all the Germans to his side.

schen Erzbischöfe – ausgenommen den Mainzer Willigis, der ihn als einziger Reichsmetropolit nie unterstützt hat – sowie fast alle bayerischen, sächsischen und zahlreiche weitere Bischöfe auf seine Seite.

Gerade in Sachsen nützte er die christlichen Hochfeste zu seiner Machtdemonstration. Nachdem er in Magdeburg, dessen Kirchenhaupt Giselher ihn förderte, den Palmsonntag begangen, wurde er während des Osterfestes in Quedlinburg, am 23. März 984, «publice» zum König gewählt; er wurde, berichtet Thietmar, wohl selbst seinerzeit dort, «öffentlich als König begrüßt und durch kirchliche Lobgesänge ausgezeichnet». Dagegen verbanden sich Heinrich nur wenige weltliche Herren, darunter kein Herzog. Wohl aber eilten viele, «die aus Gottesfurcht nicht treubrüchig werden wollten», von Quedlinburg nach der Asselburg (bei Hohenassel südlich Burgdorf, Hannover) und taten sich da bereits – in Form einer coniuratio, eines Schwurverbandes (schon in karolingischen Kapitularien verboten) – offen gegen Heinrich zusammen.

Der Obodritenherrscher Mistui freilich, der noch im Vorjahr während des großen Slawenaufstandes an der Seite seines katholischen Kaplans Avico den Bischofssitz Hamburg niederbrannte, trat im Thronkonflikt auf Heinrichs Seite. Und auch die Slawenfürsten Mieszko und Boleslav II., die Heinrich schon in den siebziger Jahren unterstützten (S. 524 f.), sicherten ihm eidlich Beistand zu. Ja, Katholik Boleslav nutzte die Rebellion auf seine Weise. Auf dem Heimweg eroberte er durch Verrat Meißen, ließ den Burggrafen Rikdag «aus dem Hinterhalt erschlagen», belegte die Veste, in der er bald Wohnung nahm, sofort durch eine Besatzung und verjagte den Ortsbischof Fokold (969–992) für vermutlich zwei Jahre.

Der Aufstand scheiterte allerdings an der Einmischung der Metropoliten Willigis von Mainz und Adalbero von Reims. Und darauf schloß sich auch das Gros der Oberhirten wieder dem siegreichen Otto III. bzw. der vormundschaftlichen Regierung an. Sogar einer von Heinrichs hartnäckigsten Anhängern, Giselher von Magdeburg, der Ottos Vater doch seinen Erzbischofssitz

now switched back to the other camp. There were negotiations, battles, robberies, whereby Adelheid, the eldest daughter of Otto 11th, presumably stolen by the wrangler and later abbess of Quedlinburg (then also of Gernrode, Vreden, Gandersheim), was abducted from Ala Castle (probably near the silver mines near Goslar) - and the many possessions kept there (Thietmar). Finally, however, Henry had to surrender on June qq. June q8§ at the Imperial Diet of Rara (in Thuringian Rohr), surrender Otto to Theophanu and Adelheid and thus renounce the crown'.

IN THE ID FROMMER FnnUES AND DBs KLBRUS

As Adelheid, the wife of Otto I and rival of Theophanus, moved q8y from court to Italy, the young mother Theophanu, who was born around q, reigned over the underage heir to the throne for seven years in a hitherto unusual manner, with two prelates playing a decisive role: Archbishop Willi- gis and the chancellor Bishop Hildibald of Worms, the forger of g royal charters in his favor (p. 5za).

Theophanus' parentage is not known for certain. She was probably the daughter of the Byzantine emperor Romanos II, but she was certainly politically talented, ambitious, even educated and pious. Accordingly, she devoted herself to the education of her son after Otto II's death. Two of her daughters became non-
Sophie Abbess of Gandersheim (p. J74 ff.), Adelheid Abbess of Quedlinburg, her granddaughter Theophanu Abbess of Essen. (Later, during his presence in Italy (since qqy], Otto III made the abbess Mathilde of Quedlinburg, his
aunt, as his deputy in Saxony).

Otto II's widow not only occasionally issued documents as -Theo- phanu by the grace of God Empress", yes, with the masculinized -Theophanius imperator augustus", Lord Emperor Theopha- nius- (if there is no copyist's error), but she also reigned as -Theophanius imperator augustus".

jedenfalls zunächst auch das Reich ziemlich straff. Natürlich war sie vom hohen Klerus umgeben und auch der Thronfolger in dessen Hand. 987 bestellte sie zum Lehrer des Siebenjährigen ihren Günstling Johannes Philagathos, einen Griechen aus Kalabrien, der durch Otto II. im Jahr 980 Kanzler von Italien, durch die kaiserliche Witwe 988 Erzbischof von Piacenza wurde, ein sehr selbstbewußter Prälat, der als Gegenpapst noch ein entsetzliches Schicksal hatte (S. 556 ff.). Und 989 übertrug Theophanu Ottos Erziehung dem sächsischen Kapellan Bernward, dem späteren Bischof von Hildesheim, einem das Kreuz wie das Schwert gleichermaßen sicher handhabenden Heiligen, der noch beträchtlichen Einfluß bei Hof bekam.

Nach dem unerwarteten Tod der jungen Kaiserin in Nymwegen am 15. Juni 991 regierte bis zu Ottos Mündigkeit 994 seine mehr als sechzigjährige Großmutter Adelheid. Die verwandtschaftlich mit halb Europa verbundene Mutter Ottos II., Schwester König Konrads von Burgund und Schwiegermutter König Lothars von Frankreich, «die Mutter der Königreiche», wie sie Gerbert von Aurillac nannte, war wieder sehr fromm und endete als Heilige (Fest 16. Dezember). Selbst das Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche gibt (in der 1. Auflage von 1930) zu: «Unter dem Einfluß Adalberts von Magdeburg wirkte Adelheid bei Otto für die Machtstellung der Kirche.» (Die 3. Auflage von 1993 spricht nur noch von ihrem «politischen Einfluß».) Von der Quedlinburger Äbtissin Mathilde unterstützt, bewies sie in der Tat weit mehr Geschick bei der Begünstigung des Klerus als bei der Führung der Reichsgeschäfte. Sie gründete zahlreiche Klöster und verschwendete das Königsgut mit wachsender Frömmigkeit immer häufiger an Kirchen, denen sie gleich zu Beginn ihrer neuen Macht eine Schenkung nach der anderen zukommen ließ.

Allein die Abtei Selz (Unterelsaß), ihre Lieblingsstiftung, wo sie in ihren letzten Lebensjahren, ehe sie 999 «froh in die ewige Heimat einging», meist wohnte, bekam in den drei Jahren ihrer Reichsverwesung zehn Höfe, sieben Hufen, drei Wälder, die Einkünfte mehrerer Kirchen und Kapellen sowie Immunität, Wahlrecht, Markt, Münze, königlichen und päpstlichen Schutz. So

God could hardly avoid "working numerous miracles at her grave" (Thietmar). Around half of all Adelheid's surviving deeds of donation name monasteries as recipients. She herself did not reside in Pavia, the old Lombard royal city, but in the nunnery of SS. Salvator and Julia, perhaps because its income and extensive possessions were more suitable as a basis for rebuilding her power. The mistress of the realm was influenced by the Cluniac reform, was herself a main supporter of it and was friends with the abbots Majolus and Odilo of Cluny (the latter her biographer).

Not to be forgotten among these imperial ladies is Otto I's daughter Mathilde, who has already been mentioned occasionally and whom her father had already made abbess of Quedlinburg at the age of I. She played a very political role, especially under her brother Otto II, whom she accompanied on trips to Italy, and under Otto III, as whose deputy she established herself in Saxony.

All these dominae imperiales, especially Theophanu and St. Adelheid, her spiritual advisors, especially Archbishop and Imperial Archchancellor Willigis of Mainz, who barely left the young king's side for years, and Chancellor Bishop Hildibald of Worms, had extraordinary influence. The so-called Gandersheim Controversy (574 +.) shows how little Willigis, for example, endowed by the Pope with extensive prerogatives over all the archbishops of Germania and Gaul, cared for Empress Theophanu when it did not suit him. It was at times more of a clergy regiment than a women's regiment; **especially** in the first year of reshälfte 9q3, the bishops Willigis and Hildibald seem to have administered the realm alone" (Böhmer). But even beyond that, "the importance of the two ecclesiastical rulers ... increased even more. On the other hand, the king's prestige declined more and more during the period of tutelary rule" (Glocker). This is also true of other prelates, of Hatto I of Mainz (p. 3¢y) or in the ii. Century of the Metropolitan Adalbert of Hamburg-Bremen and his counterpart Anno 11. of Cologne, -as even-

The bishops, who were entrusted with something like the regency of the empire, acted gloriously and anniaBend (Althoff), sometimes effectively usurping the leadership of imperial affairs.

- Archbishop Giselhcr of Magdeburg also had the following in the years

99a biG 9s4 apparently had close contacts with the Court.

Even in the case of potentates who ruled more or less independently, their immediate surroundings played a ma0- terial role in many respects, not least because without their mediation no one had access to the king¡ his confidants could grant or deny an interview with him.

When Otto qq¢ came of age, the influence of both Adelheid and the two church princes Willigis and Hildi soon declined considerably, as can be seen from their reduced interventions. However, the young monarch promoted other priests. For example, he immediately installed the early friend of his, Canon Heribert, Archbishop of Cologne (q99-102.1), as chancellor in Italy. Four years later - a sign of Otto's high esteem - he also took over the German chancellorship and thus held office for the entire empire. qq6 Otto nominated his chaplain and cousin Briin to the papacy, who then ascended the Holy See as Gregory V

Bishop Leo of Vercelli (q IO2d), the successor to his predecessor Peter, who had been murdered by Margrave Arduin of Ivrea, was also held in high esteem by the young ruler. Leo, an Italian, had been a member of the court chapel since pqä and, alongside Gerbert, was perhaps Otto III's most important political advisor, having been imperial chancellor since iooo, whereby the bishop by no means overlooked his own ntitzen and power, e.g. collecting the estates of Count Arduin and those of his supporters.

Bishop Notker of Liège, who received several counties from Otto and was called upon to undertake several journeys to Italy in the royal service, was also important at court (q8 qo, qq6, qq8-iooz). Frequently involved in governmental affairs and other undertakings of the regent, as well as the recipient of royal gifts and heirs, was the high noble Henry I of Würzburg, who

gave up his episcopal see to his (opposing)

brother and chancellor Heribert, who in return became Archbishop of Cologne (other relatives, presumably nephews, are Bishops Heribert and Gezemann of Eichstätt).

BETwEEN THE PxPST AND THE PxPST

St. Bernward, already mentioned above, who came from the Saxon high nobility, is also a typical representative of the Ottonian imperial episcopate; since q87 II of the court chapel, since
q8q tutor of Otto, be P93 Bishop of Hildesheim. (High ecclesiastical positions also accumulated in his family: uncle Folkmar is Bishop of Utrecht, another relative, Er- chanbald, Archbishop of Mainz, his sister Judith is abbess of the Immedingian monastery of Ringelheim, his aunt Rotgard abbess of the imperial monastery of Hilwartshausen, another relative, Frideruna, abbess of Steterburg).

Despite various educational and governmental activities Bcrnward still has time to raise so-called church

zc)ir, firidet *ez Meity* immcr)iin *steden* ,years {z'xw-zooy), *with*

to fight Archbishop Willigis for the Gandersheim monastery and to win (p. y7 6 ff.); he also finds time to build fortifications (a ring of walls with towers around his episcopal see)
and castles (Mttndburg and Warenholz). •••7 And hei all this, he not only wields the peder for Otto, but also the sword: qq / *99$* against the Elb6lavs, IOOo/iooi before TiYoli and in defeating the city Roman revolt, indeed, he took part, learned is learned, in a military campaign of Henry II of the
saint, but in the year of his death he quickly slipped into
a monk's habit, a Benedictine habit - and also became a saint: ani xi. December I iqT. After all, he was
-Everywhere blessed", "everywhere uur Streiter der heiligen Kirche wegen" (Wetzer/Welte).

Otro was greatly influenced during his stay in Rome.

The young emperor never denied him a wish. As a result of his outstanding knowledge, particularly in the fields of science, mathematics and music, and his truly phenomenal knowledge of Arab culture and the intellectual world, he had already been introduced to Otto 1. q8z Gerbert became abbot of the northern Italian monastery of Bobbio (the prize for his disputation victory in Ravenna in the year ztivor over the Saxon cathedral scholaster Ohtrich before Otto lI). *In 99s* Gerbert was promoted to Archbishop of Reims, where he was unable to stay and even had to fear for his life. qq8 he became Archbishop of Ravenna, and a year later, on the advice of Abbot Odilo of Cluny, Pope (Silvester II).

Even before Otto's coronation as emperor, Gerbert was to be found in the imperial entourage, "and, just as he had already managed to interest the ageing Otto I and then to win the lucrative favor of Otto II through his dialectical skills, he now also knew how to win over the young emperor completely" (Böhmer). He is said to have talked to him day and night.

St. Adalbert, a son of Prince Slavnik of Libice, the most important f-amily in Bohemia after the Plemyslids, also exerted a striking influence on the ruler in Rome. Adalbert became bishop of Prague, but fought in vain against the pagan customs of the Czechs and made a name for himself because of his

In 88 he went to Rome, where Theophanu showered him with gifts, as he was supposed to pray for the salvation of her deceased husband. Although he resumed his seat in Prague pqz, after the break with Duke Boleslav he moved to Aachen around *99fl995* to see Otto III and from there again to Rome, where Otto was also back. And after Otto's return to the north qq6, Adalbert, if he had not already crossed the Alps with the emperor, soon found himself in Mainz, where he was even allowed to share his bedroom with him - like a much-loved valet de chambre (dulcissimtis cubicularius).

Just as the bishop had always done for the young regent, Adalbert's

ältester Biograph, unablässig belehrte, ihn «bei Tag und Nacht» mit «heiligen Gesprächen» anging und «mit süßen Worten zur Liebe des himmlischen Vaterlandes» verlockte. Wie viel oder wie wenig in solchen Heiligenviten der Wirklichkeit auch entsprechen mag, beide hatten einen ungewöhnlich vertrauten Verkehr, und bald ließ der Herrscher dem späteren Missionar und Märtyrer in Aachen, in Rom Adalbertskirchen erbauen und ihn schon 999 kanonisieren.[6]

«UNSER BIST DU . . .»

Otto III. arbeitete mit dem päpstlichen Rom und den Prälaten ständig und eng zusammen. Er kooperierte mit ihnen vielleicht noch intensiver als seine unmittelbaren Vorgänger. Er war Mitglied mehrerer Domkapitel. Nicht weniger als 35 Hofkapläne sind unter ihm bekannt, und über sie konnte die Kirche fortgesetzt und jederzeit mit dem Hof kontaktieren.

Wiederholt führte der Monarch gemeinsam mit dem Papst den Vorsitz auf Synoden. Und mehrfach trat er auch mit diesem zusammen für die Restituierung kirchlichen Besitzes ein. Er stärkte die Macht der Bischöfe durch Immunitätsprivilegien, vermittelte ihnen gute Einnahmen, gab ihnen immer öfter die gerade jetzt stets einträglicher werdenden Markt-, Münz- und Zollrechte, verlieh einigen selbst im Innern Deutschlands ganze Grafschaften, was erstmals und nur vereinzelt unter seinem Vater vorgekommen ist. So überließ er dem Bistum Lüttich die Grafschaft Huy, dem Bistum Würzburg die Grafschaft in den fränkischen Gauen Waldsazin und Rangau, dem Bistum Paderborn eine Grafschaft, die sich über fünf Gaue erstreckte. Unter seinem Nachfolger Heinrich II. erhielten Würzburg und Paderborn weitere Grafschaften. Natürlich verschwanden dort die königlichen Beamten. «Der Bischof war der Inhaber aller weltlichen Gewalt, er war im eigentlichen Sinn des Worts zum Fürsten geworden», ja er sollte «keiner politischen Macht außer dem König unterworfen

sein» (A. Hauck). Ist es doch bereits unter Otto III. «die offizielle Anschauung, daß die geistlichen den Laienfürsten, selbst wenn diese zu der kaiserlichen Familie gehören, im Range voranstehen» (Böhmer).

Otto III., der «imperiale Politik mit missionarischer Tendenz» trieb (Fleckenstein), wie gewiß nicht wenige seiner Vorgänger, war persönlich noch mehr als andere christliche Könige und Kaiser der Religion ergeben und dachte alle seine Taten dem «Nutzen der Kirche» zu (Schramm). Otto III. ist fünfzehn, als er Kaiser wird, und einundzwanzig, als er stirbt! Wie muß dies empfängliche, schwärmerische, lebhafte Gemüt der hohe Klerus um ihn her beeinflußt haben – und der Pietismus seiner Zeit, Askese, Mystik, der cluniazensische Fanatismus. «Unser, unser ist das römische Reich!», jauchzt Gerbert-Papst Silvester brieflich dem Jüngling entgegen. Noster, noster est Romanum imperium. «Unser bist du, Cäsar, Imperator der Römer und Augustus . . .» Unser!

Otto fügt seinem Titel apostolische Devotionsformeln hinzu: «Knecht Jesu Christi», «Knecht der Apostel», «nach dem Willen Jesu Christi römischer Kaiser, der heiligen Kirchen frömmster und getreuester Ausbreiter». Er legt sich wiederholt schwere Bußübungen auf, fastet zuweilen fünf Tage in der Woche, betet manchmal angeblich ganze Nächte. Er läßt sich in Gnesen am Grab des hl. Adalbert geißeln. Er macht im Winter und Frühjahr 999 von Rom aus eine weite Wallfahrt nach Benevent zu Fuß, zum Heiligtum des Erzengels Michael auf dem Monte Gargano. Noch im Sommer geht er nach Subiaco im Sabinergebirge, um sich in das Andenken des hl. Benedikt zu versenken. Mit einem Vertrauten, Bischof Franko von Worms, verschließt er sich vierzehn Tage in einer Höhle (spelunca) neben der Kirche S. Clemente in Rom, um zu büßen. Er weint wiederholt mit frommen Eremiten und führt «Reliquien» Karls «des Großen» mit sich, u. a. einen Zahn, den er von der Leiche an sich nahm. «Unser bist du . . .»[7]

Im September 994 endete mit Ottos Schwertleite, seiner «Wehrhaftmachung» (auf einem, so vermutet man, ohne den Zeitpunkt genau festlegen zu können, Hoftag in Sohlingen), die Vormund-

of the Dowager Empress Adelheid. She then retired to her
He returned to the Alsatian monastery of Selz (p47) and Otto III assumed de facto rule. A devastating campaign led him, supported by Polish and Bohemian troops, to the monastery of Selz in the summer of
'yq$ against the Obodrites in East Holstein and Mecklenburg, whereby he astonishingly expanded the diocese of MeiBen and multiplied the tithes - if the royal charter is not a forgery, as has often been rumored and claimed.

Then the young ruler was driven to the south. He marched qqy out of Regensburg with a song of psa1men. Still in winter, very unusually, he crossed the Brenner Pass, carrying the Holy Lanxe in front of the army, a symbol of his claim to Italy and the empire. In Pavia, the Italian Gauls paid homage to him and took the oath of allegiance. On May 8, Otto appeared before Rome.

3CENES AROUND THE HOLY COW L

As was usual at the time, the papal court w a s quite animated.

In the turmoil following the death of Otto II, Boniface VII (p. 36 f.) returned to the Holy City in the spring of q8, well provided with weapons and gold from Constantinople. He had the reigning pope, the former Italian chancellor of Otto 11, Bishop Petrus of Pavia, JOhann XIV.l9 3M J), mifthandeln, four months in a dungeon of the Castel Sant'Angelo, then starved to death or, according to other reports, poisoned (the epitaphs in St.
Peter discreetly passes over the circumstances of his death). And now reigned as Boniface VII for a year before he himself was liquidated; his pontifical cloak torn off, his naked body destroyed, dragged out of the palace by his legs and through the streets.

Boniface VII, whom the vernacular later called Malefatius, Gerbert of Aurillac "monstrum horrendum", but whom Rome did not install as antipope until IqO¢, was followed at the end of July by the Roman

Johann XV. (985–996). Er verdankte dies, nebst dem Heiligen Geist, offenbar der Familie der mächtigen Crescentier, einem römischen Geschlecht ungeklärter Herkunft (der wissenschaftliche Hilfsname «Crescentier» ist von einem in der Familie häufigen Vornamen abgeleitet). Die Crescentier übten in der zweiten Hälfte des 10. Jahrhunderts und etwas darüber hinaus auf Rom und Teile der Umgebung großen Einfluß aus, wobei sie zeitweise die Hohepriesterschaft der Stadt beherrschten, aber von ihr auch selbst gefördert worden sind. Sie gerieten jedoch immer mehr in einen Interessengegensatz sowohl zu den Ottonen wie zu dem erstarkenden Papsttum.

Die Erhebung Johanns XV., wohl von Patricius Johannes Crescentius durchgesetzt, erfolgte ohne Konsultation des deutschen Hofes. Der Papst, Sohn des römischen Priesters Leo, war kein Freund der Priester, ein Begünstiger vielmehr des Adels und vor allem seiner Verwandten, die er bereicherte, während er selbst wegen seiner Geldgier, Käuflichkeit, seines Nepotismus weithin, gerade auch beim Klerus, verhaßt gewesen ist. Als Johannes Crescentius 988 starb, sein Bruder Crescentius II. Nomentanus sich zum Beherrscher des Kirchenstaates aufschwang, sollen unter seinem Druck «großzügige Bestechungsgeschenke» (Kelly) die Voraussetzung für eine Audienz beim Heiligen Vater gewesen sein. Alles sei käuflich in Rom, erklärte ein Bischof 991 auf einer Synode bei Reims, und die Urteile würden nach dem Goldgewicht abgemessen. Immerhin sprach der geldgeile Pontifex am 31. Januar 993 auf einer Lateransynode Ulrich von Augsburg heilig. Es war die erste formelle Kanonisierung durch einen Papst, und immerhin kanonisierte er einen Bischof, der auf den Kriegszügen zweier Herrscher, Heinrichs I. und Ottos I., das Schwert geschwungen, noch als fast sechzigjähriger Seelenhirte gefochten und ja wohl auch getötet hatte.[9]

Im März 995 floh der Papst vor dem Druck des Crescentius, dem Haß des Klerus nach Sutri und erbat in alter römischer Tradition Hilfe von jenseits der Alpen. Doch noch bevor sie Otto überquerte, kam Johann XV. wieder nach Rom, sogar mit allen Ehren, erlag aber bald einem Fieberanfall.

Beim Anmarsch des Königs gab es bereits in Verona Krawalle, wobei man eine Anzahl seiner Soldaten erschlug. In Pavia erreichte ihn die Nachricht vom Tod Johanns XV. Er designierte darauf in Ravenna, als handelte es sich um die Besetzung eines Reichsbistums, den jungen Brun, seinen Kapellan und Vetter, zum Papst, den Sohn Herzog Ottos von Kärnten, seinerseits ein Sohn Konrads des Roten (S. 426) und der Liutgard, Tochter Ottos I. Der Urenkel des Kaisers bestieg nun als erster Deutscher Anfang Mai 996 unter dem Namen Gregor V. (996–999) den päpstlichen Stuhl, und am 21. Mai wurde der sechzehnjährige Otto III. durch den vierundzwanzigjährigen Papst zum Kaiser gekrönt – die Familie war an der Spitze sozusagen unter sich.

In den nächsten Tagen suchte der Herrscher die römischen Hauptkirchen auf und leitete dann gemeinsam mit Gregor die dreitägige Krönungssynode in der Peterskirche, hauptsächlich Kirchenstreitereien betreffend, den Reimser Streit, den Streit des Bischofs Odelrich von Cremona, der die führenden Kaufmannsschichten der Stadt zu sehr schröpfen wollte, den Streit des Abtes Engizo von Brugnato mit Bischof Gottfried von Luni um das Kloster, wobei der Papst die vom Bischof der Synode präsentierten Urkunden zerriß. Trotz gelegentlicher Spannungen zwischen Kaiser und Papst hat man eben erst das gute Einvernehmen, das «konzertierte Verhalten» (Althoff) beider betont. Schließlich verdankte Gregor dem Vetter sein Papsttum, und so ist es ganz natürlich, daß er die Mönche des Klosters Monte Amiata für den Bestand (stabilitas) des Reiches beten ließ.

Doch kaum hatte Otto Italien den Rücken gekehrt, erhob sich Crescentius und schwang sich zum unbeschränkten Beherrscher der Stadt auf. Noch im Herbst 996 mußte Gregor V. für vierzehn Monate Rom verlassen und kam auch durch zwei Versuche mit Waffengewalt nicht zurück. Er residierte meist in Oberitalien, rief wiederholt den Kaiser durch Gesandschaften um Hilfe und verhängte im Februar 997 auf einer Synode in Pavia über Crescentius den Bann. Eben damals machte man in Rom Johannes Philagathos, den Erzbischof von Piacenza, Pate sowohl von Gregor als auch dem Kaiser, als Johannes XVI. zum Papst, nicht ohne einige

Bestechungen – hat doch sogar der deutsche Reformpapst Gregor V. für seine Entscheidungen Geld eingesteckt, was selbst Otto III. als gerichtsmäßig erwiesen annahm.[10]

Die Vertreibung Gregors durch die Römer und die Erhebung des Johannes Philagathos, des einstigen Freundes der Theophanu, zum Gegenpapst, veranlaßte Otto, zum zweitenmal über die Alpen zu gehn, während in Deutschland für ihn seine Tante Mathilde, Äbtissin von Quedlinburg, regierte.

Der Kaiser erschien Mitte Februar 998 vor Rom. Wie stets war auch jetzt eine Anzahl Prälaten in seinem Heer. So Bischof Notger von Lüttich, ein alter Kämpfer, der mindestens viermal für die Ottonen nach Italien zog, aber auch in nächster Nähe von Lüttich die schwer zu erobernde Burg Chèvremont 987 für immer zerstörte. Der Straßburger Bischof Wilderod zog mit, ebenso eine Reihe oberitalienischer Seelenhirten mit ihren Gewalthaufen. Unter den Äbten sogar Odilo von Cluny, ein echter Heiliger (Fest 2. Januar), der ungeachtet aller Heiligkeit auch viele Jahre mit dem Bischof von Mâcon stritt.

Gegenpapst Johann XVI., der zehn Monate amtiert hatte, versuchte vergebens sich in einem befestigten Turm zu verstecken. Durch eine Schar des Grafen vom Breisgau Birichtilo (Berthold), des Ahnherrns der Zähringer und Gründers des Klosters Sulzburg, wurde er aufgespürt, gefaßt und angeblich mit Billigung Gregors V. wie Ottos III., seines einstigen Schülers, entsetzlich zugerichtet – der Breisgaugraf aber bald (wenn nicht, wie wahrscheinlich, deshalb, so zumindest trotzdem) ungewöhnlich geehrt und beschenkt. So durfte er schon ein Jahr darauf als Vertreter des Kaisers dessen Schwester Adelheid mit einem goldenen, von Rom nach Quedlinburg gebrachten Abtsstab dort als Äbtissin investieren. Und zur gleichen Zeit erhielt der gräfliche Foltermeister ein Markt-, Münz- und Zollprivileg für Villingen im Schwarzwald, um seinen Marktort den Märkten von Konstanz und Zürich gleichwertig zu machen. Ergo: «Seine Tat hat ihn nicht in Ungnade fallen lassen, sondern ihm die kaiserliche Huld in höchstem Ausmaß beschert ... Beide ‹Ehrungen› deuten stark darauf hin, daß sich Birichtilo den Dank des Kaisers in besonderer Weise verdient hatte ...» (Althoff).

And what had the noble Breisgau count accomplished! He had the captured antipope miserably martyred, his hands mutilated, his eyes torn out, his nose, lips, tongue and ears cut off. The Quedlinburg annals emphasize that the perpetrators were not friends of the emperor, but "friends of Christ". However, the man maltreated by the imperial soldiery was now also brought before the Pope, who formally deposed him and treated him according to the ritual of divestiture customary in the Church of Christ. Gregory, a reform-conscious, not uneducated pope, whose epitaph praises his ability to preach in Latin, French and German, now had the blinded, deaf and speechless John XVI wrapped in papal robes once again in the church and tore them off him piece by piece.

In the meantime, a compatriot of the miserable victim, St. Nilus, an 88-year-old old man admired throughout Italy, had rushed over. The emperor and pope brought him into the Lateran full of reverence, kissed his hands and allowed him to take a seat between them. But he expressed only one wish, that poor Philagathos, who had raised them both from the baptism and had now been mutilated by them and robbed of his eyes, should be brought to his cloister for a joint lamentation of the sins he had committed. The emperor, who was supposedly in tears, was prepared to give in. But the pope wanted to enjoy his revenge to the full. Instead of crowning the blind man with a papal headdress, he had him 'crowned with an udder' and, sitting backwards on a donkey with its tail in his hand as a rein - a macabre plagiarism (cf. p. 5 io) - rode through Rome to a monastery dungeon, where he is said to have vegetated for years. If the news is true, Otto apologized to Nilus through a high clergyman, who replied, however, that the emperor and the pope had done to him, indeed to God himself, what they had done to the unfortunate Philagathos, and that God would forgive them as little as they forgave Philagathos. And left Rome the same day."

The rebel Crescentius, however, had fled to Castel Sant'Angelo. It was considered impregnable, was besieged for two months, attacked day and night, it is said, and taken by storm on April 8 by Margrave Ekkehard von MeiBen. April by Margrave Ekkehard von MeiBen. (The emperor generously rewarded the warrior, who was also martial in the east against the Slavs, with land. However, when the room wanted to succeed the childless ruler, he was murdered by a clique of nobles led by Counts Heinrich and Udo von Katlenburg in the Palatinate of Pöhlde, presumably out of personal revenge).

Tammo, the brother of Bishop Bern ward of Hildesheim and a friend of Otto, had sworn to protect Crescentius' life on his orders. Several Italian sources speak of such sworn guarantees of safety, while other contemporary sources confirm at least the gist of it. However, Crescentius had been deceived and, as there was "nothing to mitigate or deny", he had been forced to swear an oath to protect his life at the instigation of a man hostile to him.

Pope was executed as a traitor (Uhlirz). Apparently at the Holy Father's suggestion, he was beheaded together with twelve of his sub- leaders on the highest point of Castel Sant'Angelo, visible to all, and his body was thrown from the battlements, dragged through the marshy streets of Rome by cows and hung upside down with the twelve executed men on a cross on Monte Mario above the Vatican. The **pope** was not xim- perous, and the thought of hanging probably appealed to him. He persuaded a count of Sabina named Benedict, with whom the Holy Father was arguing over stolen church property, to give in by threatening to hang the count's captured son in front of him.

Pope Gregory V, utterly detested by the Romans, died suddenly in the spring *of qg$* - after an efficient administration (Bishop Thietmar) - but hardly from poison, as was rumored, but from malaria. There is also a rumor in the Vita Nili that he was blinded; the pope's eyes were torn out - presumably a literary reaction to his cruelty towards the antipope the year before."

German sources speak of the Roman cesspit, which the emperor had to clean out. They scold Crescentius
-perversus", membrum diaboli". And even Gerd Althoff, who has a lot to say against the emperor and the pope here, wants to exonerate both brutalities by explaining them "less from individual sensitivities such as a desire for revenge, disappointment and bitterness" than by the "rules of the game of the Io. century", the "rules of the time". Inferior parties were granted leniency, but only once, the first time, and w e r e not spared in subsequent cases.

Well, aside from the fact that there are counterexamples, quite a few - those
-rules were *Christian* rules. Christians made them, Christians practiced them. The -time- was not to blame, the man of the time was. But strictly speaking, not even him. The custom, the law, the law, the thinking, the faith of the time were to blame. But all of this had been *Christian* for centuries*!* It should, had to be Christian - at all costs! Even and especially at the cost of life. So we are always interested in what Christians have done in the name of Christianity, the church, the state or on their own initiative, not least against the basic commandments of their religion itself. That alone is our topic. Deeply anti-human, human-humiliating, human-destroying behavior by Christians at all times and everywhere.

In the East, for example. Even the child Otto III had to "earn his spurs" there, according to Wolfgang Menzel, one of the German sharpshooters of the iq. century, "to earn his spurs"."

Erzbischof Giselher besticht, fälscht und kassiert

Die Kriege im Osten, die Feldzüge zumal gegen den elbslawischen Stammesbund der Liutizen zur Anerkennung der deutschen Herrschaft und des Christentums wurden nach dem Aufstand von 983 (S. 532) selbstverständlich erst recht fortgesetzt, immer häufiger. Gerade unter der Regentschaft Theophanus begann da eine aggressive Politik, «in der Hauptsache von Giselher von Magdeburg und Eckhard von Meißen getragen» (Kretschmann).

Erzbischof Giselher, uns schon wiederholt begegnet, entstammte ostsächsischem Adel; «von edlem Wesen und edler Herkunft», nennt ihn Bischof Thietmar, der sonst kaum ein gutes Haar an ihm läßt. Otto I. holte ihn an den Hof und machte ihn 970 zum Bischof von Merseburg. Doch der überaus ehrgeizige, mit allen schmutzigen Wassern gewaschene Kirchenfürst weilte auch künftig weit mehr in der Nähe von Königen und Kaisern als in seinem Sprengel. Er verstand es, die Gunst der Mächtigsten, verstand es, große und zahlreiche Schenkungen zu erhalten, und endlich, wonach sein ganzes Sinnen und Trachten stand, Erzbischof von Magdeburg (981–1004) zu werden. Dies freilich kraft kirchenrechtlicher Bestimmungen erst nach Auflösung des Merseburger Bistums; der Grund, warum Thietmar von Merseburg ihn so haßte, zumal Giselher bei seinem unbändigen Verlangen nach mehr Ansehen, höheren Würden und größerer Wirkung vor wenig zurückschreckte.

So soll er beim Verfolgen seines Zieles selbst den hl. Laurentius beraubt, alle Fürsten und die römische Kurie mit gewaltigen Geldern bestochen und vom Papst enorme Privilegien bekommen haben, darunter das ungewöhnliche Recht, Kardinalpriester, Kardinaldiakone und -subdiakone weihen zu dürfen, wessen sich sonst bloß eine einzige Diözese (Trier) rühmen konnte, wenn auch nur aufgrund einer Fälschung. Und Erzbischof Giselher von Magdeburg (oder ein Komplice von ihm) fälschte ebenfalls, fälschte, als er sich durch die Gründung des Erzbistums Gnesen mit Recht um seinen Einfluß bedroht sah, ein Papstprivileg für

den früheren Erzbischof Adalbert von Magdeburg, worin dessen Bistum der Primat in der «Germania» verliehen und außerdem das Recht auf 12 Kardinalpriester, 7 Kardinaldiakone und 24 Kardinalssubdiakone zuerkannt wurde – Übertreibungen, die sofort unglaubwürdig erscheinen mußten, weshalb die Fälschung auch erfolglos blieb.

Doch ergatterte Giselher entgegen den Verfügungen einer päpstlichen Synode vom September 981 andere bemerkenswerte Vorteile, u. a. die bischöflichen Rechte über sieben, zumeist von heidnischen Slawen besiedelte Burgwarde, womit er den Nordteil des aufgelösten Merseburger Bistums bekam. Er erhielt zwei Eigenklöster, das Kloster Pöhlde und die Merseburger Laurentius-Abtei, beide mit beträchtlichem Grundbesitz. Otto II., der schon dem Merseburger Bischof Giselher 974 den riesigen Forst im Gau Chutizi, einen der größten Waldkomplexe Deutschlands, geschenkt hatte, gab ihm nun auch die Burg Kohren (bei Altenburg) sowie den vordem Merseburg verliehenen Königshof Prießnitz (bei Borna). Dazu riß der Erzbischof offenbar weitere einst merseburgische Liegenschaften an sich, insgesamt «ohne Zweifel den wertvollsten Teil des ehemaligen Merseburger Ausstattungsgutes» (Claude).

Um sein – vom Kaiser gelegentlich gedecktes – Vorgehen zu beschönigen und ursprüngliches Recht zu vertuschen, beseitigte Giselher anscheinend allerlei Aktenkundiges. Zumindest behauptet Bischof Thietmar: «Urkunden, die königliche oder kaiserliche Schenkungen enthielten, verbrannte er im Feuer oder ließ sie durch Veränderung des Empfängers seiner Kirche zuschreiben.» Die Mediävistik bemerkte in diesem Zusammenhang, daß die meisten Merseburger Urkunden von Erzbischof Giselher zwar nach Magdeburg mitgenommen, bei der Wiederherstellung Merseburgs aber nicht zurückgegeben wurden. «Fälschung und Vernichtung weiterer Dokumente sind durchaus möglich» (Claude).

Da Giselher nicht nur sehr karriere- und besitzsüchtig war, sondern auch die Reichsgrenze bloß eine Tagesreise von seiner Residenz entfernt verlief, wird gerade seine Aktivität bei den kaum noch abreißenden Kriegen im Osten verständlich. Mit

The sources regularly report that year after year
-With fire and sword" (incendiis et caedibus) the whole of Slaveland (totam terram) was devastated, whereby the murderous burning was sensibly opened on the "usual date" (JBöhmer), on the Assumption of Mary."

FOURTEEN1'4 **YEARS OF PERMANENT WAR AGAINST THE ELBS LAWEN**

Obviously determined by the current historical constellation, at least part of German medieval studies plays down this continued terror in the East very discreetly. Thus Eduard Hlawitschka, in his "Studienbuch" (!), on the occasion of Theophanus' Ostpolitik, only briefly mentions that the Saxons "repeatedly attacked the Elbe Slavs", on Adelheid's regency, just in half a line, -fights against the Liutices and Abodrites qqi-9q ", and Otto **III** himself leads only two short campaigns against the rebels -in the summer of qpy.

In reality, it is about a continuous war lasting almost fourteen years, in which the empire, initiating a new eastern policy, now also joined forces with the Poles under Mieszko, which had the advantage that the Liutizen could be pinned down from two sides, from the west and the east, or attacked together. (The name "Liutizen" came into use in the course of the to. The name "Liutizen" replaced the older term "Wilzen-.)
Archbishop Giselher, who still stood by Henry the Quarrelsome with the Duke of Poland, probably arranged this alliance.

As early as y85, a Saxon army with the participation of Mieszko invades Liutizenland and devastates it. Two more
The war campaigns of the Germans 9 ufld q 7. are directed at the Liutizen and Boleslav of Bohemia, who refuses to surrender the Mark Meifien lost to him p8d (and recaptured the following year).
give. Mieszko of Poland also supports these attacks, ta, the six-year-old king accompanies the procession of the year q8ö,

apparently to "cheer on" the increasingly tired or even unruly

werdenden Krieger dient. Vermutlich ist, auch wenn nicht direkt bezeugt, bei beiden Heerfahrten Erzbischof Giselher mit von der Partie. Ringsum entsetzliche Verwüstungen, sechsundvierzig feste Plätze werden vernichtet, doch allenfalls Tributentrichtungen erzwungen, keine verlorenen Gebiete wieder gewonnen.

990 erfolgt gleich ein zweimaliger Einfall in den Elbslawenraum, den Thietmar von Merseburg vom Teufel beherrscht sieht. Im ausbrechenden Konflikt zwischen Polen und Böhmen rücken deutsche Truppen unter Erzbischof Giselher und Markgraf Ekkehard von Meißen zur Entlastung der Polen an. Boleslav trickst aber die Deutschen, die im Morgengrauen noch die Messe gehört, aus und läßt Bischof und Graf entwaffnen, bis sie eidlich Frieden schwören.

991 beschließt man, wohl während des hl. Osterfestes in Quedlinburg, mit Mieszko von Polen einen gemeinsamen weiteren Krieg. Otto selbst erobert und verliert noch im selben Jahr mit einem großen sächsischen Aufgebot das viel- und wechselvoll umkämpfte Brandenburg, die Hauptstadt der Heveller, eines Wilzenverbandes, den man seit 983 den Liutizen zuzählt. Wieder dabei ist Erzbischof Giselher. Besonders verdient macht sich Bischof Milo von Minden mit seinen Westsachsen, hier erstmals in einem Gefecht gegen die Liutizen nachweisbar.

992 bricht man erneut zweimal (im Juni und August) ins Liutizenland ein, wobei die frommen Polen in all diesen Kämpfen beispringen. Und zum zweiten Angriff kommt mit einem ungewöhnlich großen Heer nicht nur Otto III. selbst, sondern erstmals auch der christliche Boleslav von Böhmen. So nimmt dieser neue verlustreiche Vorstoß, bei dem der Klerus an der Spitze kämpft und der Fahnenträger Diethard, ein Diakon der Verdener Kirche, fällt, geradezu den «Charakter eines Glaubenskrieges» an (M. Uhlirz).

Dennoch scheint man nicht mehr als Tribute erpreßt zu haben, wenn überhaupt, und in den eigenen Reihen äußert sich sogar Verdruß über die fortgesetzten unergiebigen Züge. Freilich versucht die Vormundschaftsregierung durch Schenkungen an Adel und Klöster in den Grenzgebieten die Kampfbereitschaft zu he-

ben, zumal man nun auch die Böhmen auf seiner Seite hatte. (So erhielt beispielsweise das Stift Quedlinburg 993 umfangreichen Besitz im Havelland, die Orte Potsdam und Geltow sowie eine nicht näher bezeichnete Insel.)

Schon 993 werden gleich drei neue Offensiven der Sachsen gegen die Slawen gemeldet, worauf der König die Bischöfe Hildibald von Worms und Giselher von Magdeburg für besondere Verdienste mit großen Schenkungen belohnt. Schließlich hatte der Magdeburger, wie die Forschung vermutet, bei all jenen Kriegen kaum gefehlt, hatte er gerade in den frühen neunziger Jahren intensive Beziehungen zum Hof Ottos III. unterhalten und galt überhaupt als «Träger der deutschen Ostpolitik» (Claude).

995 erfolgte ein weit und breit das Land verheerender Vergeltungszug Ottos für einen Großaufstand aller Liutizen und Obodriten im Jahr zuvor. Mit stritten auch diesmal die christlichen Polen und Böhmen, unter ihnen der älteste Sohn Slavniks, Sobebor, ein Bruder des hl. Bischofs Adalbert von Prag. Und in hohem Grade zeichneten sich anscheinend die Mannschaften des Bistums Meißen aus, das nun Ottos besondere Gunst erfuhr.

997 kämpft, brandschatzt, plündert man weiter im Gebiet der Heveller, meist unter kaiserlichem Oberbefehl, einige Wochen auch, in einem Teilbereich, unter dem Giselhers, der dabei etliche seiner Mannen einbüßt und dann seinem Nachfolger im Kommando die Schuld geben ließ, selbst allerdings sofort die Flucht ergriffen hatte, ohne Ottos Sympathie zu verlieren.

Der Kaiser hatte seinerzeit dem Erzbischof die Arneburg (links der Elbe bei Stendal) zur Sicherung anvertraut. Da aber lockten diesen die Slawen unter dem Vorwand von Verhandlungen vor die Feste und in einen Hinterhalt. Während seine Bedeckung ins Gras biß, machte sich der Oberhirte Hals über Kopf davon. «Schon gerieten die Krieger beider Parteien aneinander», berichtet Thietmar; «der im Wagen sitzende Erzbischof konnte zwar auf fliegendem Pferde entkommen, aber von seinen Leuten entrannen nur wenige dem Tode. Die siegreichen Slawen plünderten – es war am 2. Juli – gefahrlos die Toten aus und bedauerten nur das Entwischen des Erzbischofs.»

But that was not enough. Without waiting for his replacement, Margrave Liuthar, Thietmar's uncle, Giselher left the castle, as his guard duty had expired in the meantime, met the approaching count on the way, whose command she was now under - "recommended her to him urgently and departed". In the meantime, however, the Slavs had entered the unguarded fortress and set it on fire, and Liiitkar found it already in smoke and flames as he approached - tried in vain to persuade the archbishop to turn back through a messenger. The prelate refused all help and returned home. The count, however, was unable to extinguish the castle, which was on fire, and had to give up "the gate open to the enemy", then have himself charged before the emperor and cleared of the accusation of guilt with an oath.

During these campaigns, on which Otto III.

"(incendio et magna depredacione vastavit), he was also accompanied by the former Archbishop of Reims, Gerbert of Aurillac, the future Silvester II, the first French pope. Furthermore, Archbishop Willigis of Mainz, despite his age, and Bishop Henry of Würzburg with their troops, and especially exemplary Bishop Ramward of Minden (q9d-iooz), led all, even the standard-bearers, w i t h the crucifix in h i s hand and powerfully rushing against the enemy - "a fine example of these warlike imperial bishops, who knew how to carry the sword as well as the cross" (Holtzmann). So it was at that time that a very large number of the Slavic devils fell, and the sad rest were hunted down as prey." Now, without wanting to play down these - immense military activities - in the East in the slightest, there have recently been warnings against seeing overly rigid fronts, systematically premeditated actions by belligerent states, a strategy of reconquest or even more centrally directed attacks. -The driving forces seem to have been far more the urge for revenge, the greed for booty or tribute, which the Saxon margraves and bishops often pursued even without the

König und ohne seinen Auftrag tätig werden ließen» (Althoff). Das mag in manchen Fällen so, in andren anders gewesen sein; für uns – und die Opfer – sind diese Unterscheidungen nicht so relevant. Denn ob christliche Grafen, ob Bischöfe irgendwo eigenmächtig rauben und töten oder ob sie einer zentral gegebenen Weisung folgen – das wie jenes gehört ohne Zweifel zur Kriminalgeschichte des Christentums.[16]

Noch 997 hatte Otto III. gegen die Liutizen gekämpft. Doch als er in den Süden zog, als er der Italienpolitik den Vorzug gegenüber der Ostpolitik gab, und zwar unter dem Einfluß offenbar vor allem des Gerbert von Aurillac, des künftigen Papstes, wollte man Ruhe im Osten und schloß mit dem Feind Frieden. Vierzehn Jahre hatte man ihn unentwegt bekriegt, fast jährlich mindestens durch einen Waffengang, in manchen Jahren sogar mehrmals. Selbst die Böhmen und immer wieder die christlichen Polen wurden gegen die Heiden aufgeboten. Plötzlich aber ging es auch friedlich. Und nur wenige Jahre danach führte gar ein Heiliger, Kaiser Heinrich II., Seite an Seite mit den heidnischen Liutizen, drei lange und überaus blutige Kriege – wider die christlichen Polen, die seinem Vorgänger doch so nützlich waren, wie dieser freilich wohl noch mehr ihnen.

(Dabei hatte man gerade damals, zur Zeit der Cluniazensischen Reformen, ausdrücklich den Gedanken verbreitet, daß die Christenheit eine Einheit sei und sich untereinander nicht bekriegen dürfe. So schrieb 994 in dem von Cluny reformierten Kloster Fleury an der Loire der gelehrte Abt Abbo, der mit seinem Diözesanbischof Arnulf von Orléans, Hugo Capets führendem Berater, erbittert stritt: «Echtes Rittertum bekämpft sich nicht gegenseitig im Schoß seiner Mutter, der Kirche, sondern richtet alle seine Kräfte darauf, die Gegner der heiligen Kirche Gottes zu unterwerfen.» Nicht die «Rechtgläubigen», die Heiden sollten die Christen attackieren, predigte der Reformer – und wurde bei der Inspektion des ihm unterstehenden gascognischen Priorats La Réole von seinen aufsässigen Mönchen erschlagen.)

«... DIE LEGIONEN ZU SAMMELN» – KONZERTIERTE AKTION IN GNESEN ZUM VORTEIL ROMS

Daß man in Polen spätestens 968 das Bistum Posen gegründet, das Land selbst innerhalb eines knappen Jahrzehnts verchristlicht hatte (S. 461 ff.), brachte seinem Herrn unbestreitbare Vorteile. Mieszko I. konnte bald darauf ganz Pommern erobern.

Nach dem Tod seiner Frau, der Přemyslidin Dobrawa (977), heiratete Mieszko Oda von Haldensleben, die Tochter des mächtigen Markgrafen Dietrich von der Nordmark, und trat nach dessen Tod (985) im Einvernehmen mit der Reichsregierung als Interessenvertreter seiner Gattin in den Marken auf. Und hatte seine Ehe mit Dobrawa einst das Bündnis mit Böhmen besiegelt, so zerbrach dies in den ausgehenden 80er Jahren wegen Schlesien. Mieszko geriet darüber in Streit mit seinem Schwager Boleslav II., den die paganen Liutizen unterstützten, während der Pole den Beistand deutscher Truppen fand und Schlesien behalten konnte. Und das, obwohl er zwischenzeitlich sogar mit dem Gegenspieler Ottos II., Heinrich dem Zänker, sich verbunden, ihm 984 auch noch als seinem «König und Herrn» gehuldigt, ohne in Nachteil zu geraten. Freilich ging er bereits im nächsten Jahr zu Otto III. über und bekriegte nun mit den Sachsen die heidnischen Slawen.

Im Verfolgen einer zielbewußten Politik an der Seite des deutschen Reiches entwickelte sich Mieszko zum aggressiven Vorkämpfer des Christentums an der nördlichen Heidenfront. Mission und Militär wurden jetzt auch in Polen miteinander verknüpft. Symbolisch für den engen Zusammenhang: die unmittelbare Verbindung des Posener Domes schon um das Jahr 1000 mit der dortigen Burg – mit ihrem gut 10 Meter hohen und etwa 20 Meter breiten Wall die größte und stärkste Polens.

Bei seinen Attacken gegen die Liutizen im Markengebiet zwischen Elbe und Oder standen dem Polenherzog ideologisch und militärisch bereitwillig die christlichen Böhmen bei, die auch die ersten Missionare nach Polen geschickt hatten. Allerdings konnten ihn die Böhmen nicht dauernd von ihren eigenen Einflußge-

in the south and west. Mieszko surprisingly attacked them in the later q8o's, when Bohemia had repeatedly come into conflict with the Empire and the Church. He not only seized the Oder estuary, but also took Silesia from the Christian Czechs. And when the latter tried to regain their territory with the help of the pagan Liutizen, a Saxon army under Archbishop Giselher and Margrave Ekkehard von MeiBen in alliance with the Pole, who for safety's sake, without giving up his relationship with the German Empire, now donated his land to St. Peter, but of course continued to s u p p o r t the German offensives against the Liutizen."

The famous deed of gift, by which a Dagome index and his wife, senatrix Ote (Oda), and their two sons, submitted their land of Gniezno (Schinesghe) to Pope John X.V, is recorded in the so-called Dagome index document, which also contains the oldest geographical description of Poland's borders. The regest, available in six manuscripts and accompanied by a vast amount of literature, is the first known donation of a country to the so-called Apostolic See. Beyond that, however, this legal act is not attested anywhere, although it may have been documented by the -Peter's penny" confirmed.

However, if Mieszko I wanted to secure the direct succession to the throne for his minor children, as is assumed, this was a complete failure. For no sooner had he died and been succeeded as senior by his famous son from his first marriage, Boleslaw I Chrobry the Brave (qqz-iozy), than the latter eliminated his rivals. He chased his stepmother Oda and her children to Germany and had two other relatives blinded. In this way, he secured his autocracy and, if not because of this, then nevertheless, his path to fame. His clever father and predecessor, however, prepared the foundation of his own church with the Dagome-index decree and thus Poland's independence from the German Empire.

Boleslaw, who regarded himself as a tributary of St. Peter, was a

durchaus frommer Christ. Er hatte die Mission Adalberts gefördert, auch dessen Leichnam den heidnischen Prußen abgekauft und diesen in der Marienkirche von Gnesen beisetzen lassen. Allerdings hatte er auch das christliche Reich bedrängt, hatte er Pommern, Breslau, Krakau erobert und sich zum ersten König Großpolens gemacht, das damals vom Baltischen Meer im Norden bis zum Kamm der Sudeten und Karpaten im Süden reichte und vom Land der Russen bis zur Oder.

Polen war rasch immer mächtiger geworden, ein begehrter Bundesgenosse für die katholischen Kämpfer. «Hand in Hand mit dem Papst konnte der Kaiser jetzt ruhig die Organisierung der Ostmission, die Otto I. hatte abbrechen müssen, von neuem in Angriff nehmen» (Hauptmann).[18]

Dabei mag beiden der Märtyrertod des Adalbert von Prag sehr erwünscht gewesen sein. Dieser Sohn des Fürsten Slavnik von Libice (gest. 981) – der Namensgeber der mit den Přemysliden vielleicht verwandten, sicher aber scharf konkurrierenden und von ihnen Ende September 995 ausgerotteten Slavnikiden (vier seiner Söhne kamen um, der fünfte fiel ein knappes Jahrzehnt später) – Adalbert hatte angeblich nicht mehr die Lasterhaftigkeit seiner Diözesanen ertragen (oder, wie andere meinen: die Reibereien mit seinem Oberherren Boleslav II., dem die Slavnikiden zu mächtig schienen). Der Bischof reiste nach Rom, wurde von Papst Johann XV. zur Rückkehr genötigt, geriet wieder in Konflikte, eilte erneut nach Rom, Gregor V. schickte ihn abermals zurück. Er weilte noch bei Kaiser Otto III. in Mainz, mit dem er das Schlafgemach teilte (S. 551), und ging dann zu den heidnischen Prußen (Pruzzen).

Diese Altpreußen, deren Religion, eng verwoben noch mit der Natur, zahlreiche heilige Berge, Bäume, Wälder, Gewässer kannte, wehrten sich erbittert gegen ihre Christianisierung. Erst nach mehr als zweihundertjährigen Kämpfen, die besonders im 13. Jahrhundert durch den Deutschen Orden bis zur Entvölkerung ganzer Gebiete führten (S. 466), konnten die Prußen zur Annahme der Frohen Botschaft gezwungen, erst im 17. Jahrhundert endgültig mit den Deutschen verschmolzen werden.

Bischof Adalbert wollte schon seinerzeit die Prußen «mit dem Zaume heiliger Verkündigung» bändigen, wurde aber rasch Blutzeuge, was er angeblich immer ersehnt hatte (obwohl er ja vor den eigenen Diözesanen wiederholt davongelaufen war – mehr noch vermutlich vor dem Böhmenherzog Boleslav II., dem Ausrotter der Slavnikiden, freilich auch Erbauer zahlreicher Kirchen und Klöster, daher «der Fromme»). Nun kaufte Polenfürst Boleslaw Chrobry «sofort um Geld Kopf und Glieder des herrlichen Märtyrers los» (Thietmar), und man errichtete gleichsam über der Leiche im Jahre 1000 das Erzbistum Gnesen. Ja Kaiser, Papst und Boleslaw selbst waren einverstanden, ihn zum König zu erheben. Doch vermutlich protestierten die Fürsten. So konnte Otto beim Festschmaus dem «Freunde und Bundesgenossen», dem «Bruder und Mitarbeiter am Reiche» die eigene Krone nur symbolisch aufs Haupt setzen.[19]

Noch Bischof Thietmar aber, der den «verschlagenen» Polen alles andere als schätzt, meldet von diesem, Otto III. habe in Gnesen «einen Tributpflichtigen zum Herrn gemacht» (tributarium faciens dominum); und fleht Gottes Erbarmen auf den Kaiser herab, weil er Boleslaw «so hoch erhöhte», daß der sich «unablässig erfrechte, Höherstehende allmählich in Untertänigkeit herabzuziehen, sie mit dem billigen Köder vergänglichen Geldes zu locken und zum Schaden für Knechte und Freie zu fangen».

Die polnische Seite sieht dies natürlich anders. In der ältesten Chronik des Landes erscheint der Piastenstaat, jetzt Polonia genannt, innerhalb des imperium als ein Deutschland ebenbürtiges Reich. Herzog Boleslaw selbst, dieser «athleta Christi», dieser «rex christianissimus», wie ihn die Zeitgenossen preisen, wird mit römischen Ehrentiteln überhäuft. Er wird «populi Romani amicus et socius», Freund und Bundesgenosse des römischen Volkes, wird «frater et cooperator imperii». Auch berichtet die älteste Chronik Polens, Otto habe dem Polenfürsten an kirchlichen Ehren übertragen, «was im Reiche der Polen zum Imperium gehörte».

Nun schrieb freilich Gallus Anonymus, der südfranzösische

Benediktiner, seine «Cronica et gesta ducum sive principum Polonorum» erst im frühen 12. Jahrhundert. Und er war überdies in der Kapelle Boleslaws III. Krzywousty (Schiefmund, 1085–1138) tätig, ja, sein Geschichtswerk wurde am polnischen Hof Würdenträgern nicht nur vorgelesen, sondern dabei auch zensuriert.

Wie weit die Selbständigkeit des Polenherrschers deshalb wirklich ging, ob ihn Otto zum patricius oder zum König ernannte, Polen also ein abhängiges oder unabhängiges Land war, ist bis heute heftig kontrovers, besonders selbstverständlich zwischen der deutschen und polnischen bzw. osteuropäischen Forschung, in der, neben vielem, nicht zuletzt der politische status quo mächtig herumspukt.

Unbestreitbar ist: Boleslaw empfing eine Nachbildung der (heute im Krakauer Domschatz befindlichen) Heiligen Lanze, die den Empfänger zur «defensio ecclesiae» verpflichtete (und gab als Gegengeschenk den Arm des hl. Adalbert). Auch die Rechte des Kaisers über die polnische Kirche gingen auf Boleslaw über. Sein Ansehen wurde somit enorm gesteigert, sein Ehrgeiz desgleichen. Und den Vorteil all dieser Würden- und Insignienverleihungen hatte schließlich nicht das römische Reich, sondern die römische Kirche – bis heute.[20]

Aber die nationale Mission im Osten war nun einmal sehr mit dem Odium des «deutschen» Gottes belastet. Dies hatte erst 983 der Liutizenaufstand wieder drastisch gezeigt. Deshalb machte Otto die Polnische Kirche selbständig. Als «Apostel im Dienste des Herrn» (Holtzmann), als «Knecht Jesu Christi», ein paulinischer Titel, der die «apostolisch-kirchliche Rolle des Kaisers» hervorhebt und Ausdruck seiner «sehr engen Zusammenarbeit» mit dem Papst ist (Jedlicki) – wallfahrtete er im Jahr 1000 nach Polen, wurde an der Grenze von Boleslaw Chrobry «sehr freudig» empfangen und sank in dessen Hauptstadt Gnesen tränengebadet am Grab des hl. Märtyrers nieder.

Die Aufgabe Ottos im Osten, die auch der eben erwähnte Titel «servus Jesu Christi» ausdrückt und mit der Auffassung des Kaisers wie der des Papstes übereinstimmt, hatte kurz vorher Ger-

bert, the future pope, put it this way: -to gather the legions, to break into the enemy country, to withstand the attack of the enemy, to face the greatest dangers for the fatherland, Jr *the* religion and for the good of ... the state".

All actions in Gniezno were the result of cooperation between the emperor and the pope. Undoubtedly together with the latter, Otto founded the Polish archbishopric of Gniezno in the castle there - in the presence of the papal legale and Boleslav 1st Chrobry and against the opposition of Bishop Unger of Poznań, a German. Otto gave the new diocese a Slavic saint, his friend Vojtéch-Adalbert, and gave it a Slavic archbishop, namely Adalbert's half-brother Radim-Gau- dentius, who had accompanied Adalbert on his missionary journey to the Prussians. And he gave him the see dioceses of Breslau, Kolberg and Krakow, and probably even others.

The emperor pursued religious and political goals with this fateful confession to the Polish prince. Poland, like Hungary, was to be strengthened ecclesiastically, bound more closely to Christianity and become a bastion against paganism in the north. At the same time, Otto naturally wanted to strengthen the power of the empire, expand it further and incorporate the lands of the East into it.

Poland was therefore more interesting to the Christians than Bohemia. Duke Boleslaw, who was almost showered with honors and favors, was assigned Selencia, Pomerania and Prussia as missionary territories, whereby the Pope also hoped for an improvement in the church's financial situation. In central Italian monasteries and in Poland, special missionaries were trained for the Slav mission, with the foreigners adapting to the Slavs except for their dress and haircut. '[2]

Otto III and the Pope worked together with regard to Uiigarn. Waik, the son of Duke Gaisa of Hungary, was baptized there in qq6 and took the name Stephen. The emperor was his godfather, and together with the pope he authorized the establishment of the archbishopric in April xooi

Gran. Ein Schüler Adalberts, Ascherius, übernahm es und krönte als päpstlicher Legat Stephan mit einer von Otto übersandten Krone. Ähnlich wie in Polen, griffen also auch in Ungarn Kaiser und Kirche gemeinsam nach Osten aus. Aber auch im hohen Norden und im Süden, in Dalmatien, deuteten sich weitere Missionserfolge und Triumphe Ottos III. an. «Als neuer Apostel begriff er sich. So traten in seinem Ideenkreis die geistlichen Elemente in den Vordergrund» (Schramm).[22]

Bereits über unseren Zeitraum hinaus, Jahrzehnte ins 11. Jahrhundert hinein reicht ein Pfaffenzwist, der noch unter Otto III. beginnt und kulminiert und darum hier anschließend einbezogen werden soll.

DER GANDERSHEIMER STREIT

Gandersheim, das älteste Familienstift der Liudolfinger, wurde von dem Grafen Liudolf, dem Ahnherrn des sächsischen Kaiserhauses, Mitte des 9. Jahrhunderts gegründet (S. 375 f.). Erst hatte der fromme Mann dazu sein Familiengut Brunshausen bestimmt, dann jedoch dafür einen kleinen, von Moor und Sumpf umgebenen Hof ausersehen, eine Unterkunft seiner Schweinehirten. Nun gehörte Brunshausen zum Bistum Hildesheim, der Schweinehirtenhof aber, der sich zum Nonnenkloster Gandersheim auswuchs, vermutlich zum Gebiet des Mainzer Erzbischofs. Demzufolge hatte die erste Äbtissin, ursprünglich für Brunshausen vorgesehen, der Diözesanbischof Altfried von Hildesheim konsekriert, während die zweite, nur in Gandersheim wirkende, von den Bischöfen von Hildesheim und Mainz gleichzeitig ordiniert worden war.

Der Streit um das reichbegüterte Stift entzündete sich sozusagen durch Sophie, die älteste Tochter Kaiser Ottos II. und der Theophanu. Bereits 979 als etwa Vierjährige dem Stift Gandersheim übergeben, sollte Sophie eine «Magd Gottes» werden,

spurned it strictly, of course, from her Hildesheim bishop,
"the Lord Osdag to receive the holy veil and turned to Willigis. For she considered it beneath her dignity to be consecrated by a bishop who was not a pallium bearer (Vita Bernwardi). She wanted a metropolitan, the powerful Mainz (as she later, elected abbess, again requested and received a pallium bearer for the consecration), which goes without saying for humble Christians. The archbishop, under whose stimulating influence she was presumably anyway, was all the more understanding of this as the archbishopric of Mainz had already lost the bishoprics of Brandenburg and Havelberg since the foundation of the archbishopric of Magdeburg, wanted to avoid further losses and could also - apparently rightly - make old territorial claims to the Gandersheim area (Goecring).

Thus Willigis demanded sovereignty over the monastery for the first time in the year 7. When the emperor's daughter Sophie, now about twelve years old, was ordained a nun there on October 18 {Willigis was still fighting on Otto III's Bohemian campaign shortly before), a long and heated exchange of words broke out between the archbishop and his suffragan, Bishop Osdag of Hildesheim, in the presence of the seven-year-old king, Empress Theophanu and several bishops and princes in the church in front of the altar over the possession of Gandersheim. *]eÖcz* of the two brothers in Christ assigned the monastery to his diocese, Willigis to the archbishopric of Mainz, Osdag to his suffragan bishopric of Hildesheim. And the "Lord Osdag" - figuring in a contemporary memorandum as "simplicis animi vir" - did not allow himself to be intimidated by the archbishop, but - by divine intervention - set up his bishop's chair next to the altar in order to defend the place and his right to rule" (Vita Bernwardi). The dispute only ended with difficulty with a settlement: Willigis celebrated a solemn high mass at the high altar and then consecrated Sophie together with Osdag, while the other "handmaidens of God" were consecrated by the Hildesheim bishop alone.

Angeblich ging man danach «in bestem Frieden und Einvernehmen» auseinander und lebte in Eintracht sowohl unter Bischof Osdag wie seinem Nachfolger Gerdag (990–992). Doch unter dem hl. Bischof Bernward von Hildesheim (993–1022) flammte der Streit, in den auch Kaiser und Papst hineingezogen wurden, viel heftiger wieder auf und bereitete der «keimenden Liebe durch das Gift der Falschheit ein Ende» (Vita Bernwardi).

Die Sache begann zum zweitenmal, als die Nonne Sophie mit etwa zwanzig Jahren zum großen Ärger ihrer (ebenfalls schon als Kind ins Gandersheimer Stift gesteckten) Äbtissin und Cousine Gerberga II. (949–1001), einer Nichte Ottos «des Großen» und Lehrerin der Kanonissin und berühmten Dichterin Hrotsvit, Roswitha (gest. um 975), dem Kloster Gandersheim entsprang, um für immerhin mehrere Jahre am Hof ihres königlichen Bruders ein etwas unkanonisches Leben zu führen – «und ließ allerhand Gerüchte über sich kursieren» (Vita Bernwardi). Sie weilte übrigens gerade so lange am Hof, als dort Erzkanzler Willigis noch amtierte. Zum gleichen Zeitpunkt, in dem er abtrat, kehrte auch die Prinzessin nach Gandersheim zurück. Pech für den Mainzer war es überdies, daß 993 Ottos hochgeschätzter Hofkapellan und Erzieher Bernward Bischof von Hildesheim wurde. Und wie Äbtissin Gerberga, die gestrenge, nahm auch der neue Hildesheimer Bischof, der sächsische Graf Bernward, heftigen Anstoß an Sophies Ausbruch – obwohl doch seine eigene Freundin, die Äbtissin Mathilde von Quedlinburg, einst ein ganzes Jahr, auch ziemlich außerhalb ihrer Klostermauern, in Italien verbracht hatte – was natürlich nicht die leiseste Anspielung impliziert, übertraf Bernward doch «an Sittenreinheit selbst die bejahrtesten Männer» (Walterscheid).

Erzbischof Willigis dagegen, hoferfahren wie wenige, vermochte an solchen Eskapaden von dem Kaiserhaus angehörigen Nonnen nichts ungewöhnliches zu sehen. Und Prinzessin Sophie, die Schutzbedürftige (patrocinanda), hetzte den Erzbischof «mit bittren Reden» auf, erklärte, «der Bischof Bernward habe ihr überhaupt nichts zu sagen, das Kloster Gandersheim gehöre zur Diözese des Erzbischofs», und brachte diesen «schwer gegen den

Mr. Bemward" and, of course, to renew his claims to Gandersheim. Yes, "Sophie was constantly at his side, lived with him and pursued her cause day and night", a beautiful kitten, and yet more expressive in the original, even more intimately interwoven: -Sophia assidue illi cohaerens et coha- bitans, haec interdiu noctuque ambiebat." Which, of course, in no way means that the princess, Otto III's elder sister, is speaking to Hans Goetting, more like "the inclined ear of the archbishop" .

All of this outraged the moral preacher Bernward. Although he owed Willigis almost everything, the latter had already ordained him as a subdeacon, deacon and priest, presumably also made him emperor's tutor through his intercession, and then brought him to the bishop's see of Hildesheim; just as the character and interests of the two were not very different. Only, of course, each wanted Gandersheim. But the nuns, away from the seriously ill Gerberga and now led by Sophie, who had returned to the see, refused to grant the saint from Hildesheim obedience. It was only under the protection of numerous ministerials that he was able to defend himself against a mob of people who might have driven him away (cum iniuria, of course).

on September 4, the Feast of the Exaltation of the Cross, in the year iooo, to force his way into the monastery church and celebrate Holy Mass there. In the process, however, the pious

When the sacrifice was made, the nuns threw their oblations at the bishop's feet, cursing wildly, "with unbelievable expressions of anger, with wild invective against the bishop", in whom almost a millennium later the Hildesheim diocese still embodies "the memory *of its golden age"* (Wetzer/Welte). It was probably only thanks to his armed escort t h a t he escaped unharmed."

Six days later, Archbishop Willigis of Mainz, also with a large retinue, was received quite differently in Gandersheim, where he announced his claims to ownership, while Bishop Bernward of Hildesheim now appealed directly to the Pope and Emperor, his former pupil, clearly recognizing "that the one-

The only way to get hold of the poison was through papal and imperial antidotes.

In the meantime, there had been a wild uproar at a synod in Gandersheim in late autumn in the year iooo, when Bishop Ekkehard of Schleswig, the mouthpiece of Bernward, who had been driven out by the Danes, called for the synod to cease, whereupon the prince of the church from Mainz - who today is also revered as a saint, and not only there - called for the synod to be stopped.

- The Metropolitan was clearly the victim of "evil people" - "and Sophie, in particular, was constantly putting him to shame. The Metropolis, it was clear, was the victim of "evil people" - "and Sophie in particular was a constant source of trouble for him ..." In the end, his own claims to ownership of Gandersheim were apparently recognized by the synod and the dispute was declared settled by him.

At another synod ordered by the pope in Pöhlde (Harz) on June zz. ioor, appeared next to the papal-imperial legal Cardinal Friedrich, a Saxon, also the holy bishop Bernward with a considerable armed contingent. For: -As a bishop, he walked exactly according to the demands of the apostle" - who had already wielded the sword in Jesus' time. (Holiness is -always a healthy and blood-filled life, always the highest and collected strength-; especially since "German saints are German heroes and German heroines, thus also leaders of the German people", wrote Jo- hannes Walterscheid naturally in I934. °ftd of course with lmprima-
of the Vicar General of Cardinal Faulhaber, the great
Resistance fighters. **D9ft>** *93s it seemed to the gentlemen "particularly appropriate to lead the German people to such a contemplation of the lives of the German saints", should the German
The saints doCh -934 -be the indispensable helpers in the internal construction of our fatherland ... perhaps also war leaders, like our great bishops of the Middle Ages ...")

This brings us back to our hero, St. Bernwand, and the papal legate, who were insulted and threatened by opposing bishops "in

an unbelievable manner".

worden sind. Es kam «zu schier unbeschreiblichem Streit und Tumult. Denn dem Stellvertreter des Papstes gestand man nicht einmal einen angemessenen Sitzplatz zu. Ein fürchterlicher Lärm brach aus, Recht und Gesetz wurden mißachtet, jegliche kanonische Ordnung hörte auf.» Zuletzt drangen sogar Laien in die Kirche der Gottesmänner. Und angeblich schrien natürlich «die Mainzer nach Waffen und stießen unerhörte Drohungen gegen den Stellvertreter des Papstes und gegen Bischof Bernward aus.» «Tod den Reichsverrätern», schrien die Leute des Erzbischofs, des hl. Willigis, «nieder mit Bernward, nieder mit dem Cardinal Friedrich.» Doch am nächsten Tag, Erzbischof Willigis hatte sich in aller Morgenfrühe mit seiner Schar heimlich aus dem Staub gemacht, suspendierte ihn der päpstliche Legat feierlich von jeder priesterlichen Tätigkeit, worum sich der Mainzer freilich nicht kümmerte. Vielmehr suchten seine Vasallen bald darauf in der Nacht die Abtei Hildwardshausen heim, ein Geschenk des Kaisers für den hl. Bernward, von diesem selbst «aufs ehrerbietigste eingeweiht, sorgfältig für den Dienst Gottes ausgestattet und durch viele Wohltaten und Geschenke in reichem Maße ausgezeichnet». Und natürlich waltete dort seine Tante als Äbtissin. Jetzt aber «überfielen die Leute des Erzbischofs im Dunkel der Nacht die Abtei, drangen überall ein und schlugen alles kurz und klein».

Christen, nein – Heilige unter sich!

Nun wollte der hl. Bischof Bernward im Kloster Gandersheim «nach dem Rechten sehen». Doch die Gandersheimer Nonnen setzten beim Anrücken Bischofs Bernwards ihr Kloster in Verteidigungszustand. Kastell, Türme und Schanzen wimmelten derart von Bewaffneten des Stifts und des Mainzer Erzstifts, daß der heranrückende hl. Bischof sich schnellstens wieder in seinen – von ihm selbst – ummauerten und turmbewehrten Hildesheimer Dombezirk zurückzog.[25]

Auf einer weiteren Synode in Frankfurt, im Sommer 1001, auf der Bischof Bernward wieder fehlte – er schützte Krankheit vor –, stellten sich auch die maßgeblichen deutschen Prälaten auf die Seite des Mainzers. Und als der Papst am 27. Dezember 1001 in

Todi ein Konzil eröffnete, um Willigis angesichts der deutschen Bischöfe zu demütigen, fanden sich nur drei von ihnen ein, wobei zwei, Siegfried von Augsburg und Hugo von Zeits, schon seit längerem im Gefolge des Kaisers standen, der dann kurz darauf, am 23. Januar 1002 in Paterno starb.

Bernward von Hildesheim ging erst am 20. November 1022 «zum besseren Dasein über» und wurde «bald durch leuchtende Wunder in den weitesten Kreisen verherrlicht» (Wetzer/Welte). Er stieg in der ganzen katholischen Christenheit zum Heiligen und Nothelfer auf, indes die Mitte des 12. Jahrhunderts in Mainz eifrig betriebene Kanonisation seines Gegners durch die Wirren, die dort zur Ermordung des Erzbischofs Arnold führten, ins Stokken geriet. Erst im 17. Jahrhundert brachte Willigis es zu einem heute fast vergessenen Mainzer Lokalheiligen, und auch dies nur «weil ein findiger Domprobst in der Erhebung seiner Gebeine eine gute Reklame zur Steigerung der Einnahmen des Stephansstiftes erblickte» (Böhmer).[26]

Der Gandersheimer Streit war damit nicht beendet. Sophie, inzwischen Äbtissin in Gandersheim (1001–1039) – auf dessen Äbtissinnenstuhl noch bis 1125 fast ausschließlich kaiserliche Prinzessinnen saßen –, dann auch zusätzlich Äbtissin in Vreden und Essen, agitierte weiter. Und Erzbischof Willigis machte immer wieder Mainzer Ansprüche auf Gandersheim geltend. Selbst als Kaiser Heinrich II. der Heilige im Januar 1007 den Streit zugunsten von Hildesheim entschied, lebte er unter dem Mainzer Erzbischof Aribo II., einem Verwandten Kaiser Heinrichs, um 1021, kurz vor Bernwards Tod, noch einmal auf. Und obwohl Aribos reichspolitische Position schon unter Kaiser Heinrich stark war, unter dessen Nachfolger Konrad II., dessen Wahl er maßgeblich mitentschied und den er 1024 in Mainz zum König krönte, zunächst noch stärker wurde, stritt der Erfolgreiche um das Kloster bis 1030 so verbissen wie erfolglos mit dem von ihm selbst zum Bischof geweihten Kaiser-Heinrich-Günstling Godehard von Hildesheim, übrigens einem weiteren Heiligen (Fest 5. Mai).[27]

ANNEX

NOTES ON THE FIFTH VOLUME

The complete titles of the secondary literature cited can be found on p. 6z ff., the complete titles of the most important sources and abbreviations in the **list of abbreviations** on p.‹47 . **/tUtOF8n,** of which **only one v/erk bcnurxt** are usually cited in the notes only by their names, the by the way note Unit Scichworrcn.

'. CHAPTER
Wtsz LvD4'tC I. DEBFROMME
(Bzw-Bio)

i Fichtenau, The Carolingian lm-
perium 217

2 Daniel-Rops 554

3 Nith. hist. i,y4

Ann. Xant. 8j

5 Ann. reg. Franc. y8i, 8o6; 8ij.Thegan 3, 6 (after which Louis crowns himself), Astron. 3 f.;so. **LMA** V **7* **Simcon** I z ff. **Mühlbsclter li** y. Hartmann, History of Italy III r. H. y2 f. Reinhardt zq f. *Klebel,* Htrzogtümcr 7q . Aubin i4 . Classen io9 ff. Schwamm, Kaiser, Könge und Päpste I z9ä ff. Steinbach, The Frankish Empire ß8 f. yr. Fleckenstein, Foundations and Beginning i. Schlesinger, Kaisertum i i6 ff. Kon- ecny, Ehertcht j. Deschner, The Cross i86. Rau I ii3. Riché, Die Alt zi. Schieffer, Die Karo]inget i iz. Boshof, Ludwig der Fromme 86 ff. On the sexual expressions of the clergy alluded to at the beginning: Mynarek, Eros, zq ff, q ff. u.o. Ranke-Heinemann, Eunuchen i i iß ff. Herrmann, H. Kir- chcnfürsten i65 ff. Deschner, Das Kreuz ist ff. i3a ff. t8l ff. Ders. Opus Diaboli qz ff. On the women's prob|emindcr church in history and the present see for example: Deschner/I-4errmann By ff. Moia, fiur die Frauen passim. Din. Céinc d*Pafcn top If. 6 Greg. dial 4'4 Ann.

Fr. 8op. Asrron. y f., 6, yo, yj ff.Ermold. Nig. in honor. Hlud. x, 6. Wetzer/"ifelte VI 6a6 ff. LMA I i type; III ai6o. HEG I ioq f., Simson I 3y f. Mühlbscher II y f. i3, 1y8. Konecny, Eherecht z ff. esp. zo, z y. Fichtenau, Oas karolingische lmperium zzy f. Schieffcr, Ludwig -der Fromme- 8 ff. bei. xi ff. yn ff. The Carolingians i it ff. Riche, Die Karolinger 79- Ders. Die Welt 9z f. Watteiibach/ Düinmlcr/Hut 11 z3q, ii f. Hartmann, Die Synoden i yj ff. i65. Fried, The Way j69. Cf. also Aoi f. Boshof, Ludwig der Frommt 5 f. *7 ff. yd ff. Schmitz 7s

7 LMA II i9 8 f. V 4$+ XS - &7 - Herrmann, Die 5ynoden *i $S II.* On the **°monastic** Rcform- **under** Louis s. such Oexlc z za ff. Cf. also '4 f. Note nis. Also Goetz io8. Deschncr, Sleeping Beauty Dreams i69

8 LTliK III' 9a f. III' J*7 f. LMA III iyo ff. (Schiefftr). Nylander, z . Lassmann zz9. Hartmann, Der rechtliche Zustand 3qy ff. Ders. Die Synoden i6i ff. Ehlers je. Bruno*°°37 f.

9 LJVtA 1 zi6 f. {8oshoÜ. M0hlbachtr 11 6j. Konecny, Ehechc nt f.

Seite 13–25

8oshof, Enbishop Agoberd ion.
Hanmann, Die Synoden zäs f. Cf.
respect also i8y, iqz f. Deschner, fiber-
®• 453 And in principle for the
Middle Ages Gurjewitsch syd ff.:
-The only provision of the church,
aimed at a partial redistribution
howthe grille was close here the royally privileged was limited to the
admonition
the target
iO Ermold. Nig. in honor. Hlud. a.
Astron. 8. Konecny, Eherecht a,
f. ii. S'hieffcr,Die Karolinger
'°4› f. Werner, Die Nachkom-
wieder {1) men, f. Richt, Die Karotinger
79 Boehof, Ludwig der FrommcPfcilspitce
$9 1. temple 79-
No. Ann. reg. fr. 8i6
Ann. Fuld. 8z8. LThK IX' jqi ff.
Fichiingcr jy. Cf. also Deschner,
Abetmals z68.'
unbelievable and yet true is
-also fôIgcnd<s, which was not only
Curiosityнreiics **because of the** -dicses]ahr an always lp- connection with the
patron saint of the
Schütienvercinc communicated 6ti, but
chrisdicher delusion ganc serious-
should haveforttwtst.
Am Samstag, zz, Januar i9;ry, bc-
gjng die -Kgl. privil. Hauptschiic-
zengmcllschah Wñrzburg- in the
adjacent Augustinerkirche her hun-
thetjährig B¢stehen mir einer
-celebration of the .Sebastian-Goiresdien-
stes--, mit -Fahnenabordnungcn-,
auch anderer-Schützcnfrtundc",
rriit -Königspaar- and -Ehren-
Schützrnmeister-, even one
-Schütztnnhwester-, with
-Hunting fan group- together with
-I
in his
m a d e clear. The fact that I will become a member of the
Schiltzcngesellschafr, gruppien nm
unites all the shooters, and that I will b e a part of the Church

to sport, to the community and
cur Gesetfsrhaft-, and in this
-Liebc, **Treue,** Gcmeinschsk at
of the HSG can be realized, builds
the shooting club init ara
Christ and the kingdomwhichwas
of God. - Is it not splendid
to give alms? castle, how close
an das -ldeal der Kircht- samt dem
-Reiche Gnttcs- rückt! Hundred ii
mansich noch, der die Augustincr-
Patres -den Altarrisch
with a relic, namely a
' which the St. Seba-
etian pierced soft, ge-11 Aetron.
had- lubricated?! Eternal pity
only, data, as the Königlich privile-
gierten Hauptschürzengcsellschaft
Würzburg in connection withdon FaSt
Gotresdienit-nach altem Privileg
shown **the** 'Sebastiani-Trunk-
Höfer Julius Echterberg-, the same
also because it shows how tang
saints in the Schiltzcnkchlen *such*
flowed. The Kgi. privil. HSG
tund itann dies ¡a also künhig
tun) an Ebersberg in Oberbayern
should turn, since at least early
her the Ebersberger -from the
gebliche Hirnschale Sebaatians of
blessed wine (Lexi
kon fiir Theologie und KircheJ.
Den Hinweis aut die Wfinburger
Schützengesellschaft- ST. SEBA-
STIAN zur Ehr- - I owe
to a **Lcstr,** who was a8. a. **i9y**
a corresponding enclosure send-
te with the$clilufbemerktmg -out-
am aware of the -Zc-
leadership of the -Zc-, the
-celebrant of the Holy Office-
sermon, after everything has been
HSG at the end of the year, which
's ideal, is a matter of course.

Attracts-, the church says -jasonsien , it is not to grasp ..."

12 Ann. reg. Fr. 823; 825. Astron. 37; 42

13 «Jagd und Adel gehören zusammen, getreu dem höfischen Halali», schreibt Karl August Groskreutz in seinem hintersinnig versponnenen und oft so wortwunderreichen Streifzug durch die Anatomie der Schweine-Menschen, einem wohl einzigartigen Werk in der zeitgenössischen deutschen Literatur. «Exakt 116 106 Kreaturen hetzte und fing und schoß Herzog Johann I., Kurfürst von Sachsen in seiner Regierungszeit (1611–55), darunter allein 3192 Wildschweine, und selbst die persönlich von ihm ‹erlegten› 27 Igel sind in der Jagdstatistik des Hofes aufgelistet worden. Exakt 5218 Stück Wild, mit 330 Wildschweinen darunter, ließ der verderbte Schubart-Herzog Karl Eugen von Württemberg für seine Geburtstagsfeier am 20. Februar 1763 aus den Forsten seines Machtbereiches für ein gar ergötzliches Massakrieren zusammentreiben und in Käfigen herankarren, und zwar ohne Rücksicht auf die Schonzeiten; ebenbürtig den tyrannischen Visconti von Mailand. Burckhardt sagt: ‹Der wichtigste Staatszweck ist die Eberjagd des Fürsten; wer ihn darein greift, wird martervoll hingerichtet. Das zitternde Volk muß ihm fünftausend Jagdhunde füttern, unter der schärfsten Verantwortlichkeit für deren Wohlbefinden.›»

Ein Jäger und auch sonst grausamer Feind der Tiere, der selbst Schweine schlachtete und in ihren Eingeweiden wühlte, war Karl IX. von Frankreich, der seiner Mutter Katharina von Medici 1572 sein Einverständnis auch zur Vernichtung der Hugenotten gab, worauf es zur «Pariser Bluthochzeit», der «Bartholomäusnacht» kam, in der unter dem Schlachtruf «Es lebe die Messe! Tötet, tötet!» die Katholiken in wenigen Stunden 20 000, vielleicht auch 30 000 Hugenotten schlachteten, gefolgt von römischen Jubelgottesdiensten, Prunkprozessionen und einer Festmedaille Papst Gregors XIII. mit einem hugenottenabstechenden Engel samt eignem Stellvertreter-Christi-Konterfei.

Noch Kaiser Franz Joseph tötete bei einer Treibjagd in Kürze 50 bis 70 Tiere. Und Kaiser Wilhelm II. ließ anläßlich seines 150 000. Jagdmordes einen Gedenkstein in der Ostpreußischen Heide setzen. Jagd und Krieg hängen eng zusammen, und recht gesehen ist die Jagd noch widerlicher als der Krieg, weil sie längst so gut wie immer völlig wehrlosen Wesen gilt. – Vgl. vor allem Groskreutz, Der Schnauzenkuß 81 f. Heer, Europäische Geistesgeschichte 384 f. Ders. Europa 66, 88, 93. Goetz 199. Rösener 111. Den Ritter und den Jäger nennt M. Gilsenan 113 f. die «beiden klassischen Sinnbilder einer bestimmten Herrschaftsform«. Deschner, Die Politik der Päpste I 572. Ders. Opus Diaboli 31.

Das unendliche Elend der Tiere in der christlichen Geschichte, in Krieg und Frieden, wird von den Historikern gewöhnlich ganz und gar unterschlagen. Um so verdienstvoller die wenigen Ausnahmen unter den Wissenschaftlern. Z. B. Singer, Befreiung der Tiere, ein überaus notwendiges Werk, passim. Vgl. bes. auch den Anhang 1, 275 ff. Ferner Singer/Dahl 280 ff. Hermann, H., Passion der Grausamkeit 26 ff. Moia, Géint d'Pafen, 193 ff. S. auch Deschner, Warum

I Christian, atheist, agnostic to What I think 93 ff. Angernisse J ff. BiSSige Aphoriemm t8 Thtgan 8. on the immense empire4 ff. Louisthe Pious qi ff. To i62 ff. Adalhard: Box passim of the churches today and their

14 Ann, reg Fr. 8io, 8zy ff. Thcgan iq. Astron. i9, 3z, 3y; o ff. q6; ff. LMA III 21s * *7 +- lschwenk) HKG 111/i, izn,. Exploitation rncihodensee H. Herrmann, Die Kircht und unser 57 Geld passim. Ders. Caritas-Ltgtri- de qj fi. z53 ff. Ders. Kirchenaus- Simsonl jq f. 3q3. Wattenbach/ i'ccunia non olet Dümmler/Huf II t yq. Mülilbacher steps 8o ff. Ders. az6 ff. Ferntr: Deschner/Herr-

4 - °$3' *43- Brühl, 3iff. Lichtenau, Lcbensnrdnungen mann6q ff. a 9 ff. i6 ff. Deich- , Das Kapital der Kirche *9Siq6 f. Fried, Die Normierung it,ii. Thegan io, to. Voss i6i. I owe the details of the hunt to Ann. reg. FF. *7• LMA IV arzi; V I owe above all to the inate- rialrgichcn, in many respects very zi LThK III f. LMA IV iä8 f. book by Pierre Ri- che, Die Welt der Karnlinger4• r Il. Cf. bee. qq, here the quotation from Ermoldus NigcJlus. Boshof, Lud- der F'romme dj, %emer, Die Ursprüngc xz f. Toganzcn &citcrgabeKomplex: Lindner, Geschichte des deutechen Weidwcrks 11 z33 ff. u. - socio-historical bc- interest, Theearly-medieval Earlier J-ad 7 ff. 8oa. Simson 1 a3 f. (Schild}. Fichtensu, Das karolingi- sche lmperium aoz. Richt, The Ki- rolingrr j35 f. Bnshof, Ludwig the Fromme4* ff. Fried, Der Weg wig jty f. Auclt Print, Askesc und Kul- 6x ff. bȼucteilt die liccrnr culture in the monasteries -eher negntiv-. Not a legal and knowledge is n o t a subject of stic forthe monastery, but rather - awakening. On the situa-

15 Astron. zo. Schicffer, DieKarolinger i i y. Fried, Der Weg u f. im frühtsten Mittelalttr: IIImer passim esp. 6j; f. 8p ff. réf ff.

i6 Ann. reg. fr. 8iq. Astron. zi, z3; qq. Simson I io ff, 3 f. Mñhlbacher 7 ff. Fichteaau, Das karolin- zi Astron. x8. Vita Benedicti jy. gische Imptrium rio f., ff. Semmltr, Ludwig der Fromme z8 ff. Fricd, Dtr Weg Kastnnf. • 4°- ebcnfalls insgecanit with very ntgative result. lt'*47- ' ooo f. LMn 1 Wala z8 i86 ff. simson l -4- < -- ----. Geschichte Italiens III i. H. qd. jy f. Mühlbacher11 i i II, iq ff. z }

17 Nithardi hist. z. Asiron. z i, z3. Simson 1 iy ff. m ff. HKG Hm, f. LMA 1 zog, **zoaj;** V i6a f. Hartmann, Geschichte Italiens 1. Ñ . Q2 Î. Io8- *44- Mühlbacher ff. heinrich, Wala o f. 33 ff. Konecny, Ehercchtr f. Fichienau kaælingische lmperium si f. Herrmann, Die Synoden. Cartellieri l rio. Lion, Dcutschland7° f. Steinbach, Das Fran- ize kenreich 78 f. Mayer, Staatsauffas- III*-*8 '7* ff. Zöllner to ff. Sprandel too. Haendlcr iiy f. Kaeten Il 8 qi If. Fichtenau, Das ksrolîiigicche *97 . Schieffer, Die Ka- Das rolingcr iii f. Richc, Die Karolin- 33q ff. Hartmann, Dit Synoden

Schieffer, Die Karolingcr i iz ff. z53 ff. The rulers of the Carolingian

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25 Einh. mila Karoli zy. Ann. reg. fr. 8ia ff. esp. 8iy f. Thegan az f. Astron. zq f. 39, Hz. Nith. hist. z,z. Reginon, chron. 8i8. LMA 1 ip8j,

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27 Ann.reg.Fr.8z*.ßsvon.y.Sm- son l ip ff. Mühlbacher II 6i ff. Schieffer, Die Knrolinger im. Ri- che, The Carolingians x8y. Boshof, Louis the Pious try

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29 Astron. xy f. jj

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jt Thegan i 3; ry. Astron. -s f. Ann. reg. fr. 8i3 f. Simson 1 5s f. 6q f. Mühlbacher IIy f . R. Schneider,

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33 Ann. z Fr. 8zy, 8zr. Jtnn. Berlin. 83y, Ann. SiCh. 81y. Ascron. j r f. dtv Lexikon v ! *^7- LMA IV rIz6 f. Sirztson I 'So . z y1. Dütnm- ltr US ff. Schieffer, Die Karolinger

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34 Ann. **reg. fr.** 8iq ff. **Thega* >7-** Astron. Hz f. S. Ann. Sith. 8zo. *LMA1146j*, V iyj8, zoy5. Simson l i q ff, i58 ff. iy3 ff. Mühlbaeher II yq ff. Hauptmann, Croats, Guten

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3y Ann. reg Fr. 8iz

y6 Ibid. Astron. y f. SimSDft 7 ff. Schieffer quoted from HKG III/i, i Er

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38 Ann. reg. Fr. 824. Thegan 31; 49. Astron. 30; 37. Tusculum Lexikon 90 f. LMA III 2160 f. Simson I 216 ff. Mühlbacher II 43 f. Dümmler I 24 f. Ermoldus Nigellus zit. nach Riché, Die Welt 98. Anton, Die Iren 606 ff. Godman 45 ff. 250 ff.

39 Mühlbacher II 58 f.

40 Simson I 311 mit den Quellenhinweisen

41 Ann. reg. Fr. 826 ff. Astron. 40 ff. LMA VI 1406. Simson I 47 ff. 267 ff. 273 ff.

42 Ann. reg. Fr. 824 ff. Ann. Fuldens. 828 f. LMA VI 1407 f. Simson I 223, 235 f. 253, 277, 297 f. Mühlbacher II 57 f. Schieffer, Die Karolinger 123

43 Ann. reg. Fr. 828. Astron. 42. Simson I 299

44 Ann. reg. Fr. 815. Astron. 25. Wetzer/Welte VI 458. HEG I 580 f. LThK [1]VI 494. Kelly 113 f. LMA V 1877 f. Simson I 60 ff. 234. Hartmann, Geschichte Italiens III 1. H. 96. Gregorovius I/2 478. Mühlbacher II 14. Stratmann, Die Heiligen IV 173. Cartellieri I 241. Haller, Papsttum II 18, 24. Seppelt/Schwaiger 96 f. Seppelt II 186 f. Prinz, Grundlagen und Anfänge 102. Schieffer, Die Karolinger 115. Riché, Die Karolinger 180. Hartmann, Die Synoden 120, 286. Moser 73. Peter de Rosa stellt die ausgerissenen Augen und die abgeschnittene Zunge als Tatsache dar: Gottes Erste Diener 58

45 Ann. reg. Fr. 816. Thegan 16 ff. Astron. 26. LP Vita Steph. IV. 2,49 ff. JW 1, 316 ff. LThK[1] IX 805, IX[2] 1039 f. HKG III/1 124. HEG I 584. Kühner, Lexikon 55. Kelly 114 f. Simson I 67 ff. Mühlbacher II 14 ff. Gregorovius 12, 482 f. Cartellieri I 241. Eichmann I 15 ff. 40 ff. Zur Krone generell: II 57 ff. Fritze, Papst 43 ff. Aubin 152. Haller II 24. Seppelt II 200 ff. Ullmann 215 ff. bes. 218. Gontard 177. Dawson 252. Ermoldus Nigellus zit. nach Riché, Die Welt 91. Ders. Die Karolinger 180. Schieffer, Die Karolinger 115. O. Engels 23 f. Fried, Der Weg 344 f. Boshof, Ludwig der Fromme 136 ff., wie oft etwas apologetisch, weshalb ihm Frieds Interpretation auch «nicht nachvollziehbar» ist. Oder S. 162 Anm. 389, «ohne daß wir hier auf Einzelheiten eingehen könnten, nicht überzeugt».

46 Ann. reg. Fr. 817. Kelly 115. LMA VI 1612. HEG I 585. Mühlbacher II 18. Gregorovius I 2, 484. Seppelt II 203 ff. Hahn 15 ff. Prinz, Grundlagen und Anfänge 108. Boshof, Ludwig der Fromme 139 f.

47 Ann. reg. Fr. 823. Astron. 36. Kühner, Lexikon 56. Kelly 115. LMA VI 1752. Mühlbacher II 34. Cartellieri I 241, 247. Gregorovius II 1, 487. Schnürer II 29. Eichmann I 47 f. Seppelt II 205. Ullmann 233 ff. Aubin 152. Riché, Die Karolinger 184. Schieffer, Die Karolinger 121 f.

48 Ann. reg. Fr. 823. Thegan 30. Astron. 37 f. Ann. Sith. 823. Kelly 114 f. LMA III 1673 ff. bes. 1681. HKG III/1, 129. Simson I 202 ff. Mühlbacher II 34 f. Gregorovius I 2, 488. Hartmann, Geschichte Italiens III 1. H. 111 ff. Cartellieri I 246 f. Haller II 25. Seppelt II 205 f. Seppelt/Schwaiger 97. Gontard 177. Zimmermann, Papstabsetzungen 37 f.

49 Ann. reg. Fr. 824. Thegan 30. LThK I[1] 985 meldet, daß Baronius zur Annahme der Kardinalswürde durch Androhung der Exkommunikation gezwungen werden mußte. LThK I[3] 31 unterdrückt das peinliche Fak-

tum. Kelly 116. Simson I 213 ff. Gregorovius I 2, 489. Seppelt II 206

50 Constitutio Romana: MG Capit. I 323 f. Vgl. auch: De imperatoria potestate in urbe Roma libellus: MG SS III 720. LP Vita Eugen 2,69 f. JW 1,320 ff. Ann. reg. Fr. 824. Astron. 38. Kühner, Lexikon 56. Kelly 116 ff. 133. LMA III 176 f. IV 295. VI 1752. HKG III/1 129 f. Simson I 225 ff. Hartmann, Geschichte Italiens III 1. H. 113 ff. Mühlbacher II 35 f. Cartellieri I 247. Gregorovius I 2, 487 f. Seppelt/Schwaiger 98. Seppelt II 205, 208 f. Haller II 25 f. Steinbach, Das Frankenreich 73. Löwe, Deutschland 174. Fischer, Königtum, Adel 81. Prinz, Grundlagen und Anfänge 108. Schieffer, Die Karolinger 121 f. Hartmann, Die Synoden 173 ff.

51 MG Cap. 2,4. MG Conc. 2,606 ff. Astron. 35. Altaner/Stuiber 225 f. Kraft 448. Simson I 303, 315 ff. Hartmann, Geschichte Italiens III 1. H. 96 ff. 128 f. Dümmler I 48 ff. Cartellieri I 245. Steinbach, Das Frankenreich 72 f. Voigt, Staat und Kirche 419 f. Faulhaber 46 ff. 100 ff. Mohr 91 f. Löwe, Deutschland 181 f. Halphen, The Church 444. Bund 398 ff. Schieffer, Die Karolinger 121, 127. Riché, Die Karolinger 183, 185. Vgl. dazu auch Gurjewitsch 196 ff.

52 Simson I 300 ff. mit vielen Quellenhinweisen. Dümmler I 46 f. Cartellieri I 252. Dörries II 217. Weinrich, Wala 60 ff. Goetz 27. Duby 12

53 Ann. reg. Fr. 819. Nith. hist. 1,2. Thegan 25 f. Astron. 8; 32. Simson I 145 ff. (hier das Luden-Zitat). Mühlbacher II 39 f. Konecny, Die Frauen 99 f. Fichtenau, Das karolingische Imperium 250 ff. (hier das Agobard-Zitat).

54 Ann. reg. Fr. 828 f. Thegan 35 f. Astron. 43. Nith. hist. 1,3. Mühlbacher II 40 f. Simson I 325 ff. Faulhaber 50 f. Sprigade 80 f. Boshof, Erzbischof Agobar 195 ff. Weinrich, Wala 70 f. Fichtenau, Das karolingische Imperium 252 ff.

55 Ann. reg. Fr. 827; 829. Nith. hist. 1,3. Astron. 43. LMA I 1985. Simson I 330 ff. Mühlbacher II 74 ff. Schieffer, Die Karolinger 127 f. Vgl. auch die folg. Anm.

56 Thegan 36. Astron. 44. Ann. Fuldens. 830. Ann. Bertin. 830. Regin. chron. 838. Pasch. Radbert. Epitaph. Arsenii 2,8. Agobard, Lib. apologet. 2. LMA III 934, IV 2121, V 2123., VI 2170. Simson I 329, 335 f. Mühlbacher II 74 ff. Boshof, Erzbischof Agobard 196 ff. 208. Weinrich, Wala 70 ff. Fichtenau, Das karolingische Imperium 167 f. Bund 401 ff. Riché, Die Karolinger 184 f. 187. Ders. Die Welt 117, 222 f.

57 Nith. hist. 1,3. Ann. Bertin. 830 f. Astron. 44 ff. Thegan 36. Ann. Mett. 830. Paschal. Radbert. Vita Walae 9 f. LMA III 225, 295, 1682. Simson I 335 ff. 341 ff. 351 ff. II 1 ff. 232 ff. Mühlbacher II 82 ff. Dümmler I 56 ff. 65 ff. Cartellieri I 253 ff. 286 f. Sprigade 80 ff. Weinrich, Wala 74 ff. Konecny, Die Frauen 97 f. Fichtenau, Das karolingische Imperium 257 f. 267 f. Schieffer, Die Karolinger 128 ff. Riché, Die Karolinger 187 f.

58 Thegan 39. Astron. 47 f. Ann. Fuldens. 832. Ann. Bertin. 832 f. Nith. hist. 1,3 f. LMA I 216, VI 2170 HKG III/1 140. HBG I 263 f. Simson II 17 ff. 32 ff. 40 ff. Mühlbacher II 88 ff. 91 ff. Cartellieri I 244, 246 f. 256. Hartmann, Geschichte Italiens III. 1. H. 133 ff. Steinbach, Das Frankenreich. 73. Haller II 38. Seppelt/Schwaiger 98 f. Aubin 153 f. Bund 405 ff. Fleckenstein,

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59 Ann. Xantens. 833 Thegan 42. Ann. Fuldens. 833. Ann. Bertin. 833. Astron. 48. Nith. hist. 1,4. Paschas. Radb. Epit. Arsen. 2,14 ff. LMA III 1405. HKG III/1. 141. Dümmler I 74 ff. Simson II 31 ff. 44 ff. 61. Mühlbacher II 98 ff. Hartmann, Geschichte Italiens III 1. H. 138. Cartellieri I 256. Voigt, Staat und Kirche 448 ff. Boshof, Erzbischof Agobard 216 ff. Sprigade 78 f. Grotz 22. Steinbach, Das Frankenreich 74. Weinrich, Wala 79 ff. Dawson 254 f. legt die päpstliche Taktik noch zugunsten des Papstes aus. Seppelt/Schwaiger 99. Fleckenstein, Grundlagen und Beginn 125. Fichtenau, Das karolingische Imperium 278 f. Riché, Die Karolinger 189 f. Schieffer, Die Karolinger 131 f. Ullmann 246 ff. Bund 407 ff.

60 Astron. 48. Thegan 42 ff. Ann. Bertin. 833. Ann. Remens. 833. Ann. Fuldens. 834. Dümmler I 79 ff. Simson II 52 ff. 62 ff. 76. Mühlbacher II 100 ff. Hartmann, Geschichte Italiens III 1. H. 139. Cartellieri I 257. Boshof, Erzbischof Agobard 240 f., 253. Voigt, Staat und Kirche 448 ff. Bund 409 ff. Schieffer, Die Karolinger 132 f. Riché, Die Karolinger 190.

61 Zit. ebd. 191. Vgl. auch LMA V 144. HBG I 263 f. Simson II 54 ff. 80 ff. Zum geistigen Werk von Rhabanus Maurus: Haendler 125 ff.

62 Nach Riché, Die Karolinger 190

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fourth gcgen opposite the clergy. Vous, Herrschcrtreffen q nennr im AœcMu6anC. BüfitLxdwigt} not -The Deucscftc", but -of East Franconia-. In addition Brùhl, Germany-France *4^ *-

iq Afín. Fuldens. Bly. /tnn. Bcrtin. 44' 53- Sy. LMA IV i6t , Y ziya f. Dümmler 11 y6 ff. Mühlbachrr JJ *zan, M II, zi , z99.* Srhur io f. i 3 ff. Lugge y9 ff. Löwe, Goz- bald von Nioderaltaich -*4 ff. Schieffcr, Das Frankenrcich Joy ff. Fried, Die Formierting i6ȷ7 f. DerS, The Way 39s. Schulz, Vom Rtich der Franken 33z. Hartmann, The synods zaz ff, ¢66.

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21 Nith. hist. 6 Ann. Bertin. ßer. Aztn. Xaritens- *43

22 Ann. Berlin. 868i 8yj. Regin. chron. 8ye. LMA IV 5 nt. Tusculum Lcxikon **7 *. Dûmmler tt jzz ff. 334- 156 ff. 5imson I 3id. Miihl- bacher II 3j$ ff. Grntz, iö8 f. Spri- gade q ff. Riche, Die Karoliogcr *zz9.1,* z3y

23 Cf. for example Ann. Brriin. 8qq f. 8 o. LMA V 96j. HEG I 6oq. Schieffec, Die Karolinger ig f. Riché, Die

24 Ann. Bertin. 8yz, 8.6 f. Regin. **117–135**

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25 Ann. Fuldens. 844. Ann. Bertin. 844. LMA V 159. Mühlbacher II 219 f. Sprigade 89 f.

26 Ann. Fuldens. 843 f. Ann. Bertin. 844. LMA VI 2170 f. HEG I 603. Werner, Die Ursprünge Frankreichs 437 f.

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34 Ann. Xantens. 861 f. Über Staub als Reliquie und Heilmittel: Trüb 108 ff. – ein enthüllendes Buch über den christlichen Heiligenkult

35 LMA VII 2000 f. HEG I 160 f. 362 f. Vernadsky 252 ff. Jireček 61 ff. 81 ff. 100 ff. Dannenbauer II 7. Rice 140. bes. 33 ff. Herrmann, J., Urheimat und Herkunft, Einleitung 12 f.

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13 Nicholas I defends the Pieudo-Isidorian Dtcretals in his **letter of January 86y to** the Greek bishops: Mansi iy,6py ff. MG Epp. VI jq f. CIC csn. zzz $ i. Taddcy 968. Kelly z8. Schubert 11 iä. Group II ryr f. W0br io6 f. n6. Stppelt/Schwaiger io3. Ullmann cit. her Kühner, Imperium der Päpstc qy ff. Fuhrmann, Die Fälschungcn im Mitielalter y3i. Ders. Einflufi und Vnrbreitung 3, i6y ff. iqu ff. On the discussion of the history of the impact of the pseudo-Islamic decrctals, see also Fuhrmann, Päpstlicher Primer 313 ff. Hellmann, The Synod of Hohcnaltheim i98

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16 LP a,iyi ff. JW 3 3qi ff. Ann. &rtin. 858. Kelly izj. Gregorovius 1i, yaz. Stppelt 11 zqi. Seppelt/Schwaiger roj. Holder lI f . GrQtZ ' - 4-

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tq **Regin.** chron. 8d8. Kelly '4 +"-tenbach/Dñmmler/Huf ^.349-HKG III/i ivy. Haller 11 }J, 6q f. Scppelt H zin

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22 Ann. Bertin. 85y; 863. regin. chron. 85$. Ann. Fuldens. 855. LMA II y8 f.V 92i, zw f. zr;ry. Dümniltr 3S* - 397- 399, II q. Mühlbacher ll *33 f. Hauck I! jjo. Zôllner zq$ ff. Schlcsinger, fCsrolingjsche Königswahlen z3¢ f. Kienast, Deutschland undFrsnkrcîch î jz f. Fleckenstein, Grundlagcn und Bcginn izd f. Fried, The Way j9y f.

*3 LMA III i6a9. Mñhlbacher 11 aye. Hauck II y6o f. Hartmano, Oie Synoden -74

24 Ann. B¢rrin. 86oi 86s; 86d. Regin. chron. 86d, &66 Ann. Xsncena. *8ö* . MC Csp. Il q6y ff. LThK îV' qq f. LMA IV i Sql f. Diimmler 11 j ff. 'to. Harrmann, Gcschichre

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26 Ann. Bertin. 863. Ann. Xantens. 864 f. Dümmler II 68 f. 71. Mühlbacher II 279 f. Gregorovius I 2, 527 f. Hartmann, Geschichte Italiens III 1. H. 256 f. Steinbach, Die Ezzonen 851. Haller II 65, 67. Neuss/Oediger 156 f. Seppelt II 262. Grotz 91 f. Konecny, Die Frauen 109. Hartmann, Die Synoden 282 f.

27 Ann. Xantens. 866. Hinkm. De divortio Lotharii reg. et Tetb. regin. (Migne PL 125, 623 ff.) Dümmler II 13 ff. 38. Mühlbacher II 283. Cartellieri I 296, 312. Mayer, Mittelalterliche Studien 22. Löwe, Deutschland 186. Brühl, Hinkmariana 56 ff. Haller II 63 ff. Neuss/Oediger 158 f. Steinbach, Das Frankenreich 77. Grotz 44 ff. 88 f. Konecny, Die Frauen 105 f. 114 ff. Anton, Fürstenspiegel 282, 329, 425. Penndorf 54 ff. Staubach 150 ff.

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29 Regin. chron. 865; 868. Ann. Bertin. 867; 869. Ann. Fuldens. 864, 867. Ann. Xantens. 871. Mühlbacher II 294 ff. 305. Seppelt II 265. Grotz 97. Stratmann, Das Recht der Erzbischofsweihe 60. Zapperi 15

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31 Häring III 322. Vgl. dazu Deschner, Das Kreuz 236 ff. bes. 239. Hartmann, Die Synoden 167 (mit Verweis auf MG Cap. I 304 f.) und 275

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41 LThK III¹ 112 f. LMA V 1244, 1382 f. VI 597. HEG I 601, 609, 627 f. 878 f. Zahlreiche Literaturhinweise: HBG I 267 Anm. 148. HKG III/1 169 ff. Hauck II 718 ff. Stadtmüller 139, 141. Hauptmann, Die Frühzeit 312. Maß, Das Bistum Freising 119 ff. Heuwieser I 152 f. Graus, Die Entwicklung der Legenden 161. Zöllner 202. Prinz, Grundlegung und Anfänge 118. Schulze, Vom Reich der Franken 382 ff. Schreiner, Byzanz 76, 143

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29 Thietm. z,z. LMA II 358. naeglt II ° 4 ft. °7Ii 3*

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30 Thietm. 2,9 f. Vita Brunon. 35. LMA V 1786. Hauptmann, Die Frühzeit 324. Keller, Das Kaisertum 247. Fischer, Das Zeitalter des heiligen Ulrich 85. Schramm, Kaiser, Könige und Päpste III 162

31 LMA I 1321 f. Fried, Die Formierung 79. Riché, Die Karolinger 312. Pätzold 45 f.

32 Thietm. 2,12; 2,14; 2,19; 2,28. Widukind 2,9; 2,20; 3,54. Taddey 522. LMA IV 2160. Hauck III 107. Hauptmann, Die Frühzeit 321. Keller, Das Kaisertum Ottos 374. Holtzmann, Geschichte I 126, 134 f. Ders. Aufsätze 3. Kossmann 452 f. Bullough, Nach Karl 321. Haller, Das altdeutsche Kaisertum 17, 29. Stern/Bartmuss 192. Donnert 333 f. Fleckenstein, Grundlagen und Beginn 161 f. Schramm, Kaiser, Könige und Päpste III 160. H. K. Schulze, Hegemoniales Kaisertum 230. Lubenow, 18 ff. Althoff, Das Bett des Königs 141 ff. Fried, Der Weg 500 f.

33 Hauck III 84 ff. 96. Boshof, Königtum 13. Fried, Der Weg 500 f.

34 Widukind 2,4; 2,20 f. Adalb. cont.

RzØnp4.HEG!6ą.HackM iIL77 2. øf. HOhimann, G– schicb£ß 1 ION, 13$ f. He. essays zc 3. Brüske, Untersuchungcn zi f. Stern/Bartmuss rqi. Ludat, An Ebe und Oder to if. Fleckenstcinf BulSt 4*' 44- f9 . ye f. t-łaller 11 i8z. Luhenow z . Schulze, Hegemoniales Kaistrtum y7

35 Thietm. a,iz. Widukind j,g3 Ğ. Liuipr. hist. Orion. to, W. Tsddey 5zz. LMA ll 55t, itoi f. lll *7 *- IV iq8a, Vl iœq. Hauck lll 88 ff. too ff. Holttraann, Gcschichtt I i3ş, i6o ff. iyq f. Hampe, Charles the Great 7 - /\hIheİIIt +79- 8x. Stcrn/ Bartmuss zyj. Pauold /j f. richtensu, orders of life zoo

3ö &idukind j,yo. LMA 1 8,Vi tooy, i 39c f. Hauck III top ff. On the Tota- len-Warc-I'rcdigt, on genocide and on the overhyped fzopsgietung gcwslccaciger Inroletsnz already and especially in the Bible: Buggie jS ff. jä If, GB ff. yj If. According to Stzeminger's Die je- **suanische** Echik zz6 f., -the great Yahweh is relatively harmless in comparison to the living Father of the New Testament.- Cf. also Ders., Gottes Güte zi5 ff. Bacger zoo f. Mynarek, Denkverbot 8j ff. Deschner, Die unheilvollen Aus- wirkungen i8z ff. For the rest, the Bible can be used for everything. For since it not only contains the Sermon on the Mount with its call to love one's enemies, but also the Sermon of Samuel with its call to genocide, it is no wonder that it can be quoted just as well on political advertisements as it can be quoted in field service campaigns..", writes Birnbscher Ią8. Never to be forgotten about H. Hermann, Passion 38: -The true killer is not the torturer, not the professional henkcr, but the anonymous crowd of spectators.

07 Thicim°›7• °'i6 f. Widukind 3,8. Flodoard Ann. is-- * - b. contin. Regin. qyo. Naegle 11 3jo ff. Holtz- mann, Gescłiichte 7i f. mo, zi9, 23J {. Ders. essays 5 f. Stern/ Bartmuss rqş. Claude, History of the Ernbistum Magdeburg I W fi. x5 If. bcs. 3ø If. q íí. Wcntz/Schwi- neköper W f. y, 8i If. Brsckmann, Magdeburg as the capital i 8, zq u.o. Lippelt iyi f. Hlawitsch¥a, Vom Frsnkč£lreich +*7 Kich£, OiC Karolinger 3oi f. 37* *ätzold ą6

3 8 **Thietm. 2,14; 2,29. Widukind** j,66 f. LMA 47a,VI öiä, gray, VII 5i f. 88o f. HEG I 9o5 If. HKG III/ i, z6z f. Hauptmann, Die Frühzeit jaz f. Holœmann, History 1 i8o ff. Ketnyúski, The Intmduc- tion i6. Halecki iq f. Hensel zjs ff.

39 Thietm. ą,yy. Hauptmann, Die **Frúbzeit** 3i3 f. Holtzmann, Geschichte I Iq8 f. Kossmann 4sz f. Miyer, Mirtelalterliche5tuditø 66. Bos1, **Europa** aj6. Rice ijy. Rhode it

4° Thictrn. 8,3z. According to Thietm. ibid. the population of Kiev consisted of before allcm from -ksinpfrtichtigen Dä nen- (Danis). Adalb. contin. Re- gin. qyq; 96i. dtv Bd i J, z96. LMA I q8 f. III i rat ff. i eye f. 1398 f. V i rat ff. esp. i iz3 f. VI 756 f. ijqş f. VI +37 f. 88o f. i i iz f. HEG I 6qą, 8y, pxJ ff. q89 ff. HKG 1fi** *7S ff. Bcnz zz f. Am- mønn zz. Fleckenstein, Grundlø- gon und Beginn i6j f. Richi, Die Karolinger 3i3. Beuriiann, Otto the Great 68 f. Schreiner, Byzantium *4' ppe -7* If.Blum zy f. jsnin/ Sedov/Toločko zoo iY.

41 **Thietm. 7,43 f. Wetzer/Welte IX** 4$7 - LMA I i Jsz. 11 35q f. *794 f.{wİfd q8q as the year of the field

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train to Kherson) III 2ä8 ff. bas77* ff. V a6y, 3os, i izd (Hösch). VII 137 f. HEG I 841 ff. 9z9 II. q9z. Rice ryu. Vcrnadsky z86 f. Jirccek 1 iii. Ammann i3, zi. Hellmann, Slavic, especially Eastern Slavic zßq f. Blum x t f.

42 Thietm 7.73. LMA 119.9 f. V 3o6 (A. Poppe). Hellmann, SlzwiSChes, esp. ostsl. z66 f. Ammann z3

43 &eczer/Welte I z f. LThK i' gyt f. I' yi3 f. Kelly i i5, i i8. LMA I S9o, II zzo ff. {H. Ehrhardt), III 99,'s^7• IV i 86 ff. (Ch. RadtkeJ, i88j G. iqi8, VII 8o . HEC I qjj. Hauck II 698 ff. Walterichtid *7 ff. Stratmann, Das Recht dtr Ercbischolsweihe 62 f. Haendler i i9 ff. Fricdmann i9j f. iq8

4# Thietm. .*7- *d->gon Bremen, Gesta Hammaburgens. cccl. pnntif. z,js, ',jy. Transfer of the Dane ¥önigs Harald in detail: Ermoldus Nigellus, Carmen IV v. 6o6 ff. (Pocr. lat. aevi Carol. T! 7fil. lctA III oz (Skovgaard-l'ctcrscn), IV +f*+s +9*9- 34- HKG fTI/z,z6t. HEC f 6yj, yyj f. Hxuck t! 7 ** III 8o ff.

4Œ Thietm. a,y. Adam•›4• LThK 1' 8z, I' r3i. dcv Lexicon r6, xqi. LMA I io4, IV i9zq, VI izf7' i qi. HKG III/i, z6q. Hauck II yo8 ff. III q3 f. 99 ff. {here source references)

q6 LMA IV i9jo. KosminskiSkaskin1 **7- F8Ckmann, Gesammelte Aufsätze 3i. Hlawitschka, Emperor Otco I. i3 f. On the foundation of the diocese of Mei Ben, see Pfeifen, Die Bistümer Prag und MSB*° 77 - >p. 8i ff. 2On the -sacral-kingship of the Neutnic, see the instructive treatise by G. Feelcy-Harnik, Herrscherltunst iqy ff.

47 Fennzcn, Kleine Kirchengeschichte i6 . Abendzcitung Miinchen, a3. July z9q . Cf. on the io. Cf. on the io. century: De- schner, Die Politik pacsim a'wit: DeschnerfFetrovit, World War of Religions Tsi ff. Umc)jic passim Documentation der Pfipste I u. II

281 ff.

48 LP 1,470 f. JW 1,284. LP 2,86 f. JW 1,327. LP 2,246 ff. JW 1,466 ff. LP 2,251 JW 1,469 ff. LP 2,234 JW 1,444 f. Zimmermann, Papstabsettions 'y8 ff.

49 LP 2,251, JW 1,469 f. LP 2,229 JW +'439 - >'7 $ LP a,z o f. JW r q ff. z,yo6. LP a,zy3 ff. YW '"7+ " '79' LP zjt J** '4®4 '. LP z, ÿ J ' 4S4 f. M ay JW i,q y f. LP a,rqo ff. jW i,z3y f. LP ^-*79 J I,$ 6 f. LP a,z6i f. JW i,q9 f. Zimmermann, Papstabserzungen iq8 f. Nicschtie do ff. Cf. also the relevant texts in Kühner, Kelly, in the LMA

Je LP z,zjx ff. JW *i,p5* ff. Kühner, Lexicon *s f. Kelly ija ff. LMA VII iy8y. Hartmann, History Italy III a. H. zes f. Dümmer III 6oi. Gregorovius z,z, y6 ff. CartelJieri 1,368. Haller II i43. StPprlt II 33S f. SeppeltSchwaiger i i8 f. Zimmermann, Das dunkle jahrhund -7 Ders. Papstabsctzun- gcn 6

r Kelly ij6. LMA V i8q . *+7 . ri6 , who. HEG 1 83d ff. sepprlt 11 33q f. Zimmermann, The dark century jy. Beck Mio fl. de Rosa 63

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$3 Liutpr. antapod. a,q8. kelly i jj. HKG III/i, aa6. HEG 7ß. Dümmler III 6oz f. Hartmann, Cesrhichtc

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58 Flodoard 946. De triumph. Christi 12,7. Liutpr. antapod. 3,18; 3,43 ff. 4,14. Kelly 139. Kühner, Lexikon 68 ff. HKG III/1, 226 f. HEG I 650 ff. 659. LMA I 280 f. V 158, VI 321. Dümmler III 603. Gregorovius I 2, 592 ff. Hartmann, Geschichte Italiens III 2. H. 215 ff. Haller II 148 ff. Seppelt II 345 ff. Seppelt/Schwaiger 118 f. Holtzmann, Geschichte I 99. Zimmermann, Das dunkle Jahrhundert 74, 76 ff. 93, 96 f. Ders. Papstabsetzungen 78. Gontard 191. de Rosa 64

59 Liutpr. antapod. 5,3. LMA I 280 f. Kühner, Lexikon 69 f. Kelly 140 f. Seppelt II 348 f. (hier Zitat von E. Sackur)

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62 Thietm. 2,5 Liutpr. antapod. 5,31. Widukind 3,7; 3,9 f. Flodoard 950 f. Vita Mathild. poster. 15. LMA I 95, 145, 1933 f. V 2128. Hartmann, Geschichte Italiens III 2. H. 236 f. 243 ff. H. Keller, Zur Struktur der Königsherrschaft 177 ff. Fleckenstein, Grundlagen und Beginn 170 f. Zimmermann, Das dunkle Jahrhundert 100

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65 Liutpr. de Ott. rege 10. Kelly 142 f. Haller II 151. Fleckenstein/Bulst 65. Zimmermann, Das dunkle Jahrhundert 135 f.

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69 Thierm. a,ij. fidalb. cont. Regin. qä3 **f. Liutpr. de** Ott. **regt.** j f. 6 f. Otte v. Freie. Chr. 6,zy. LMA II i 9o, IV 88s (Singer),VI i6yz, HEC I ä6 , 6qi. Hartmann, Geschichte Italiens IY i. H. j fi. Gregorgvius l z, dz9 ff. Hampe, Die Bereifung i6j ff. Halltr II i5 f. Ders. Dss sltdeutsche Kaisertum zö. Scppclt 11 j58 f. Schöffel I riy. Fleckenstein/ Bulstßy. Prinz, Foundations and beginnings i38 f. Fuhrmann, Konstantin nische Schenkung iz8 ff. Zimmermann, Papstabsetzungen 8i ff. aye ff. Ders. Das dunkle jahrhun- dert i44 ff. '54• Grsf 5 ff. Hla- wiischka, Vom Frankenreich iz6 f. Baumann, Otto the Great 68

70 Adsib. cont. fi.cgin. p6j. Liurpr. de Orr. regt 8 ff. Ann. Hildesheim. 9S3. Hartmann, Geschichte haliens IV i. H. 6 ff. Grcgorovius l z, Izo *b.* Holtzmann, Geschichte I iqq. Seppelt 11 q* Haller II iyfi. Boye 5 ff. Taugt roy ff. Zirnmer- mann, Das dunkle jahfhunderL *4 . Ders. Papsiabsenungen zJj ff. Prinz, Foundations and beginnings iqq. Gontard i9y

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74 LP t,a3i JW i@q f. Liuipr. de Oir. regc z f. Adalb. conr. &egin. p6t f. Kelly ząj. Hattmann, Geschichtc !talicns IV T. H. 't f. Gr¢gorovius I z, dz6 f. Haller II sjy. Goncard zyy. Boyc y6. Scppclt fi j6z. **Zimmer**mann, Papstabsetzungen qz ff. ^47- Ders. Das dunkle Jahrhundert i5a. Schreiner, Gregory VIII, riding naked on a donkey -7° f.

75 Holtzmann, History 11 3o3. Hal- ler II nty f. Hcrtling i ji. Gontatd t9q f. Daniel-Rops 68ä, 68q. VgL **also** Buggłc y f. **Deschn<r, Dic** Poli- tik der Papste passim, esp. II itp ff.

7+ LP z,2$3 Ź' J + '-l7 – cont. Rggin, 96} f. Kelly I§$ f. LMA V fi4*. Hortmann, Gcschichte ftaliens iV . H. ¥7 f. Gregorovius liz, dzy f. Holtzmsnn, Ccschich-

te 1 roy. Holder 11 i 8 f. Seppelr 11 j6j ff. CountJ7 f. Gontard i96. Zimmermann, Papstabsctzungen q5 ff. Ders. Das dunkle Jahrhund-= si f. Dtrs. The papacy in the Middle Ages ioi. Beumann, The Ot- tons ioi. Schreiner, Gregor VIII, wakes up on a donkey charming 7*- Althoff/Keller II i98

77 HEG l 6qz. Holtzmann, History I drew. Büttner, Der Weg Otios yi. Hay 339. Steinbach, Die Ezzonen 8J5. Ktmpf, Das mittelalterliche Ksisetrum zz8. I'tosminski/Skaskin ij3. Sttrn/Bart muss i88. Zimniermann, Das Papsttum im ktittelalter i'xi ff. Bullough, After Karl jzx. Prinz, Foundations and Beginnings rqq. Hlawitschka, Vom Frankenreich i i8 f. rzj, i3i. On the Karlstra- dition: Detr 8 If. Baumann, Grab **Und** T 4rOn q ff. - **A "new lntef-** pretation- attempted, gctrru in the footsteps of his doctoral father, the Hlawitschka student R. Pauler, Das Regnuni Italiae passim, b-- ^ 4 - On the historians' discussion of German Italian policy in the Middle Ages, see above all the very inetruc- tjven Darlcgungcn by Althoff/ Kelltr a Bde passim and Fried, Der Weg jzq ff.

78 Pauler, Das Regnum ltaliae 9 ff. *zi I.* ion ff.

79 Ibid. 6 ff. The quay was also open to Italian monasteries, for example 2otz i7z ff.

8o LMA l i9e8, VI 5*' **95 HEG I 6qy. Hlawitschka, Vom Frankenreich **130,** Emperor Otto ^4-- Baumann, Die Ottonen im f. io8. Pätznld q8. Glocktr, Die Verwandten der Ottnnen i56 f.

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82 LU K }j* 74 irz Jahrbü- cher l xc ff. Hanmann, Geschichte Italiens IV i. H.^7 ff. Flecäensrein, Grundlagen und Beginn iz5 f. Building mann, Die Otionen ioq. Glocker, Die Verwandten der Ortonen ry ff. Hlawitsckke, Emperor Orto l. Ito. Pützold #8

8j Glocker, The Yerwsndten dcrOxonen z yj

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iz. CHAPTER

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(qγ3-p83)

Otco v. F'rcic.

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7 LMA V 1zoh, Vi 6 r6 f. VII z4 8t. HEG l 9oy. Holtzmann, Gtschichre I zyz f. Rhode j ff. y. **Flcckens**tone/Bulst 8
8 Thietm. j,8. Widukind a,3q. Richer v. R°' 3- 9 ff. bts. 3,yi. LThK X' 9do f. 11' yad. Wctzcrf el- te IX qy ff.Taddey i6x, i 3z3. LMA r3. zir f Y sra, z'- . HEG l S * 'i 7- Vl1 8jo f. Uhlirz, Jahrbücher I toy ff. bes, i i6. Jan- - - - 3.1 Staber a6. Walterscheid +87 ff. Bullough, After Charles 3x3. Hlawitechka, Vom Frankenreich i 5, ijy. Dtrs. Emperor Otto II. i 8, i5i. Glocken, Dit Verwandten 7 ff. r9i, iq8. Beyreuther, Otto 11. xq. Fichtenau, Lebensordnungen Jo. Sprandel red
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Zufferey, M., Der Mauritiuskult im Früh- und Hochmittelalter, in: HJb, 1986

ABBREVIATIONS

of sources, scientific journals and reference works

Adalb. contin. Regin.: Adalbtrt of Wei8enburg/Magdeburg: Continuatio fleginonis
Adam of Bremen, Gesta Hamm: Gcsia Hammaburgensis ecclesiae pontÎ(Îcum
Agobard, Lib. apoJoget: Agobard vos Lyon: Liher apologetîcus
AKG: Archive for cultural history
AmrhKG: Archive for medieval history
Church history
Ann. AlarD.: Annales Alamannici
Ann. Allah.: Annales Altahensts maiote8
Ann. Bénin.: **juristes** Bertiniani
Ann. Corb.: Annalcs Corbeienses
Ann. Einsidl.: Annales Einsidlenses
Ann. Fort.: Annsles Farfenses
A n n . Fuld.: Annales r-uldenses
Ann. Hildesh.: Annales Hildesheimen-8PS
Ann. Lsub.: Annales Laubiensei
Ann. Lob.: Annales Lobienste
Ann. Magdeb.: Anna les Magdeburgenses
Ann. Mett-: Annales Mettenses
Ann. Mett. prinr.: Annalcs Metienies prions
Ann. Quedlinb.: **Annatcs** Qucdlinbur-nS S
Ann. ry Franc.: Annales regni Francorum (Imperial annals)
Ann. Race: Arinales Remenses {see also Flodoard)
Ann. Sangall.: Annales Sangnllenses maiores
Ann. Vedast.: Annalcs Vedasiini
Ann. Wcissenb.: Annalcs Weissenburgenscs
Ann. Xani.: Annales Xantenses

Arbeo, Vita Heimhr.: Arbeo von Freising; Vita ssncii Haimrhammi
Ascron.: Astronomus: Vira Hludowici imperatoris
AUF: Archie für Urkundcnforschung

Bonif. ep.: Boniface: Letters

Chron. Hildesh.: Chronicon Hildesheimense
CIC: Codex juris canonici

DAMt Deucsches Archiv für Geschichte des Mittelalints b937-iqd), sb i9 i (vol. 8) Oeutschee Archiv ftir Erforschung des Mictelalters
DOP: Dumbarton Oaks Papers, ed. Harvard University 894 ff.

Einhard: Vice Karoli
Ekkeh.: Ekkehard 1V. by Sc. Callen: Casus ssncti Golli
Erchemp.: Erchempert of Montoassino: Ystoriola Langobardorum Beneventi degencium
Ermold. Nip: Ermoldui Nigellus: In honorem Hludowici Christianissimi Cacsaris Augusci

Flod. dc Christi triumph - Flodoard iron Reims: De Christi triumphis Blad.
Hisc. Remens.: Flodoard of Reims: Historiarum ecclesiae Remmsis libri IV
FMSi: Frührnitielalterli¢he Studien, Berlin rq6y ff.
FrhLG: Forschungen cur oberrheinischen Landesgeschichtc

Greg. dial.: Pope Cregor 1st: Dialogi de

vita et miraculis patrum Italicorum i4 Biicher)

HBC: Handbook of the history of Bavaria. First volume: The old Bayern. The duchy until t h e end of the tenth century,

revised edition iq8i

HEG: Handbook of European History. Volume i: Europa im Wan- del von der Antike zum Mittelalter, edited by Theodor Schie- der, y. ed. ed. ppz

Helmet. Chron. Stay: Helrnold v. Bosau, Chronica Slavorum

HJb: Hiatorisclies Yearbook

HKG: Handbuch der Kirchengeschichte, edited by Huben Jcdin. iIUi: The Medieval Church: From the Early Middle Ages to the Gregorian Reform. Special edition iq8$

H2: Hiscorische Zcitschrih, Munich *i z3g* ff.

JGO: Jahrbiicher fiir Gecchichte Ost- europas, Munich et al. zpj6-zpg . New series zyjj ff.

JGU: Textbook of the history of the U65SR

joft. diac.: }ohsnnes Diaconus of Yenedig, Chronicon Venctum

/W' P. /a/??, Reg¢sca ponrifimm fto- **msnorum** ab condi¢B ecclcsis "d annum post Christttm nacum MCXCVMI, z. ed. by G. &sttenbsck z88 ff. reprint iq$6

Liutpr, anrspod.: Liutprand v. Cremone, antapodosia

Liuipr. hist. Otcon: Historia Ottonis

Liutpt. Lngatio: Legatio ad irnperatorem Cnnstantinopolitanum Nicephorurn Phocam

LMA: Lexicon of the Middle Ages 1-VII
1980–1995

LP: Liber Pontificalis z vol. cd. by L. Duchesne 1886 ff. z. Aufl.
! 9$$

LThK: Lcxikon fiir Thcologie und Church i. ed. i9)o ff. z. ed. iqy ff. j. completely revised ed. iq9j ff. {formerly ß d t . i-y)

Mansi: J. D. Maosi (ed.), Sacrorum Conciliorurn nova ec ampliasima collectio 3i vols. i7sq ff. reprint and continuation, ed. by -cit/Mariin, 6o vols, r9ei ff.

MG: Monuments Germaniae historica **1826 ff.**

MC Capit.: Ltges. Capitularia

MG **Conc.: Leges.** Goncilia

MC Coast: Lcges. Consricutioncs

MG Epp: Epistolae

MG SS: Scriptores

MIÒG: Communications from the Institute for Ósterreichische Geschichteforschung z88o ff.

Nith. hist: Nithardi historiarum libri **IV**

Ng'k. Cesm Kar.: No Led d'uta Ka- roli

i'ss<h. Itadb.: Paschasius Radb "rrus: Viti Walsc

Pasch. Radb. Epit. Ars.: Paschaiius Jtadbertes: Epitaphium Ardenti

lett. Damin. Vito Rom.: Pewus Damiani, Vita beati Romualdi

PL: J.-P. Migne, Patrolngiae eursus complerus. Series latina

QFiAB: Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken, Zeinclr. des PreuBisthen bzw. Deutschen Historischen Instituts in Rom, i8q8 ff.

Regin. chron.: Regino von Priim: Rcgi-

nonis chronica

Regin. de synod. caus.: Reginoof synodalibus causis ct disciplinis ecclesiasticis

Richcr: Ri<hcr of Reims: Richcri hi storiarum lib7i tY

Ïtuotg. Vic3 Brun,: &uocger of Cologne: Vita Brunonis

Sett. cent. it.: Settimane di studio del centro it4liano di studi sull'alto meiq$ff.

StM: Studi medievali i9eq II.

Thegan: Thegani vita

Thietmar von:

UG: Lower Franconian Gcs1ich e l

Vita Bernw.: Vita Sancti Bernwardf Episcopi

Ouldalr.: Vica SanctiPriim: De EpiscopiAugustani

&iduk.: Widukind ton Arvey: &es Gcs "e Ssxonicse

ZBKG: Journal of the British Church history i9iä ff.

:*Ztit* ch *nü* für bayerischr Lan- diotvo desgeschichteiqa8 ff.

ZKG: Zeitschrik für Kirchengeschich- It 7 '

:Zeitschrifi für Ostforschung Thietm,: If.

ChroniconZSRG GM: Zcitschrik der Savigny- stihung für Rechtsgeschichte Ger- panic department 1880 ff.

ZSRO KA: Journal of the Savignyitiftung fiir Rechtsgeschichtc Kanonistische Abteilung iqi i ff.

REGISTER

The following **index** includes - with the exception of the **separately** paginated "eReplica" of the preface - all names of persons in the present volume, including fictitious, legendary or fictional ones, as well as the names of all more or less fictitious or mythical figures from **ancient literature** or other traditions.

Since all quotations were taken from the sources to the letter, some names appear in different spellings.

To **simplify** the search, in certain cases one and the same **phrase** has been included in the **regjstrr** with several **variants.** Cross-references are largely omitted in order to save the user inconvenience.

Names, titles, ranks, family relationships, and citation details are given in a systematic rather than a systematic way so that the reader is not **unnecessarily** confused. As a rule, l'4cben figures are characterized more precisely than the better-known characters.

The register was compiled by Ralf Lang (M.A,J, Düsseldorf.

Abbo, Monch, learned abbot voz Fleu- W- 8 5 7

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Abdarrahman II, Emir of Gordoba from 8zz bit 8yz: x5, 5

Abrahsnt of Frcising, Bishop (py QQ3j: ISuS, §2I

Abul Kasim, Emir of Sicily: 5j8

Abulaz, Saracen King: qj

Ack'er t.: 'et-45S

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Adalbero of Laon, Bishop: y°7. 53º

Adalbero of Reims, Archbisc3 J: $*7- 54fi

Adalbcro, Bishop of Metz: 4+*. '-'

Adalben, son of the prince Slavnik **von Libice: 551, 553, 572**

Adalben, son of Bertngsr II, King of Itdlien: ¢q4-4H. 4s9. **i°-*i*3' 512–513**

Adalbert of Evrea, Count, Empórean **gen Berengar I.: 485**

Adalbert von Hemb" g name, Arch- bishop: y33, y 8

Adalbert of Magdeburg, Archbishop (p68-p8), of Otco I. nack Kiev gcschickL, -Bishop for **the Russians-:** z77. 3*/. ts*- '*s- s'7. s'-

Adalbert von f'rsg, bishop, missionary r: 5*' 5 5' 57 57°' 573 574

Adalbcrt of Tuscany, Duke: ido, **251, 270, 335**

Adalbert of Babenberg, Craf: is‹. 35 3i7' 3 +' 5 9

Adalben of Passau, bishop, victorious ubrr the Hungarians: qu

Adaldag, Archbishop of Hamburg- **Bremen: t-®-4^9- 4S9- 4*9.** t7fi- 47}

Adalgar, Count: q

Adalhard, abbot of Corbic on the **Somme, step-vettcr Parls -des Cra-** gen°: y , +z-tj

Adalhard, Count: zş i
Adalhsrd of St. Bertin, Abr: air
Adalhard of Verona, Bishop: j o
Adslhard of Babenbetg, Count: 3§§-
355, 356
Adalward of Verden, Bishop: j6q
Adallindis, Queen of Charles the Great":
j3
Adalram, Archbishop of Salzburg:
i56, zx8
Adam yon Bremen, canon and cathedral schołasrer l} before io8ş):
35
Adelberi vow ß e r g a m o , Bishop: 3z8
Adelchis, Heriog of &nevent: i8o, oral, xyy
Adelhard, Priexter, commanded the fortress of Formicaria, then bishop of
Reggio: 493–494
AdeTheid, sister-in-law of Judith **(wife of** Louis -dcs Fromincn-): 3 Adelheid, wife of Louis the Progenitor
less: z z, zy8
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ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Karl Heinrich Leopold Dcschner was born on zj, }v}ai rqi§ in Bamberg. His father Karl, a Catholic forester and fish farmer, came from the poorest of Yerhälmissen. His mother Margercis Karnlinc, née Rcischb8ct, prntcstant, grew up in the castles of her father in Frsnken and Lower Bavaria. She later converted to the

Karlheinz Dtschncr, the affectee of three children, king to elementary school in Trouen- furr (Stcigerwald) from iqz9 to iqj j, then to the Franciscan seminary in Dettelbach am Main, where he first externally bci the family of his baptismal and confirmation patcn, the
'3eîstlichen **Rau Leopold** Baumann, lived, then in the Franciscan monastery. From iq3¢ to iqu he attended the Aire, Neue und Deutsche Gymnasium in Bamberg as a lnter- natxschilnr bti Carmelite and EngJiichcn Fräulein. In Jvliri i9y he passed the maturc exam Like his entire class, he immediately volunteered for the army and was a soldier - sometimes wounded - until the capitulation.

Initially enrolled as a student of forestry at the University of Munich, Deschneë *94 47 attended lectures in law, theology, philosophy and psychology at the Philosophical-Theological College in Baaibcrg. From i9 y to iqyt he studied New German Literature, Philosophy and History at the University of Würzburg and received his doctorate with a thesis on
-l.cnaus poetry as an expression of metaphysical despair- to Dr, phil. Three children, Katja (iqyr), Berbe1 liq58) and Thomas (i9yp to r9 4l-, were born of a marriage to Efi Tuch in the same year.

From i9-4 to iq6 Desthntr lived in a former]agdsitz of the Wlirzburg bishops inTrrtiendorf lstcigcrwald), then for two years in the country house of a friend in fischbrunn (Htribruckcr Switzerland). Since then he has lived in Ha8fufi am Main.

Karlhcinz Deschncr has published novels, literary criticism, essays, aphprismcn, but above all works on religion and ecclesiastical criticism. At over two thousand lecture events over the years, £*cschner has
fasziniert und provoziert.
tyt he stood trial in Nuremberg for verbal abuse.

Since iq2o, Dcschner has been working on stintr large-scale -criminalgcshiftc of Ciiri- stmtumS-. Since there are no posts, bczmtensmllcn, research grants, honorary salaries or endowments for restless spirits like him, his immense research work and presentation achievements were only possible thanks to the selfless help of a few friends and friends, Above all, thanks to the support of his passionate friend and patron Alfred Schwarz, who co-edited the publication of the first volume in September 1998, but did not live to see the second volume published, and the German entrepreneur Herbert Steffen.

In the summer semester, a former professor at the University of Münster taught a course on the subject of the criminal history of Christianity.

For his commitment to enlightenment and for his literary work, Karl-
heinz Deschnnr ig88 - after Koeppen, Wollechlëgtr, Rühmkorf - with the Amo-Schmidt-Pmîs, in June iqq3 - after Walter Jens, Dicter Hildebrandr, Gerhard Zwcrenz, Robcrr Jungk - with the Altcrnariven Büchncrprcis and in July iqqy
- after Sacharaw and Dub£ek as the first German to receive the International

Humanist Award.

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